

THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

VOLUME I



PUBLISHED FOR THE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE
OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH
BY
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LONDON

THIS volume completes the 'general' history of the county which was begun many years ago. It contains illustrated articles on the physique and pre-history of Middlesex, from Palaeolithic to Pagan Saxon times, on its religious houses and ecclesiastical organization, and on education within the county. It also includes a translation of the Middlesex section of Domesday Book with map, commentary, and index. The sequence of articles on education includes histories of working-class and private education, accounts of endowed schools, and a history of the University of London and its constituent colleges and schools.


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THE VICTORIA HISTORY
OF THE
COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

A HISTORY OF
MIDDLESEX

VOLUME I



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THE VICTORIA HISTORY OF THE COUNTIES OF ENGLAND

EDITED BY R. B. PUGH



THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
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INSCRIBED TO THE
MEMORY OF HER LATE MAJESTY
QUEEN VICTORIA
WHO GRACIOUSLY GAVE THE TITLE TO
AND ACCEPTED THE DEDICATION
OF THIS HISTORY



THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON AND THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON SCHOOL PLAYGROUND IN 1883

A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX

EDITED BY J. S. COCKBURN, H. P. F. KING,
AND K. G. T. McDONNELL

VOLUME I

PUBLISHED FOR
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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE revival of the *Victoria History of Middlesex* in 1955 is described in the Editorial Note to Volume III. The arrangements there explained, by which the Local Authorities in the administrative county of Middlesex, the London County Council, and the Middlesex Local History Council came to collaborate with the University of London to continue the *History* of the county, have in principle remained unaltered. Under the London Government Act (1963), however, the former participating Authorities have since 1965 been grouped together and have mostly assumed new names. The University of London records again its true appreciation of the generous grants made by the Authorities. In 1965 the Middlesex Local History Council was fused with the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. The present constituents of the Middlesex *Victoria County History* Council are set out below.

Sir Archer Hoare, C.B.E., resigned from the chairmanship of the last-named Council in 1963 and was replaced by Mr. R. M. Robbins. Several changes have also occurred in the editorial staff. In 1963 Mr. H. P. F. King resigned the office of Local Editor and was replaced in 1964 by Dr. K. G. T. McDonnell, a Lecturer in History at Queen Mary College, University of London, who was temporarily seconded for the purpose. On Dr. McDonnell's return to the College in 1966, Mr. J. S. Cockburn, who had been appointed Assistant Local Editor in 1961 on the resignation of Mrs. Gillian R. Wyld and advanced to Senior Assistant Local Editor in 1964, replaced him as Acting Local Editor. Mr. Cockburn resigned in 1967 and was succeeded by Mr. T. F. T. Baker. Mr. D. C. Yaxley, appointed an Assistant Local Editor in 1962, resigned in 1964 and was succeeded by Miss Diane K. Bolton in 1965. All these Local Editors and their Assistants have in one way or another played their part in the preparation of the present volume, as has Miss Susan Reynolds, a former Local Editor.

This is the third volume to be published in the Middlesex set, and completes the 'general' chapters for the county. These conform to a plan framed in 1955 by a Sub-Committee of the *Victoria County History* Committee of the Institute of Historical Research. The plan provided for the exclusion of nearly all the articles on natural history of the kind formerly inserted in the series and for the omission of any general study of ecclesiastical history. It seemed doubtful to the Sub-Committee whether the ecclesiastical history of the county could be fairly written until the history of religion in each parish had been examined. The structure and aims of the *Victoria History* series as a whole are outlined in an article published in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Volume XL (No. 101, May 1967).

In the early years of the century a decision was taken to separate the history of London from the history of Middlesex and to provide a separate set of volumes for each. On the title-page of the *Victoria History of London*, Volume I, published in 1909, 'London' is said to include 'London within the Bars, Westminster, and Southwark'; in the Preface it is called 'the district within the Bars of London, the borough of Southwark, and the ancient parish of Westminster'.

EDITORIAL NOTE

It must be noted that the Editorial Note in the *Victoria History of Middlesex*, Volume II, published in 1911, contains no definition of the area of Middlesex. The definitions in *London*, Volume I, are confusing because the word 'Westminster' has borne different meanings at different times and the 'ancient parish of Westminster' has no precise meaning at all. Whether the plan was to interpret 'Westminster' in a wide or a narrow sense can now hardly be known with certainty. In any case no one meaning seems to have been consistently adhered to in *London*, Volume I. This has created certain difficulties for the compilers of the present volume and has suggested the advantage of marking on the maps the boundaries of the City and the Liberties of Westminster as they were in 1847.

The volume has profited much from the co-operation of scholars not actually engaged in its compilation. Particular thanks are due to Professor W. F. Grimes, C.B.E., under whose superintendence the archaeological articles were prepared, to Dr. D. B. Harden, O.B.E., who made available the services of his staff at the London Museum, to Miss Barbara Harvey, who advised on the lands of Westminster Abbey, to Professor A. V. Judges, who greatly helped with the planning of the articles on education, and to Miss E. D. Mercer, formerly Middlesex County Archivist and now Archivist to the Greater London Council. The kindness of many others who supplied information or gave access to documents is also gratefully remembered.

MIDDLESEX VICTORIA COUNTY HISTORY COUNCIL

As at 1 July 1968

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R. M. ROBBINS, ESQ.†

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Barnet	Enfield	Hillingdon
Brent	Haringey	Hounslow
Ealing	Harrow	Richmond-upon-Thames

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together with the persons marked with a dagger

LIST OF CLASSES OF DOCUMENTS IN THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE USED IN THIS VOLUME WITH THEIR CLASS NUMBERS

Chancery

- C 54 Close Rolls
- C 76 Treaty Rolls

Court of Common Pleas

- C.P. 25 (1) Feet of Fines, Series 1

Department of Education and Science

- Ed. 27 Legal and Endowments, Endowment Files, Secondary Education

Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer

- E 42 Ancient Deeds, Series AS
- E 106 Extents of Alien Priories
- E 117 Church Goods
- E 135 Ecclesiastical Documents
- E 179 Subsidy Rolls, etc.

Exchequer, Augmentation Office

- E 303 Conventual Leases
- E 315 Miscellaneous Books
- E 322 Surrenders of the Monasteries

Exchequer, Office of the Auditors of Land Revenue

- L.R. 2 Miscellaneous Books
- L.R. 14 Ancient Deeds, Series E

King's Bench (Crown Side)

- K.B. 8 Indictments, *Baga de Secretis*

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- S.C. 1 Ancient Correspondence
- S.C. 6 Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts
- S.C. 8 Ancient Petitions
- S.C. 10 Parliamentary Proxies
- S.C. 12 Rentals and Surveys (Portfolios)

State Paper Office

- S.P. 12 State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth I

DOCUMENTS IN THE
GREATER LONDON RECORD OFFICE
(MIDDLESEX RECORDS)
USED IN THIS VOLUME

Acc. 76 Deposited Records, Executors of Lady Northwick

Acc. 446 Deposited Records, Marquess of Anglesey

Acc. 563 Deposited Records, Archdeacon of Middlesex

NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

Among the abbreviations and short titles used the following may require elucidation:

<i>A.C.C.</i>	Maud E. Cunnington, <i>The Early Iron Age Inhabited Site at All Cannings Farm</i> (Devizes, 1923)
<i>A.M.L.</i>	C. E. Vulliamy, <i>The Archaeology of Middlesex and London</i> (1930)
AS	Anglo-Saxon
Ashm.	Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
<i>Ath. Oxon.</i>	Anthony à Wood, <i>Athenae Oxoniensis</i> , ed. P. Bliss (1813–20)
Aungier, <i>Syon</i>	C. J. Aungier, <i>History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery, the Parish of Isleworth, and the Chapelry of Hounslow</i> (1840)
BA	Bronze Age
<i>BA Barrow</i>	P. Ashbee, <i>The Bronze Age Round Barrow in Britain</i> (1960)
<i>B.A.P.</i>	J. Abercromby, <i>A Study of the Bronze Age Pottery of Great Britain and Ireland and its associated grave goods</i> (1912)
Brewer, <i>Beauties of Eng. and Wales</i> , x (5)	J. N. Brewer, vol. x (1816) of <i>The Beauties of England and Wales</i> (1810–16), edited by E. W. Brayley and J. Britton. The part of the work cited is alternatively known either as the fifth part, or as the second part of vol. iv of <i>London and Middlesex</i> , which is itself vol. x of <i>The Beauties</i>
C.B.A.	Council for British Archaeology
<i>Cal. Letter Bk.</i>	<i>Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall</i> , ed. R. R. Sharpe (1899–1912)
<i>Celts</i>	T. G. E. Powell, <i>The Celts</i> (1958)
<i>Danube</i>	V. G. Childe, <i>The Danube in Prehistory</i> (1929)
<i>Dawn</i>	V. G. Childe, <i>The Dawn of European Civilization</i> (1950)
<i>E.D.S.</i>	W. F. Grimes, <i>Excavations on Defence Sites 1939–1945</i> , i (H.M.S.O. 1960)
Fitzw.	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
G.M.	Guildhall Museum
Guildhall MSS.	City of London Guildhall Library. This includes bishops' registers (MS. 9531) and diocesan administration (MSS. 9532–60)
Gunn.	Gunnelsbury Park Museum
Hennessy, <i>Novum Repertorium</i>	G. Hennessy, <i>Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense</i> (1898)
Hist. Mon. Com. <i>Mdx.</i>	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, <i>An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Middlesex</i> (1937)
IA	Iron Age
<i>IA Problems</i>	<i>Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain</i> , ed. S. S. Frere (Institute of Archaeology, 1960)
<i>I.O.A.</i>	<i>London University Institute of Archaeology Annual Report</i>
Lambeth MSS.	Lambeth Palace Library
L.C.C.R.O.	London County Council Record Office
L.M.	London Museum
L.M. Lay.	London Museum, Layton Collection
<i>L.P.A.</i>	<i>Later Prehistoric Antiquities of the British Isles</i> (British Museum, 1953)
Lysons, <i>Environs of Lond.</i>	D. Lysons, <i>The Environs of London</i> (1792–6)
Lysons, <i>Supplement</i>	D. Lysons, <i>Supplement to the First Edition of the Historical Account of the Environs of London</i> (1811)

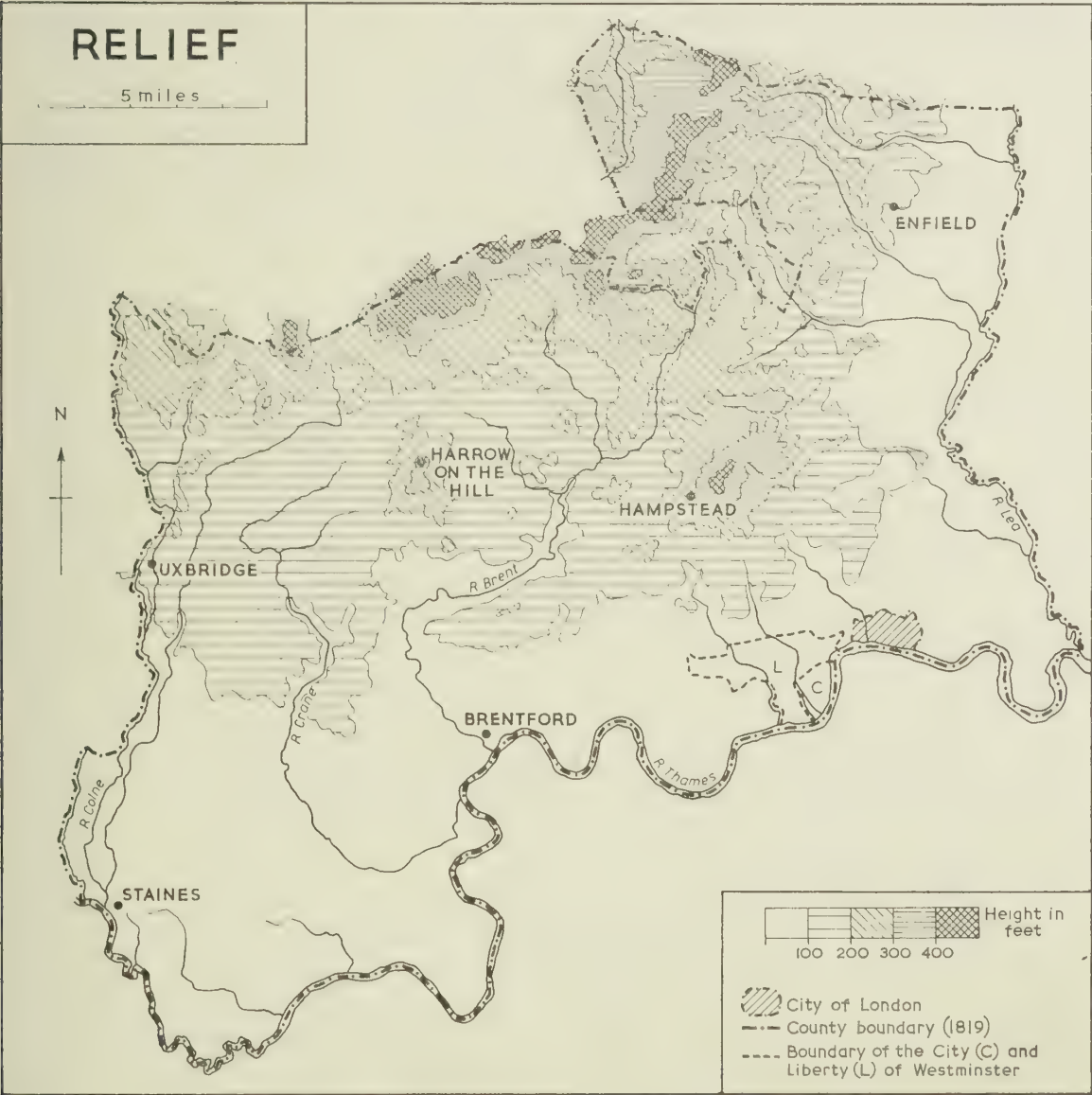
NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Maiden Cas.</i>	R. E. M. Wheeler, <i>Maiden Castle, Dorset</i> (Society of Antiquaries, Research Committee Report no. 12)
<i>Manuel</i>	J. Déchelette, <i>Manuel d'archéologie préhistoire, celtique et gallo-romaine</i> (Paris, 1908-34)
<i>Med. Rel. Houses</i>	D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, <i>Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales</i>
M.R.O.	Middlesex Record Office. On the incorporation of Middlesex within Greater London on 1 April 1965 the office became known as the Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Records)
N.C.B.I.	S. Piggott, <i>Neolithic Cultures of the British Isles</i> (1954)
Newcourt, <i>Repertorium</i>	R. Newcourt, <i>Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense</i> (1708-10)
N.R.A.	National Register of Archives
<i>Num. Chron.</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
Pevsner, <i>London</i> , ii	N. Pevsner, <i>The Buildings of England, London except the City and Westminster</i> (1957)
Pevsner, <i>Mdx.</i>	N. Pevsner, <i>The Buildings of England, Middlesex</i> (1951)
P.L.A.	Port of London Authority
<i>P.N. Mdx.</i> (E.P.N.S.)	<i>The Place Names of Middlesex</i> (English Place-Name Society xviii, 1942)
<i>P.P.S.</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
<i>P.P.S.E. Anglia</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia</i>
<i>Prehist. Communities</i>	V. G. Childe, <i>Prehistoric Communities of the British Isles</i> (1947)
Stow, <i>Survey</i>	J. Stow, <i>Survey of London</i> , ed. C. L. Kingsford (1927)
Syon Ho. A	Manuscripts of the Duke of Northumberland, Syon House, Rentals, Surveys, &c.
Syon Ho. D	Title Deeds
<i>T.L.M.A.S.</i>	<i>Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society</i>
Thorne, <i>Environs</i>	J. Thorne, <i>Handbook to the Environs of London</i> [alphabetically arranged in two parts], (1876)
W.A.M.	Westminster Abbey Muniments

THE PHYSIQUE OF MIDDLESEX

Solid Geology, p. 2. The Drift Deposits, p. 3. The Conditions of Settlement, p. 8.

IT is impossible to discuss the physique of Middlesex without some reference to the major region—the London Basin—of which it is a part. The boundaries of the ancient county were predominantly natural. The eastern, southern, and western boundaries followed the rivers Lea, Thames, and Colne. The northern boundary in the forest hinterland towards Hertfordshire followed the crest of a conspicuous but



broken ridge from Batchworth Heath, near Harefield, via Oxhey to Elstree and thence eastward to within two miles of Barnet. Hertfordshire here extended south-eastward in the East Barnet valley, leaving to the north, however, the large parish of South Mimms in Middlesex. Eastward to the Lea no physical feature or change of landscape marked the boundary.

The highest points in the county lie along its northern border: Oxhey Hill (438 ft.), Harrow Weald Common (475 ft.), Bushey Heath (504 ft.), Deacons Hill, Edgware (478 ft.), and Highwood Hill (443 ft.). Further south Harrow Hill reaches 408 ft., Hampstead ('Jack Straw's Castle') 440 ft., and Highgate Hill 410 ft. The last two summits are the culminating points of a ridge running ENE.-WSW., continuing westward to Ealing and eastward to Hornsey (Harringay Station). This ridge forms the limit of the Thames valley east of Brentford and is a salient element in the topography of Greater London. Between it and the northern or county boundary ridge the country falls into two clearly marked divisions separated roughly by the line of Watling Street (Edgware Road). Westward lies a wide plain, rising from about 30 ft. O.D. on its Thames-side edge to 150 ft. at the foot of the northern ridge. It is diversified by isolated hills, as at Kingsbury Green (300 ft.), Barn Hill, Wembley (282 ft.), and Horsenden Hill (277 ft.). Eastward lies hilly plateau country dissected by well-marked valleys like those of Dollis Brook and Pymmes Brook, draining to the Lea. The general level of the plateau is 200-300 ft. O.D., exceeding the higher figure only at Muswell Hill, Whetstone, and Cockfosters. On its eastern side the plateau falls steeply to the trench of the lower Lea valley along a line close to Hornsey, Wood Green, and Enfield. The Lea follows a line on the eastern side of the valley floor which falls from about 100 ft. O.D. on its western side to about 40 ft. O.D. on the riverward edge; south of Tottenham the floor of the Lea valley is merged with that of the Thames.

SOLID GEOLOGY

Within the area so defined the succession of Eocene strata above the underlying Chalk is as follows: at the top, Bagshot Sands, then, in descending order, Claygate Beds, London Clay, Reading Beds, and Thanet Sands immediately over the Chalk.

The Thanet Sands, although conspicuous in south-east London, and thence to the Kentish coast, do not outcrop in Middlesex but thin out underground north-westward in the neighbourhood of Hendon and Finchley. The succeeding Reading Beds, comprising sands, pebble-beds, and brightly mottled red clays, are continuous underground. Together with the underlying Chalk, they outcrop at Harefield and around South Mimms, and in inliers at Ickenham, Ruislip, and Pinner. In these areas they give rise to a narrow belt of comparatively light or sandy soils, favourable to arable cultivation.

The familiar London Clay is in many respects the most important and characteristic surface formation of the county and even where it does not form the surface it is commonly present at shallow depth, where its impermeable character is revealed by the water held on the surface.

The upper part of the London Clay is appreciably sandy or loamy. This, 'the upper sandy London Clay' of certain older writers, is now distinguished as the Claygate Beds. The Claygate Beds form part of the upper slopes of the hills at Harrow, Hampstead, and Highgate. At these places the Bagshot Sands form the actual hill-capping, but at Stanmore, Elstree, Mill Hill, Totteridge, Arkley, and Cockfosters the Claygate Beds themselves form hill-cappings, in some cases succeeded by thin surface-gravels. Their presence is significant since they provide a natural brick-making mixture and yield soil lighter than the main mass of the London Clay, more readily amenable to arable cultivation, and supporting a rather different flora.

The Bagshot Sands are present only at the three places named above. These outliers are the remnants of a once continuous formation, still present in large amounts in Surrey, Berkshire, and Essex, but removed in Middlesex by denudation, i.e. in the

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course of the deepening and widening of the Middlesex valleys. Only where the Bagshot sands are locally preserved is the London Clay present in its full original thickness of 350–400 ft.¹

THE DRIFT DEPOSITS

No treatment of the county as the home of man can fail to emphasize the superficial or 'drift' deposits which form the actual surface of at least half the county and have thus determined the character of its surface, whether for the first settlers in the area, or for the modern suburban builder. For present purposes the distinction between 'solid' and 'drift' deposits may best be expressed thus. The former constitute regular strata and provide the mass out of which the hills and valleys have been carved by the age-long activity of weather and water. The drift deposits have come into being during this process of land sculpture, being themselves the deposits of the present or former rivers or of the ice-sheet which entered the district during the Great Ice Age.

The drift deposits are all the product of the last and shortest of the recognized geological periods—the Pleistocene. They may rest on any of the older rocks of the 'solid' succession. The intervening periods of Tertiary time, OLIGOCENE, MIOCENE, and PLIOCENE are quite unrepresented by deposits in the area. Either they were never accumulated here, or like the Upper Eocene (e.g. Bagshot) beds they have since been removed by denudation.

The Geological Survey distinguishes eight categories of drift deposits (map facing page 2) ranging in height from the highest hill summits to the alluvium (formerly marsh) of the riversides. The several deposits are not disposed like the older rocks in orderly, superimposed sheets. Their order of age is, broadly speaking, that of their elevation and for our present purpose we may adopt a simple three-fold grouping: Stage I being the deposits of the highest hill-tops or summit plateaux—the 'Pebble Gravel' of the Geological Survey; Stage II the glacial deposits, namely the boulder clay and associated gravels, found generally at the middle elevations (200–300 ft.); and Stage III the River Terrace gravels, and associated brickearth and alluvium, the deposits of former valley floors of the Thames and its tributaries.

Stage I: The Pebble Gravel

The Pebble Gravel, 6–10 ft. or less in thickness, caps the highest summits in isolated patches which are evidently the remnants of a once wide-spreading formation. Its relations thus resemble those of the 'solid' deposits, since it is evidently earlier than the excavation of the valleys. So much is generally agreed, and despite a long and confused discussion on its age and origin, all writers have agreed that it is, in the local sense, 'pre-glacial', or accumulated before the main invasion of the area by ice. There is a difference of opinion whether the gravel is marine or river-borne.² It is composed of rounded flint pebbles, derived from the Eocene deposits, mixed with other far-travelled constituents, notably small, white quartz pebbles. The latter may have been derived in part from the Reading Beds but probably come chiefly from the Lower Greensand outcropping beyond the limits of the London Basin. In the east of the county, as, for instance, at Hampstead and Barnet, there also occur undoubted fragments of Lower Greensand chert. This can only have been derived from the Surrey Lower Greensand and must have been introduced by southern tributaries of the

¹ For a more detailed account of the 'solid geology' see *Mems. of Geol. Survey, Lond. District* (1922).

² *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xxxviii. 105–26.

Thames before the excavation of the present lower Thames valley. The general aspect of the deposit invites comparison with a marine-shingle and it remains possible that most of the gravel is marine, mixed with river-borne debris only where the southern chert is present. Most of the points which have been in dispute hardly affect the main physiographic fact which assists our comprehension of the Middlesex landscape, namely, that the surviving tracts of Pebble Gravel define an extensive, although much dissected, plateau at about 400 ft. O.D. This is the 'Summit-plain' of the area and all the existing land-forms have been sculptured during or since its uplift. Whether we regard this as an old sea-floor, or a gravel-strewn river-plain not far above the contemporary sea-level, it marks the initial surface on which the present streams began their life. It appears certain that at the early stage so envisaged, the 'Proto-Thames', predecessor of the present river, followed a line through Hertfordshire, far north of its present course, continuing thence north-eastward, through East Anglia, probably to join the Rhine. Such is the evident witness of the train of southern or Wealden debris which crosses the county from south to north at the stage of the Pebble Gravel. This is the essential starting point in any systematic comprehension of the fashioning of the surface of Middlesex. There is indeed a long-lost chapter of 'physiographic pre-history' during which the younger Tertiary deposits were removed from the area; of these stages no evidence is left. Viewing the Thames valley from Hampstead we may appreciate the magnitude of the later episodes of denudation. The age of the Pebble Gravel may be taken as early Pleistocene and the whole of the London valley has been formed since this time.

The most westerly occurrence of Pebble Gravel in Middlesex is at Pinner Hill, south of Oxhey Wood. The largest mass extends from Harrow Weald Common to Brockley Hill, and there are smaller outliers at Elstree and Woodcock Hill. From Barnet Gate a large mass extends across the county boundary to Barnet and Potters Bar. There are small hill-cappings at Highwood Hill, Mill Hill, and Hampstead, and traces have been seen at Highgate.

Stage II: The Boulder Clay

The most important of the Stage II deposits is the Boulder Clay, a tough, bluish-grey clay full of fragments and pebbles of Chalk together with a wide variety of other stones, many of them far-travelled. The boulder clay is a direct product of land ice. The older and conventional view of its origin treated it as 'ground moraine', or the material dragged beneath a moving ice-sheet. It now seems more probable that it represents rather the 'englacial' load of heavily dirt-charged ice, disengaged by slow melting. The associated gravels, generally beneath the boulder clay, are most simply interpreted as 'fluvio-glacial' or outwash gravel, spread out by melt-waters before being overridden by the ice. There are, however, differences in the stone-content of the boulder clay and the gravels, which, taken with other evidence, suggest that the gravels were independently accumulated by river action before the advent of the ice. Despite these doubts about the precise age and origin of the gravels, the importance of their contribution to the physique of the county is generally acknowledged. Where they are uncovered by boulder clay they give rise to light sandy soils and, underlain by London Clay, they are normally water-bearing.

The Stage II deposits³ occupy relatively high ground from Hendon north-eastward to Enfield. It is important to recognize that in this area they occupy the floor of a wide depression between the northern and Hampstead ridges. This depression, which is

³ For a general account of the Stage II deposits see *ibid.* xciv (4), 627-63.

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clearly visible between Hampstead and Mill Hill, is here some three miles wide. Reasons have been adduced for regarding this depression as a former valley of the Thames. Although in mountain country ice is credited with powers of active erosion, there is no suggestion here, near the southern limit of the ice-sheet, that the ice did more than accommodate itself to the contours so as to occupy and move along pre-existing depressions.

The largest mass of boulder clay in the county, one of the most southerly in Britain, is the roughly triangular mass at Finchley. Here, resting on gravel, the clay covers an area of some three or four square miles. Studied in detail on a contoured map, the form of the mass suggests a true 'terminal moraine' of a tongue of ice advancing from the north-east, for the surface stands highest along the western and southern edges, forming a curving ridge from Whetstone to Muswell Hill. Westward at Hendon, boulder clay is known to occur in irregular masses, but it has not been distinguished from the gravels by the Geological Survey. Eastward beyond the valley of Pymmes Brook, the broad plateau between Cockfosters and Southgate is covered by gravel some 20 ft. thick, succeeded locally by small patches of boulder clay, which similarly caps the hill-top gravel spread at Chase Side, Enfield.

Taking the assemblage of deposits as a whole, the sequence of events is tolerably clear. Before the advance of the ice, the Thames, expelled from its Hertfordshire course by the advance of an earlier ice-sheet, flowed through the Finchley depressions from west to east. The second great ice-sheet, which completely covered the country north-east of Middlesex, sent a lobe up the valley, and thus diverted the Thames from this its second course. Small outlying masses of glacial gravel at Dollis Hill and Hanger Hill mark the train of outwash-gravels along the Brent valley which must have been initiated at this time. This signal episode was the second glacial diversion of the Thames from its first course and to it is due the initiation of the Thames valley through London. Few physiographic episodes can have been answerable for human consequences so significant and complex.

Stage III: River Terrace Gravels

The Stage III drifts,⁴ River Terrace Gravels, occur in belts roughly parallel with the present rivers ranging in height from about 150 ft. O.D. to the river-sides. They occupy definite ledges or flats above the present valley-floors and evidently mark former valley-floors now abandoned.

The Geological Survey distinguishes three such terraces, in descending order: Boyn Hill Terrace, Taplow Terrace, and Flood Plain Terrace. The type-localities for the first and second are in the Middle Thames area west of the county. There is, however, evidence that the Taplow Terrace is double. Around Slough and Iver (Bucks.) it has been possible to distinguish an 'Upper Taplow Terrace' from the main Taplow Terrace below it. This undoubtedly enters Middlesex at West Drayton and, although not yet separately mapped, is clearly continued eastward roughly along the line of the Western Region railway. Covering the terrace gravels is a sheet of loam or brickearth. Most of this mantles the two Taplow terraces, but it extends locally over the Boyn Hill Terrace and occurs in smaller patches on the Low or Flood Plain Terrace. The sequence of the terraces is clearly visible in the south-west of the county in a traverse from Hillingdon to Sunbury. Hillingdon stands on a patch of glacial gravels, the surface elevation being at about 190 ft. O.D. Southward the land falls to the surface of the Boyn Hill Terrace around Moorcroft and Wood End Green at

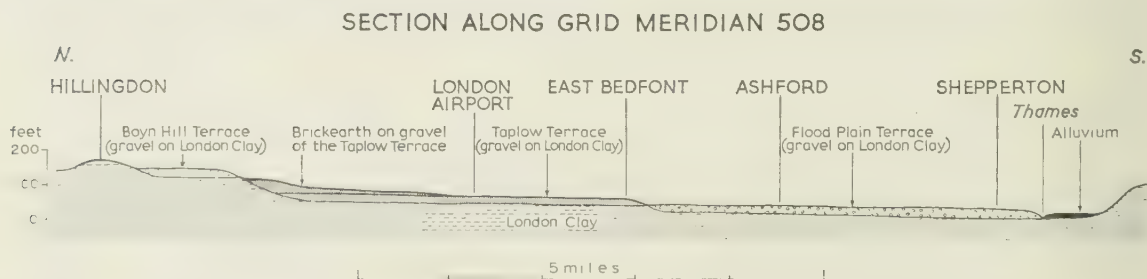
⁴ For a general account of the succession of the Thames terraces see *P.P.S.* ii. 52-76.

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about 140 ft. O.D. The junction with the Upper Taplow Terrace is obscured by a covering sheet of brickearth with surface at about 100 ft. The gravel of the Taplow Terrace emerges from the brickearth cover around Cranford and London (Heathrow) Airport at about 75 ft. O.D. This gives place to the Flood Plain Terrace south of Stanwell and East Bedfont at elevations just above 50 ft. The surface falls to 30–35 ft. on the riverward edge at Sunbury and to 46 ft. near Shepperton. It will be seen from the map (facing p. 2) that the Taplow Terrace extends southward nearly to the river at Hampton, thus virtually cutting out the Flood Plain Terrace here. Its surface stands at about 65 ft. at Feltham and south of Hounslow Heath, falling to 55 ft. at Hampton Hill.

In dealing with the elevation of the terraces we must distinguish between their surface level and that of the rock-floor, cut in London Clay, on which they rest. The latter is commonly somewhat irregular and is in general unknown except from the records of wells or surface gravel excavations. It must also be recognized that the terrace surfaces are not level, having normally a slight downstream slope and a stronger transverse slope towards the river. West of the Colne where the terrace-sequence is complete and has been minutely studied, the Boyn Hill surface inclines downstream at 2 ft. a mile, while the Upper Taplow and Taplow surfaces show a slightly greater slope at $2\frac{1}{2}$ –3 ft. a mile. From Staines downstream, however, both the Boyn Hill and Taplow terraces show a negligible downstream gradient and remain close to the 100-ft. and 50-ft. contours. It has thus been usual in the London district to employ a simpler nomenclature than is possible further west, describing the Boyn Hill as the 100-ft. or High Terrace, the Taplow as the 50-ft. or Middle Terrace, and the Flood Plain as the Low Terrace.

East of the large mass at Hillingdon the High Terrace in Middlesex has been largely destroyed by later denudation; a small relic survives at Castlebar Hill, Ealing, and larger masses remain at Islington and Highbury near the junction with the Lea valley.



The Middle Terrace (or Middle Terrace Group) is much more extensively preserved. Between Hayes and Hampton the Taplow Gravel plain, surfaced by brickearth in its northern part, is seven miles wide. It narrows eastward to Ealing. Its continuity is broken north of Chiswick by an embayment of low ground, but the terrace is resumed east of Holland Park and continues thence to the brink of the Lea valley at Clapton and Old Ford. It forms the low, gravel-capped plateaux which provide the sites of the City of London and the 'West End'.

The Low Terrace forms a wide lower plain between Staines and Hampton and again further east on the north side of the river as far as Brentford, beyond which it forms a wide expanse around Walham Green and Chelsea. The bluff marking the rearward edge of the terrace is a distinctly traceable feature in the topography of London, running from Holland Park past the Albert Hall to Knightsbridge, across the Green Park and along Jermyn Street to the river-bank at Charing Cross.

The main terraces of the Thames are duly represented in its chief tributary valleys.

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In the Brent valley the High Terrace survives in outlying patches on the north bank, both north and south of Wembley, while the river from the 'Welsh Harp' to near Perivale is bordered by gravels of the Taplow stage. In the Lea valley the High Terrace is represented by outliers near Wood Green, Palmers Green, and Bush Hill Park. The Taplow gravels with overlying brickearth form the western part of the valley floor from Tottenham northward, succeeded by the Flood Plain Gravels along a line close to the High Road through Tottenham.

The Terrace drifts taken as a whole are important in the history of our region in two distinct ways. The deposits themselves contain the earliest evidence of man in the area, in the form of Palaeolithic flint implements. Secondly, where they are present, the deposits completely transform the surface and sub-surface geology of the area. The most significant geographical line within the county is the northern edge of the terrace drifts from Uxbridge to Stamford Hill. Southward is the wide drift-floored plain, and northward the hilly country of the London Clay where the drift is confined to the hill-cappings.

The general succession of terraces evidently records the periodic deepening of the valley, but to treat the terraces simply as abandoned flood plains implies too simple a picture of the physical history of the deposits. The Boyn Hill Terrace is younger than part at least of the Chalky Boulder Clay since it rests upon it in western Essex. Later times witnessed the return of arctic conditions on at least two occasions. The deposits thus overlap in time with the later stages of the Ice Age and cover a period of marked change of both climate and sea-level. The glacial episodes were times of low sea-level, since the widely spreading land ice represented water withheld from the oceans. Intervening warmer (interglacial) periods were marked by high sea-levels. The base-level controlling the flow and erosion of the river has thus been subject both to downward and upward movements. The former mark phases of erosion, or valley deepening, while the latter caused the building up of the thick gravel sheets.

The full record of the complicated changes thus caused cannot be reconstructed from evidence within the county, but, by calling in evidence the terrace deposits of Kent and Essex, the following sequence has been made out. The earliest deposits of the Boyn Hill Terrace (the 'Lower Gravels' at Swanscombe) were accumulated following a phase of planation which formed the rock 'floor' on which they rest at about 70 ft. O.D. The fossils found here indicate a temperate climate. There then ensued a depression of the base in a fall of sea-level and the erosion of a deep channel of which the floor stands at 20 ft. O.D. near Swanscombe and below sea-level at Clacton. In the following phase the channel was filled as the sea-level rose and the deposits finally extended beyond its lip so as to rest upon the Lower Gravel at Swanscombe. At this time, therefore, the flood plain rose higher than in the early Boyn Hill phase and the equivalent sea-level is estimated to have stood at about 100 ft. O.D. It is particularly to be noted that the acceptance of this pronounced phase of gravel-accumulation implies that lower-lying deposits may be older than those at higher levels. Thus gravels and brickearths at Stoke Newington which occur at what would normally be considered the 'Taplow' level are, in fact, assigned to a stage of the Boyn Hill gravel accumulation.

This great oscillation of sea-level, involving the cutting and subsequent filling of a deep channel, indicates the pattern of later events. The succeeding fall of base-level led to a renewed deepening of the valley to below its present floor, uncovering the Boyn Hill ledge, with its composite covering of deposits, as a terrace, but locally sparing the lower part of the infilling of the former channel. Upon both these sets of deposits is found superimposed a well-marked layer of chalky sludge (Coombe Rock), the product of soil-creep in a climate of glacial severity.

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Further down-cutting followed, in which parts of the sludge-sheet were removed; the succeeding gravel accumulation built up the thick gravel of the Taplow stage by the end of which the sea-level is estimated to have reached about 60 ft. O.D. There followed a widespread phase of brickearth formation reflecting a steppe climate in which wind-blown dust was accumulated as loess or arrested by marshes or standing water to give water-laid loams (i.e. brickearths).

There is evidence of three further phases of down-cutting followed by gravel accumulation in the succeeding deposits. First was formed the rock-floor of the Upper Flood Plain Terrace: the lower part of the deposits which rest upon it yield clear fossil evidence of an arctic climate and are associated locally with soil-creep gravels which mark the return of 'periglacial' conditions. The ensuing fall of sea-level led to the cutting of another deep channel with its floor in places as much as 100 ft. below O.D. During the cutting of this gorge it is believed that soil-creep gravels continued to descend the valley slopes, but with the return of a warmer climate and a rising sea-level, gravel accumulation was resumed and the channel was filled with gravel to a height above that of the existing alluvial flood plain. The upper surface of the 'fill', where this protrudes above the alluvium, constitutes the 'Lower Flood Plain Terrace'. The alluvium itself attains locally to a thickness of 50 ft., and this has been taken to imply the cutting of still another channel in the earlier gravel 'fill' and its subsequent filling by gravel accumulation.

The deposits classed as Alluvium are the most recent deposits of the Thames and its tributaries and form the low-lying ground immediately bordering the streams. It consists largely of mud but includes local masses of gravel and extensive beds of peat accumulated under marsh conditions before the embanking of the river. The older parts of the alluvium may date from Neolithic times, but an appreciable thickness has accumulated since Roman times. Thus, at Tilbury (Essex), a formerly grass-grown surface covered with Roman refuse (tiles, pottery, etc.) lay 8 ft. below the present ground surface. As late as the 2nd century the areas of alluvium were probably submerged at high tide and it may well have been possible for the earlier Anglo-Saxon invaders to avoid the ruins of Roman London by passing directly by boat from Limehouse reach to Lambeth reach.

THE CONDITIONS OF SETTLEMENT

Having outlined the geological constitution of the area and the nature and origin of its present surface, we may now characterize its qualities as a human environment. Two main considerations must guide our attempts to reconstruct physique and settlement conditions in the earlier stages of settlement; first the nature of the vegetation cover and the distribution of arable soils, and, secondly, water supply. In the first stage of the inquiry we can call to our aid the findings of plant ecology and pedology. The most salient feature of the area during the earlier stages of human occupancy was its widespread forest cover. In the wider region of which the area forms part, the deciduous forest of western and central Europe reached its fullest and most typical British development. The principal trees were oak and beech, often growing together, but with the oak predominant on the clay lands, and the beech on drier soils. The oak woods themselves are of two main types, one on the heavier clays dominated by the common oak (*Quercus robur*) and the other on the drier sands or gravels dominated by the Sessile or Durmast

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oak (*Q. petraea*).⁵ The commonest shrub of the undergrowth is hazel but this is replaced by hornbeam over much of the Middlesex area.

Epping Forest, a little beyond the eastern boundary of the county, preserves excellent examples of both the wetter and the drier types of woodland and Defoe correctly inferred that here we may see 'what the face of this island was before the Romans' time'.⁶ On the lower slopes of the forest ridge and notably on the flat land between Chingford and High Beech characteristic 'wet oak-wood' is seen to advantage but from High Beech northward to Epping the beech associated with the 'dry oak', hornbeam, and birch become dominant, giving woodlands of much more open type, with subordinate undergrowth.

Following the initiative of such writers as O. G. S. Crawford, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, and Sir Cyril Fox, recent years have seen many studies which purport to reconstruct original vegetation in base maps showing archaeological distribution. These studies have tended to a simplification and over-emphasis in equating clay-country almost alone with forest land. For this mistake the traverse of Epping Forest alone provides a correction. No part of Middlesex can have been free from forest growth. Even the lighter soils bear well-grown trees today, as may be seen on the lower slopes of Hampstead Heath and on Stanmore Common. That these lighter soil areas retain little extensive woodland today is probably due to the fact that they bore more open and more easily cleared woodland and were more inviting to the plough. By contrast the heavier clay soils were a morass in winter but without surface water in summer. It is important to notice that it is not in fertility that the heavier soils are lacking, since they are actually richer in plant-foods, but in their suitability for ploughing. Only in our own day, with rapid mechanical ploughing which can choose its time and season, has the heavy 'wheat and beans land' of Middlesex become profitably available for cereal farming. The sharpest physical contrast within the county, in fact, is that between the heavy clay country and the wholly or partly drift-covered areas of lighter soil. The brickearth and valley-gravel soils of western Middlesex were, and are, eminently arable. When to such attractions for cultivation is added the further decisive factor of the availability of water, the contrast as human habitats between the claylands and the gravel lands becomes unarguably evident. Middlesex is without the chalk downland soils in which so much pre-historic settlement took place in southern Britain, but it could offer an equal if not superior substitute. Physical and historical geography combine to indicate that the only really significant 'regional boundary' in Middlesex is the boundary of the Thames valley drifts, continued perhaps in that of the Lea valley drifts in the east of the county. If we seek a valid regional division of the northern parts of the county it can best be taken at or near the line of Watling Street. Westward lies the London Clay plain diversified by scattered island hills of which Harrow is typical. Eastward lie the heights of Hampstead with their water-bearing, sandy cap-rocks and the gravel-covered plateaux of Hendon, Southgate, and Enfield. The contrast can be seen well in the westward view from the Mill Hill ridge. Within this eastern area the soil conditions are less favourable than in the great Thames-side plain. The valley slopes are in London Clay and must have been heavily forested and the older settlement pattern emphasizes hill-top sites, essentially perhaps 'dry-point sites' but always within reach of water at shallow depth and of local tracts of light and easily-ploughed soil. In such terms patterns can be described even amidst the built-up areas of northern suburban London.

⁵ One Mdx. place-name, Poplar, is a reminder that two native poplars (*Populus canescens*, *P. nigra*) flourish on rich, damp soils: T. R. Peace, 'Poplars', *Forestry Com. Bull.* xix.

⁶ D. Defoe, *Tour through Great Britain*, ed. G. D. H. Cole, i. 38.

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The chief, although not the only way in which the ground it rests on influences the life of the modern county, is in respect of water supply; and the history of London's water supply is an important strand in the general history of the area. The first supplies were no doubt from the brooks and rivers, supplemented by springs and shallow wells tapping the considerable water-body held in the river gravels. In this connexion we may briefly describe the family of minor streams that drains the Hampstead ridge and its continuations to the Thames. From west to east are the Little Ealing Brook, joining the Thames east of Brentford; Stamford Brook flowing through Acton Vale to the Thames at Hammersmith Bridge; and Bridge or Counter's Creek, passing Addison Road Station and Walham Green and joining the Thames at Sands End. Three larger streams drain the riverward slope from Hampstead: the West Bourne, the Tyburn, and the Holborn or Fleet River. The first descends past Kilburn to Bayswater. The Tyburn rises north of Belsize Park and flows thence through Regents Park and Marylebone to near Buckingham Palace, joining the Thames near Vauxhall Bridge. The Fleet rises between Hampstead and Highgate and its two branches traverse the valleys now occupied by the Hampstead and Highgate ponds. The two branches joined near Camden Town and continued past St. Pancras church and Battle Bridge (King's Cross). Beyond, the valley is marked by the line of Farringdon Street and New Bridge Street, Holborn Viaduct marking the head of the short but navigable estuary. Above this point the stream was known as River of Wells or Turnmill Brook, recalling its importance as a source both of spring water from the gravel base on the valley sides and of water power. Lastly, the Walbrook rose in the marshy area of Moorfields and flowed past the Bank and Mansion House to a mouth at Dowgate, which like the mouth of the Fleet served as one of London's early ports.

Although most of these streams are now diverted into sewers, they have left a clear mark on the place-names of London and several of them were utilized for water supply. Immediate local supplies became inadequate in the 13th century when a conduit system was first introduced carrying water from gravel springs in the Tyburn valley (at Stratford Place, Oxford St.).⁷ Similar conduits brought water from Paddington and Hackney.⁸

The Thames was laid under direct contribution in 1582, and more distant sources were first tapped by the New River (1613) which brought water from chalk springs in the Lea valley at Amwell and Chadwell (Herts.) to New River Head, significantly sited where the high ground of the Boyn Hill Terrace overlooks the City of London.⁹ Since the geological structure of the area ensures a reservoir of underground water in the Chalk, constantly replenished by the rainfall on the bordering chalk hills, it might seem that this supply could be the main resource of latter-day and modern London. Although it is in fact laid under contribution (notably in south-east London) and there are many privately owned wells, 60 per cent. of present public supplies is in fact drawn from the Thames through the great storage reservoirs, notably near Staines and Sunbury, while similar reservoirs mark the floor of the lower Lea valley at Chingford and Walthamstow. In 1960 a large underground tunnel to convey water from Hampton to Chingford was completed, thus accentuating the predominance of the Thames.

⁷ *Water Supply of London* (Metropolitan Water Board, 1961), 1.

⁸ *Ibid.* 1-2.

⁹ *Ibid.* 7-8.

ARCHAEOLOGY

THE LOWER PALAEOLITHIC AGE

MOST of the Lower Palaeolithic archaeological material in Middlesex has come from either the river gravels or the brickearths which in many areas overlie them. So far no evidence of human occupation is known from the period when the Thames was flowing through the vale of St. Albans and, later, through the Finchley Gap, and the earliest Middlesex material can be dated to a period no earlier than the Boyn Hill stage in the valley of the modern river.

Although Middlesex is a comparatively small county and that part bordering the river of no great length, a considerable amount of material has been found over the last hundred years. The discoveries are restricted, as elsewhere in Britain, to the stone tools or waste chippings made by the hunters of the Palaeolithic period, or the bones and teeth of contemporary fauna. Rarely are these remains found *in situ*, where they were actually made, used, or dropped, for the great majority have been swept by flood-waters off land surfaces which no longer exist, and have become incorporated in the deposits of gravel and sand which represent ancient courses of the Thames or its tributaries. Sometimes, however, silt and clay have been deposited in slack water and have buried an ancient land surface intact, with its 'floor' of flint tools and flakes, as at Creffield Road in Acton and at Stoke Newington.

The flint artifacts found in the ancient river gravels are frequently rolled, battered, and stained brown by iron oxides. Conditions have been unfavourable for the preservation of anything but flint or bone, although Worthington Smith claimed to have found pointed birch stakes in the 'floor' he examined at Stoke Newington. Objects of wood, leather, and bone, fashioned or utilized by the Palaeolithic hunters, have perished without trace, and any reconstruction of their life and environment must be largely conjectural.

Archaeologists have distinguished various groups of stone tool types, referred to as 'industries'. The main industries identified in the Thames valley are Clactonian (after the type site at Clacton-on-Sea, Essex), Acheulian (type site, St. Acheul, a suburb of Amiens (Somme)), and Levalloisian (type site, Levallois, a suburb of Paris), and in principle chronologically related to each other in that order. They show a progress in stone-working ability that probably reflects human development during the latter part of the Pleistocene period. Sub-divisions within the industries can sometimes be distinguished.

Faunal remains in the river gravels of cold-loving animals such as the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros, boulder clay, and solifluction deposits testify to glacial periods, and the main problem of the archaeologist is to determine into which warm or cold phase of the complicated Ice Age sequence an industry belongs. Much of the evidence comes from Thames gravel which dates from the Great or Hoxnian Interglacial, which began, according to the interpretation of the Milankovitch astronomical time-scale, about 400,000 years ago. The earliest stone industry is the Clactonian. No human remains have ever been found with it, although it seems very likely that *Pithecanthropus* was associated with it. The Swanscombe Skull, associated with Middle Acheulian hand-axes, is devoid of its frontal bone, but is most closely paralleled by the Steinheim Skull, generally regarded as intermediate in type between *Pithecanthropus* and *Homo sapiens*.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

The typical industry of Neanderthal Man, the Mousterian, is not found in south-east England, but the Levalloisian may have been his work. These primitive hunters span a period of at least 300,000 years in Britain. About 35,000 years ago, according to estimates based on radiocarbon datings, *Homo sapiens* was to be found in Europe, and from this time until the final retreat of the glaciers in northern Europe is the period of the Upper Palaeolithic with its improved hunting techniques and cave painting. This period is not represented in Middlesex.

The greater part of the evidence for the Lower Palaeolithic in Middlesex was collected at a time when the acquisition of specimens was of more interest than the geological context from which they came. The material so collected is now of very little scientific value, since in many cases the stratigraphical position of the objects is not known, nor sometimes the exact locality. Much of the collecting was done, not by controlled excavation, but by purchase from the gravel diggers. Payment of comparatively large sums to the workmen for specimens led not only to forgery, sometimes of a very high standard, but also to the salting of pits with material from more prolific localities.¹

While little value can be placed on this earlier collecting, its history is not without interest, as it reflects, to a very large extent, the pattern of archaeological thought throughout Europe. The digging of these Thames gravels over the centuries must have brought to light a considerable quantity of archaeological material, but this does not appear to have aroused any curiosity. Some speculation as to the possible age of stone implements began as far back as the early 16th century, but it was not until the late 17th century that a clear association of artifacts and extinct fauna was demonstrated. At the end of the century a Mr. Conyers found, opposite 'Black Mary's' near Gray's Inn Lane, a hand-axe associated with the tooth of an elephant,² probably that of either a mammoth or the straight-tusked elephant (*E. antiquus*). John Bagford in a letter dated 1715 suggested that this elephant was probably introduced by Claudius, but at the same time accepted the implement as being of human workmanship. This discovery made no impression on the antiquarian world, nor did the finds of John Frere at Hoxne (Suff.) in the later 18th century fare any better, in spite of his prophetic remark as to the possible age of the implements which he had found.³ Further finds of Palaeolithic implements were made during the 19th century in Gray's Inn, Drury Lane, and off Oxford Street and Piccadilly,⁴ but only with the work of Lane Fox, Allen Brown, and Worthington Smith can systematic work in Middlesex be said to have begun.

In 1869 Lane Fox's attention was directed to the river gravels at Acton.⁵ In 1872 Evans published the first edition of his *Stone Implements* which inspired Worthington Smith to keep watch on the gravel excavations in the neighbourhood of Stoke Newington and in west Middlesex, and to undertake extensive work in Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. In 1879 Worthington Smith published his results from west Middlesex,⁶ and these were later extended, with his East London results, into the well-known account, published in 1894.⁷ A short paper was also published by Greenhill in 1884 on Palaeolithic implements from the same area.⁸ Allen Brown's research was mainly in the west of the county around Yiewsley, West Drayton, Dawley,⁹ Southall,¹⁰ and Ealing,¹¹ although he also made excursions into east Buckinghamshire as far as Iver.

¹ W. G. Smith, *Man the Primeval Savage*, 251-3.

² J. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*, 581-3, where an engraving of this hand-axe from Gray's Inn Lane is reproduced (fig. 451). It was first reported by John Bagford in Hearne's edition of Leland, *Collectanea*, i, p. lxiv. It is now in the British Museum.

³ *Archaeologia*, xiii. 204-5: 'They are, I think, evidently weapons of war, fabricated and used by a people who had not the use of metals.'

⁴ Evans, *Stone Implements*, 583.

⁵ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* xxviii. 449-71.

⁶ *Jnl. Royal Anthropol. Inst.* ix. 316-20.

⁷ Smith, *Man*.

⁸ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* viii. 344-53.

⁹ J. A. Brown, *Palaeolithic Man in N.W. Mdx.* 62.

¹⁰ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xiv. 153-73.

¹¹ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* xlii. 192-200.

Since very little work has been done in the Lower Palaeolithic in the county for the last sixty years, it is necessary before trying to put the work of these three investigators into perspective, to make brief excursions into the adjoining counties of Kent and Buckinghamshire where the archaeological and geological sequence has received considerable attention over the last forty years, and, although still not complete, is a great deal clearer than that of Middlesex.

By far the best-known locality from which Palaeolithic material has come is that of Swanscombe (Kent).¹² At Barnfield Pit near Swanscombe Halt gravels of the Boyn Hill Terrace overlie Thanet Sand, which in turn rests on chalk. These gravels are divisible into several horizons. The Lower gravel, directly on the Thanet Sand, contained a Clactonian industry associated with a rich fauna of Middle Pleistocene type. Immediately above is a loam, the Lower Loam, which, although originally a flood loam of the river, has been subjected to extensive weathering, indicating that during the period in which this weathering was taking place the river had retreated to a lower level. There is evidence of this low-level stage at Clacton-on-Sea (Essex),¹³ where gravels containing slightly later Clactonian industry have been found in a buried channel.¹⁴ Following this low sea-level, which was responsible for the corresponding drop in river-level, there was a rise which took the river to a higher point than when it laid down the Lower Gravels and Lower Loam. This high sea-level stage left gravels above the Lower Loam, and contained an archaeological industry with abundant hand-axes, which is referable to the Middle Acheulian; there was also a rich fauna, slightly later in type than that from the Lower Gravels. This Middle Gravel and the earlier Lower Gravel are both referred to the same Interglacial, that of Mindel/Riss,¹⁵ and are the same age as the Boyn Hill gravels farther up the river in Middlesex and Buckinghamshire. The level of the Thames appears to have dropped sharply following the deposition of the Middle Gravels, probably in response to the oncoming cold conditions of the Riss Glaciation. Directly above the Middle Gravel is the Upper Loam, which may be a flood loam of the river similar to that of the Lower Loam, or possibly a hill wash. Above the Upper Loam is the Upper Gravel which is a solifluction deposit due to cold conditions, and further evidence of the onset of the Riss Glaciation. From the Upper Loam came a series of hand-axes, mostly cordiform in shape and frequently with the edges twisted.

From the evidence provided by the Barnfield Pit sequence, it is clear that during the early part of the Mindel/Riss Interglacial there was a Clactonian industry, followed by a Middle Acheulian, which in turn was followed by a later stage of Acheulian, but all three within the same Interglacial. At the end of this Interglacial there was a period of intense cold, the Riss Glaciation with marked erosion as evidenced by the solifluction deposits of the Upper Gravels. There is also evidence that during the low sea-level interval, represented by the weathering stage of the Lower Loam, Clactonian man was living on the Thames near Clacton-on-Sea.¹⁶

Further evidence for a drop in river-level in response to the oncoming cold conditions is provided by marked down-cutting by lateral streams through the deposits of the Boyn Hill Terrace, causing channels which are filled with later gravels; examples of this can be seen in the Wansunt Channel, between Swanscombe and Crayford (Kent).¹⁷ Associated with these channels are hand-axes similar to those from the Upper Loam.

¹² Rep. on the Swanscombe Skull in *Jnl. Royal Anthropol. Inst.* lxviii. 17-98, pls. 1-6. References to the numerous earlier important papers on this site can be found in this report. For a more recent summary see *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* lxiii. 271-300.

¹³ *P.P.S.* ii. 57-58.

¹⁴ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* cxi. 283-307.

¹⁵ *American Jnl. Phys. Anthropol.* v. 15, no. 2, pp. 253-60; *Geol. Mag.* lxxxviii. 344-56.

¹⁶ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, iii. 1-6.

¹⁷ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xxiii. 102-11.

The stages in the fall of the river during the Riss Glaciation are not yet clear, but the glaciation is known to have had two peaks of cold with slightly milder conditions between,¹⁸ during which the river would presumably have risen slightly. The next well-marked stage is that of the Taplow Terrace, which is generally dated to the rise of the sea in the Last Interglacial, Riss/Würm. It is possible, however, that there are more terraces between the Boyn Hill and the Taplow: there are, for example, gravels at intermediate heights at Grays Thurrock¹⁹ and Ilford (Essex),²⁰ which may represent short halts in the rise and fall of the river; but their exact position on the cycles of change is still uncertain. From the former came a Clactonian industry, possibly slightly later typologically than that of the Lower Gravels of Swanscombe and the buried Channel at Clacton-on-Sea, and from the latter fauna which suggests a stage within the same (Mindel/Riss) Interglacial as the Swanscombe Gravels.

The Taplow stage is represented in the lower Thames by thick deposits of brickearth, which are assumed to have been the result of either estuarine conditions or a very slow-running stream. These deposits are clearly seen at Crayford²¹ and Ebbsfleet (Kent).²² The industry from these brickearths is Levalloisian of a rather late type. In Baker's Hole,²³ just east of Swanscombe, Levalloisian has also been found, associated with hand-axes.²⁴ At present there is some uncertainty as to the age of this material. These brickearths have generally been considered as being of Taplow age, that is the Last Interglacial or Riss/Würm, and the material from Baker's Hole even earlier, the solifluction deposits from which they came being attributed to a stage of the Riss Glaciation.²⁵ The dating of the early Levalloisian to Riss has been advocated for many years by some French prehistorians.²⁶ But more recent work has cast doubt on such a high antiquity for the Levalloisian at Baker's Hole,²⁷ and the evidence that the Levalloisian is earlier than the Last Interglacial is open to question. In northern France the Levalloisian continues into the first and possibly into the second stage of the Last Würm Glaciation.

In Buckinghamshire the terrace complexes are more clearly defined than in the lower Thames, and the archaeological content of many of them is well known. The complete succession of terraces is outlined in the previous section, and only those terraces which contain archaeological material will be discussed here. In the Middle Thames area no archaeological material has been found in a terrace earlier than the Boyn Hill. Following work at Burnham Beeches,²⁸ Furze Platt near Maidenhead (Berks.), and Lent Rise near Taplow,²⁹ the Boyn Hill Terrace is generally thought to represent at least two stages. The upper or original Boyn Hill is at approximately 180–5 ft. O.D. or 103–8 ft. above the river. There is, however, about 20 ft. below, a further terrace which is visible at Furze Platt, Lent Rise, and at Baker's Farm south of Farnham Royal. Originally these two gravel spreads were mapped without distinction as Boyn Hill, but the archaeological content of the two series differs considerably. The upper series at East Burnham contained derived hand-axes which typologically resemble those from the Upper Loam at Swanscombe. In the lower stage at Furze Platt, Lent Rise, and Baker's Farm the material is unrolled and is similar to the Middle Acheulian from the Middle Gravels at Swanscombe, and is clearly earlier than Burnham. It has recently been argued that the material from the gravels of the higher stage represents a sweeping of the area, possibly

¹⁸ F. E. Zeuner, *The Pleistocene Period*, 210–12.

¹⁹ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* lxxviii. 159–77.

²⁰ *Ibid.* xvi. 271–81.

²¹ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* xxxvi. 544–8.

²² *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii. 67–92.

²³ *Ibid.* lxii. 515–32.

²⁴ *Nature*, clvi. 51.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *L'Anthropologie*, xlii. 45.

²⁷ *Nature*, clvi. 51.

²⁸ *Antiq. Jnl.* xix. 166–81.

²⁹ *Ibid.* xx. 245–71.

the result of considerable erosion due to cold conditions, and that, archaeologically, the equivalent of the Swanscombe Middle Gravels are the Furze Platt and Lent Rise terraces.³⁰ It is already known that following the deposition of the Upper Loam at Swanscombe there was a period of intense erosion which gave rise to the solifluction deposits which are referred to as the Upper Gravels, and it is tempting to equate the erosion on the higher of the Boyn Hill terraces to the same cold phase.

At Iver³¹ several pits lying at a lower level than those of Furze Platt and Lent Rise were investigated. Here was a poorly-sorted gravel with derived hand-axes of the same type as the Upper Loam and the derived specimens from East Burnham. The composition of these Iver gravels suggests that they were the result of intense erosion which brought material into the river, which it was unable to sort in the ordinary way. It thus seems clear that following the deposition of the Furze Platt and Lent Rise gravels there was here, as in the lower Thames, a period of marked erosion, which is probably due to one of the stages of the Riss Glaciation.

Immediately above the river gravel at Iver, shown particularly clearly at Mansion Lane Pit,³² is a solifluction deposit, followed by two clearly separated brickearths, containing Late Levalloisian.³³

It has been suggested that the Lower Boyn Hill Terrace and the deposits at Iver should be grouped as one terrace, the Lynch Hill, which should be considered as extending across the Colne into west Middlesex.³⁴ The marked difference in the archaeological content of the Lower Boyn Hill and Iver, the former with unrolled Middle Acheulian hand-axes of Swanscombe Middle Gravel type, and the latter with hand-axes of Swanscombe Upper Loam type, rolled, with earlier material obviously derived from the Lower Boyn Hill Terrace, suggests that this grouping is not justified.

At the type locality at Taplow the so-called 50-ft. terrace is clearly defined, and it is also well marked between Maidenhead and Cookham (Berks.). Very little archaeological material has come out of the gravels of this terrace. Finds, particularly from the Taplow district, consist of hand-axes and flakes which have been derived from the older gravels where these lie above the terrace. The Taplow Terrace deposits lie on chalk and consist of well-sorted sands and gravels at the base, with river gravels above. Clearly distinguishable from them is a mass of ill-sorted and ill-washed material, which appears to have resulted from a hill wash probably due to extensive erosion. There is evidence of frozen soil action at the junction between the solifluction deposit and the underlying river gravel. Above the solifluction is a brickearth, part of which has been subject to weathering. At Langley Levallois material has been found in the brickearth.³⁵

As far as the evidence from Buckinghamshire goes there appears to have been a well-defined terrace of the same age as the 100-ft. terrace at Swanscombe with the same archaeological material, Middle Acheulian. Following the formation of this terrace, there appears to have been a drop in the river-level to an unknown extent accompanied, as far as can be seen, by a period of considerable erosion. This erosion appears to have taken place immediately after the formation of the Upper Loam at Swanscombe, since material of this age occurs in the gravels at Burnham and Iver. The next well-marked stage in the rise of the river is represented by the gravels of the Taplow Terrace, which, except for derived material, has no archaeological content, although faunal remains have been found at the base of the river gravels. This Taplow stage was in turn followed by a period of solifluction with signs of frozen soil action, the whole capped by a brickearth,

³⁰ Ibid. xli. 154-85.

³¹ Ibid. xvi. 420-43.

³² Ibid. pl. 81.

³³ *Records of Bucks.* xvi. 274-87.

³⁴ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* lviii. 294-339.

³⁵ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, v. 297-8.

which at Langley yielded Levalloisian of the same type as that from Crayford. A late Levalloisian was also found in the two stages of brickearth at Iver, so there is a possibility that these two series of brickearths, Taplow and Iver, are of approximately the same age. Following the deposition of these brickearths, presumably the lowest of the Flood Plain terraces of the Middle Thames was laid down, but this has not produced any archaeological material in the Middle Thames.

Into this archaeological sequence the material from Middlesex can, to some extent, be fitted. The amount of material which can be attributed to the High Terrace is small, and only stray pieces have been found. Allen Brown collected implements from the Town Pit, Hillingdon, at an altitude of 177 ft., and although this is higher than the general level of this terrace in the area, there is no reason to suppose that they did not come from this terrace. Brown also found a hand-axe on the lower slopes of Castlebar Hill, Ealing, which also belongs to the same terrace.

The Boyn Hill Terrace through London is much denuded and no implements have been found in quantity, as at Swanscombe and in Buckinghamshire. The locality of many of the hand-axes which have been found in the past is not clearly marked, so it is not possible to attribute them with any accuracy to the Boyn Hill Terrace. There are several specimens in the Sturge Collection from the higher ground of North London. One specimen from Pentonville is a small ovate with a markedly twisted edge resembling those from Burnham, Iver, and the Upper Loam at Swanscombe.³⁶ It appears from this that the erosion phase which followed the deposition of the Boyn Hill Terrace in the Middle Thames also occurred in the London area. The extensive finds made by Worthington Smith came from a lower level than that of the Boyn Hill Terrace, and what he refers to as the 'Palaeolithic floor' ranges from 50-70 ft. O.D. This floor, according to Smith, covers a wide area, Stoke Newington Common, Abney Park Cemetery, and Clapton, and he further claimed that it extended well into Hertfordshire, and eastward across the River Lea.³⁷ Although there is a wide variation in height over this area, the general pattern of the sections is very uniform. At the base of the deposits is a coarse gravel with a surface about 65-70 ft. O.D. A feature of these gravels is the large blocks of sandstone, some weighing as much as 5 cwt., and material derived from Hertfordshire and the Lower Greensand of Kent. These large blocks and the foreign stones suggest the breakdown of a glacial drift, probably that underlying the Boyn Hill gravels at Hornchurch (Essex).³⁸ The Stoke Newington gravels have produced rolled hand-axes at the base and less-rolled specimens on the surface of the gravels. Separating these gravels from Worthington Smith's 'floor' are bands of sands and clays with land and fresh-water shells. The floor, only a few inches thick, contains hand-axes and flakes as well as hammer-stones, and is undoubtedly a working floor, covering, if Worthington Smith is correct, a large area. Above the floor is evidence of very cold conditions. In many places the floor is disturbed by frost action resulting in marked festooning and frost cracks. These festoons and cracks are overlaid by what Worthington Smith describes as 'contorted drift', which is clearly a solifluction deposit.

The material from these deposits falls into two groups, at least at Stoke Newington. The rolled series is similar to that from the Middle Gravels at Swanscombe, that from the 'floor' is also Acheulian, but characterized by very small hand-axes made of pebbles, sometimes only two inches long. The flora from the floor is temperate and there is little doubt that this deposit is in the same Interglacial as Swanscombe, although possibly a little later than the Middle Gravels. Worthington Smith assumed that the 'floor' was

³⁶ R. A. Smith, *The Sturge Collection*, fig. 283 (61).

³⁸ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* i. 443-52.

³⁷ Smith, *Man*.

one geological unit covering a wide area in East London, but the morphology of the ground is against this, as there is a very marked fall between Stoke Newington and Clapton, clearly indicating at least two terraces. This is also borne out by the archaeology since Lower Clapton has produced typical Levalloisian.

From western Middlesex, particularly from West Drayton and Yiewsley, a considerable amount of material is available of which the largest series is the Galloway Rice Collection in the London Museum. West Drayton, Yiewsley, and the adjoining hamlet of Dawley lie on a well-defined terrace at about 100 ft. O.D. Both the gravel and the overlying brickearth have been dug commercially for many years, and several of the old pits are still being worked.

This terrace is generally referred to as the Upper Taplow Terrace or Taplow Terrace I to distinguish it from the main Taplow Terrace below. This terminology is somewhat confusing as there is no connexion between the two terraces, but in the early geological mapping they were both attributed to the Taplow stage as defined in the Middle Thames. In spite of the vast amount of material which has come from this area there has never been a definitive publication on the deposits.³⁹ These consist of three main units: a river gravel at the base covered by a solifluction deposit containing much chalk and in turn covered by brickearth. In some pits, for example Pipkin's at West Drayton, the junction between the solifluction and the brickearth is very irregular, and clearly the solifluction deposit was subjected to considerable erosion before the deposition of the brickearth. At Eastwood's Pit, also at West Drayton, this irregularity is not so marked.

The artifacts in the Galloway Rice Collection are marked with the pits from which they came, and can be divided broadly into four groups. The first consists of slightly-rolled flakes which are similar to the Clactonian series from the Lower Gravels at Swanscombe, and the second is a group of slightly-rolled hand-axes which belong to the same Middle Acheulian as the Middle Gravels at Swanscombe, and the Lower Boyn Hill series from Furze Platt and Lent Rise. These Middle Acheulian hand-axes are derived from the breakdown of a section of the Boyn Hill Terrace, which must have passed to the north at a higher level than West Drayton; as the rolling is generally slight they have not travelled very far. The remaining two groups are both un-rolled. One is a series of hand-axes in mint condition which are typologically later than the Middle Acheulian but do not resemble the later material from the Upper Loam. On the evidence from the Somme in northern France, where a very complete series of Acheulian has been found, these hand-axes appear to be later than the ovates from the Upper Loam, and they resemble forms which, in France, occur towards the end of the Last Interglacial. The fourth series is typical Levalloisian, very like the material from Crayford and Ebbsfleet. There are, however, a few pieces which are slightly rolled and patinated, suggesting the possibility of there being two groups of Levalloisian.

The position of these four groups in the deposit has been clearly stated by Allen Brown.⁴⁰ All of them come either from the gravel itself or from its surface; nothing was found in the unstratified solifluction deposit nor in the brickearth above. The absence of material from the brickearth is further confirmed by one of the gravel diggers, who supplied Galloway Rice with much of his material. Marsden, however, found a series of Levalloisian flakes, including one *in situ* 7-9 ft. from the surface,⁴¹ which, on the evidence of both sections illustrated by Allen Brown—Pipkin's and Eastward's pits—suggest that this material is from the solifluction gravel above the river deposits; or, in

³⁹ Brown, *Palaeo. Man.*

⁴⁰ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xiv. 163.

⁴¹ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, v. 297-8.

the case of Pipkin's Pit, possibly even from the base of the brickearth. He does not say which of the deposits was being dug at the time when he found the flakes.

Allen Brown found part of the skeleton of a mammoth at Southall, about 13 ft. below the surface at about 88 ft. O.D.⁴² The bones lay in what he describes as 'sandy loam between coarse stratified sandy gravel', the whole covered by about a foot of brickearth. It is not very clear from this description what the deposit was; in altitude it would belong to the same spread as that at West Drayton, in which case the mammoth, judging from the depth, would have been just above the river gravels. As the bones, however, were completely unabraded it is unlikely that they came from the river deposit. In addition to some hand-axes, there were, in association with the mammoth, flakes, which from Brown's description, are clearly Levalloisian.

Allen Brown's best-known sites are those at Creffield Road to the east of Ealing Common.⁴³ These pits were cut into a spread of gravel overlaid by brickearth. Above the brickearth and just below the present surface was a 'trail', an unsorted deposit suggesting a minor solifluction. At the base of the brickearth Allen Brown found what was clearly a Levalloisian working floor, with over four-hundred flakes in a very small area. The Levalloisian resembles that from Crayford, Ebbsfleet, Yiewsley, and Langley. From the gravels below came a series of small hand-axes, generally pear-shaped and often much rolled. Similar hand-axes have been found in other pits at Ealing and also in the pits at Hanwell, which are at approximately the same level. The date of these pear-shaped hand-axes is difficult to establish since knowledge of the Acheulian of the Thames Valley is still very incomplete. Similar examples occur in the Boyn Hill gravels but they are by no means typical, and the large forms, such as occur at Furze Platt and Lent Rise, are rare at Ealing and Hanwell. The few hand-axes which have been recorded from the Taplow Terrace are also of this type and, like the specimens from Ealing, heavily rolled. The Ealing and Hanwell gravels have not produced hand-axes of the Upper Loam type nor the markedly twisted ovates from Dartford, the Globe Pit, Greenhithe, or Rickson's Pit.⁴⁴ This twisted form is not found in any of the Yiewsley pits. At both Ealing and Hanwell there are rolled Levalloisian flakes, which in the case of the former must be earlier than the undisturbed floor at Creffield Road. On the basis of these rolled Levalloisian flakes, several workers have claimed that there are two distinct terraces in this area,⁴⁵ the higher and older being that of Yiewsley, Dawley, and Hayes, where there is no rolled Levalloisian, and the later terrace with rolled Levalloisian in the gravel, this terrace being represented by Ealing and Hanwell. There is also a series of rolled Levalloisian flakes from Brentford in the Cooke Collection in the London Museum, but their exact locality is not known. From an archaeological viewpoint the separation of these terraces into two distinct types cannot be proved conclusively, but the general evidence suggests that Yiewsley and Ealing/Hanwell are not the same, and until the date of the unrolled hand-axes from Yiewsley and the pear-shaped hand-axes is established this problem cannot be settled.

In 1872 Lane-Fox published the results of his work at Churchfield, Acton, and Brown's Orchard, Turnham Green.⁴⁶ The former area consisted of several pits with a surface height of 75-83 ft. O.D., on the average about 20 ft. below the deposits at Ealing. The deposits consist of sands and gravels resting on London Clay; only in the section at Chaucer Road was there any suggestion of a covering brickearth, and here it contains seams of white sand. The hand-axes from these gravels are rolled, and

⁴² *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* x. 361-72.

⁴³ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* xlii. 192-200.

⁴⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxxxiii. 67-92.

⁴⁵ *Antiq. Jnl.* xiv. 33-39.

⁴⁶ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* xxviii. 449-71.

resemble the pear-shaped specimens from Ealing and Hanwell. At Chaucer Road, however, unrolled flakes were found underneath the gravel in a thin seam of white, sandy clay which rests on the London Clay. Lane-Fox's material from Acton, now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, is not marked with the pits from which the individual pieces came, but the only unrolled flakes, clearly marked as coming from below the gravel, consist of typical Levalloisian flakes, similar to those from Creffield Road. If these are the flakes to which he refers in his report,⁴⁷ then clearly these gravels are later than those from Ealing, and this suggests that we are dealing with two distinct terraces, as Burchell has suggested.

In the Brown's Orchard pits, at a surface level of 24-29 ft. there were sands and gravels overlaid by brickearth, the whole resting on the London Clay. From the base of these gravels came remains of mammoth, hippopotamus, ox, horse, and deer.

It is clear that the archaeological pattern of Middlesex follows that of the adjoining areas very closely, although it is not always easy to make direct comparisons with deposits above and below stream. Even over a comparatively short distance, for example from Maidenhead to Gravesend, the terrace system is extremely complicated, largely because the terraces can be built up in two completely different ways. In the lower part of the river they are the result of eustatic change, an adjustment of the river profile to changes in sea-level. A high sea-level during warm interglacial conditions causes aggradation and terrace buildings; during cold or glacial periods the sea-level falls and the river degrades its bed, cutting down to a low level. The lowest point of this down-cutting is the bench on which the subsequent aggradation was built. In theory the benches and gravels should give a precise chronology, since cold and warm conditions are clearly indicated, but even in the lower Thames there are more benches than known cold phases.

Farther up-stream the problem is complicated by the fact that some of the terraces are the result of climatic as well as eustatic action. In the case of climatic terraces severe erosion fills the river with material which it is unable to sort, with the result that the river bed is aggraded, owing in this case to cold climatic conditions. In the middle and upper reaches of a river both climatic and eustatic terraces are formed, causing some confusion in the chronology. There is a further complication caused by lateral streams such as the Colne, Brent, and Lea, which are either cutting through the older Thames deposits or building terraces of their own, with altitudes related to their own profile and not to that of the Thames.

While it is generally conceded that it is the geological evidence which dates the archaeological material, in areas as confused as the middle reaches of the Thames the archaeological material is often the only means by which river deposits can be dated, although this is only possible if the archaeological sequence and its relative dating is known from more stable areas.

The major datum for the Thames from Maidenhead to Gravesend is the Lower Boyñ Hill Terrace, which is well represented throughout the whole stretch of the river, although rather eroded in the Middlesex section. The archaeological material from Furze Platt and Lent Rise is the same as that from the Middle Gravels at Swanscombe, which is dated on the fauna and its altitude to the Great Interglacial, Mindel/Riss. Similar material also occurs in the 30-m. terrace of the Somme, with the same fauna. The Lower Gravels and the Lower Loam of Swanscombe, belonging to the earlier part of the same Interglacial, have no demonstrable counterpart, either in Middlesex or Buckinghamshire, and the Clactonian of the Lower Grave or the slightly later

⁴⁷ Ibid.

material from Clacton-on-Sea have not been found as a separate horizon, although Clactonian flakes are frequently found in deposits in Buckinghamshire and Middlesex, as, for example, at Yiewsley and Stoke Newington.

At Swanscombe the Upper Loam produced hand-axes of a later type than those from the Middle Gravels, and in some respects these resemble those from Hoxne, which, on the evidence of the flora, belong to the Great Interglacial. The evidence from the Globe Pit, Dartford, and Craylands Lane suggests, however, that these hand-axe forms continued into the initial phases of the erosion of the Boyn Hill deposits, since these three sites are in channels cut into the older gravels. That the erosion phase continued is shown by the presence of this type of hand-axe, derived and rolled in the deposits at Burnham, Iver, and the filling of the Ancient Channel between Reading (Berks.) and Henley (Oxon.).⁴⁸

Following this major erosion phase, the archaeological and geological pattern is very confused, and our knowledge of the archaeological sequence is anything but precise. The erosional phase which appears to follow immediately after the final aggradation of the Great Interglacial is very probably due to the oncoming cold conditions of the Riss Glaciation, which, although in at least two parts, has left no tangible evidence by which its phases can be separated in the Thames basin.

In France the Last Interglacial was a period during which the later stages of the Acheulian, the Upper Acheulian, Micoquian, and Levalloisian industries developed. Up to the Second World War it was thought that the late Acheulian and the Levalloisian were two distinct industries, which if they ever came together did not do so until the later stages of the Last Interglacial. More recent work, however, has shown that such a separation is perhaps not so definite as was originally supposed, and that both the Upper Acheulian and the following Micoquian were both familiar with the Levalloisian technique, and that far from there being two clearly separated streams, there is in fact a very confused interchange of techniques and tool types. There are, in the Seine area, both an Upper Acheulian and Micoquian with lanceolate hand-axes, a flake element made with a Levalloisian technique, and a Levalloisian with cordiform hand-axes.⁴⁹

In the Seine area the Micoquian and the Levalloisian with cordiform hand-axes occur at the very end of the Last Interglacial and are immediately succeeded by the deposits of the first stage of the Last Glaciation, Würm I, represented in northern France by a loess deposit. The idea put forward by Breuil and Koslowski in 1931-4 that the Levallois began in the Riss Glaciation does not seem to be supported by the evidence.

If the recent view expressed by French prehistorians, particularly Bordes, is accepted,⁵⁰ then the archaeological pattern in England following the Great Interglacial becomes very much clearer, and the apparent absence of an Upper Acheulian in Britain, with its place taken by the early Levalloisian, ceases to be a reality, and much of the rather ambiguous Acheulian material takes its place in the Last Interglacial. The Great Interglacial finished with the Acheulian of the Upper Loam, with a possible slight continuation into the oncoming glaciation, and with the end of the Riss erosional phase a new cycle begins, which, in the French terminology, would be classed as Upper Acheulian and Micoquian.

In France both the Upper Acheulian and the later Micoquian made use of the Levalloisian or prepared core technique, as it is better called, and traces of this technique are discernible as far back as the Middle Acheulian at Baker's Farm, and also at Rickson's Pit, both of which have produced rough prepared cores, and there is a suggestion of a

⁴⁸ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 1-27.

⁴⁹ *Arch. del'Inst. de Paléontologie Humaine*, xxvi. 1-472; *L'Anthropologie*, lvi. 1-39, 405-52.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

similar technique, although not so clear, in the Middle Gravels at Swanscombe and possibly Dorney Wood (Bucks.).⁵¹

In the Seine deposits this continuation of Acheulian hand-axes and flakes from prepared cores is well established and continues throughout the Last Interglacial, where at the end it is succeeded by the typical Levalloisian industries either with or without small cordiform hand-axes.

In Britain the geological position of this Levalloisian with cordiform hand-axes is still unsettled. These hand-axes are an integral part of the Levalloisian of Baker's Hole, and similar hand-axes occur at Frindsbury, near Rochester (Kent). These forms are also present in the unrolled series from Yiewsley, but at this last site it is not easy to separate them from the lanceolate types, which on the French evidence, belong to the Micoquian or last phase of the Acheulian. Small oval hand-axes also occur in the lower brickearths at Crayford. A slightly later form has been found in the Gipping valley (Suff.), with the Levalloisian at Ebbsfleet, and also at Iver.

There is only one hand-axe in the Levalloisian from Creffield Road.⁵² In the upper brickearth at Iver there is none, and the same applies to the material from the base of the gravels at Churchfield, Acton. This Levalloisian is, in France, later than the Levalloisian with hand-axes, and there is considerable evidence that this stage continued into the Last Glaciation, possibly even as late as the second cold phase, Würm II. If this dating is accepted, then it appears that the terrace at Yiewsley with the Late Acheulian on the surface belongs to the Last Interglacial, and that the solifluction deposits and the brick-earth above belong to a stage of the Last Glaciation. It is also possible that the Coombe Rock which overlies the Levalloisian with hand-axes at Baker's Hole also belongs to the Last Glaciation.

The Middlesex material so far discussed has come from the terrace deposits along the southern part of the county. This treatment has been necessary on chronological grounds, since it is only because of its connexion with these terraces that the material can be dated. Several other localities have produced implements, but these are generally stray finds, many of which are listed by Vulliamy⁵³ and Worthington Smith.

The implements from Middlesex are well represented in local collections in the county. In addition to its own collection the British Museum has that of Allen Sturge; the Galloway Rice Collection is in the London Museum as are also the Cooke and Layton collections. The Sadler Collection is in the Gunnersbury Museum.

THE MESOLITHIC AGE

The foregoing section has described the industrial products of man in the Lower Palaeolithic stages of his cultural development. So far as the evidence and available records allow, it has been shown how these relics have presented themselves in Middlesex. For comparisons and correlations, however, it has been necessary to consider data from neighbouring counties. In these, as in Middlesex, the dominant importance of the Pleistocene deposits laid down in the Thames Basin has been stressed in the two preceding sections.

The sediments referable to the last phases of the Pleistocene epoch and to the fluctuating passage from Late-Glacial times to the Holocene, or geological Recent, are well known for their yield of vestiges of plants and animal bones.⁵⁴ Many of these represent

⁵¹ *Records of Bucks.* xvi. 274-87.

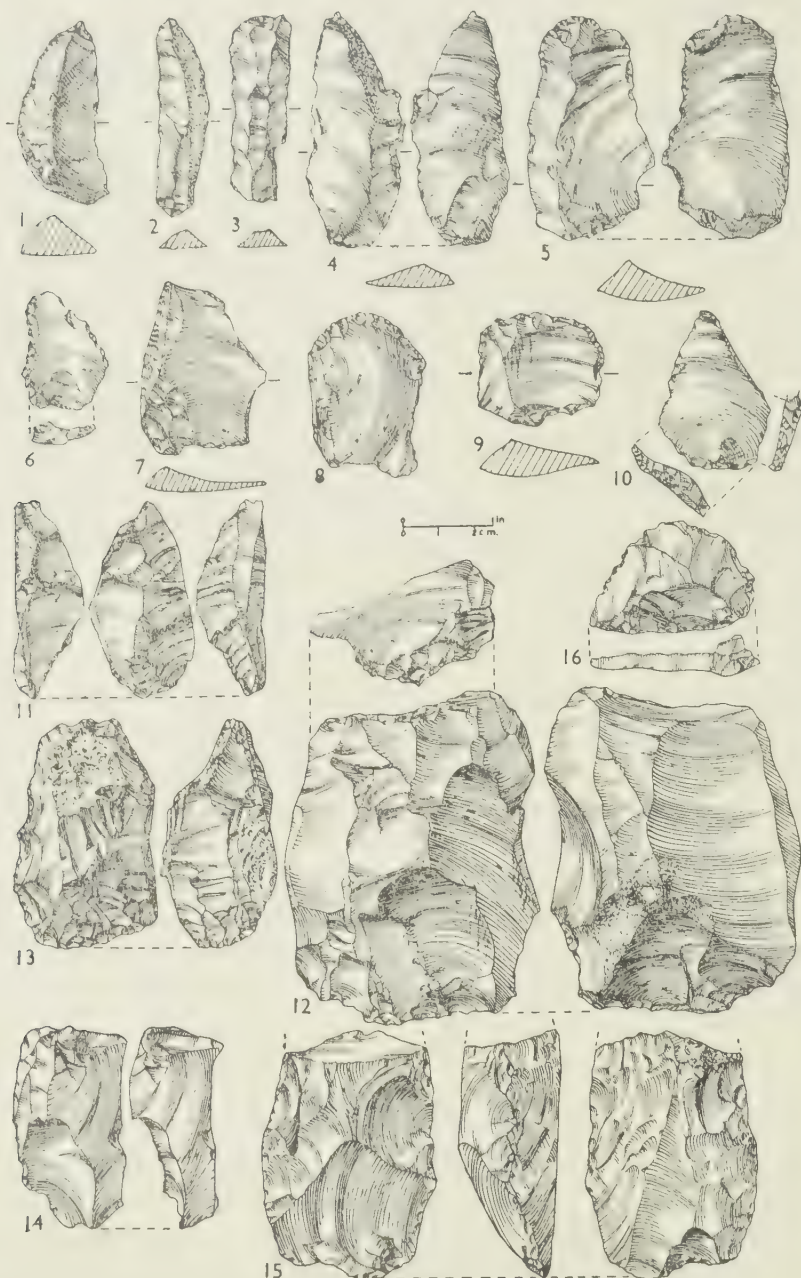
⁵² Smith, *Sturge Collection*, 84, fig. 361.

⁵³ *A.M.L.*

⁵⁴ *Mems. Geol. Survey, Lond. District* (1922), 51-52.

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species commonly linked with man of the late Old Stone Age and his Upper Palaeolithic industry. To this period, however, no artifact can so far be assigned confidently. Yet these beds have long been studied, particularly in the tributary valleys, especially locally along the Lea⁵⁵ and Colne which delimit Middlesex to the east and west respectively.



PRODUCTS OF FLINT INDUSTRY FROM DEWE'S FARM, SOUTH HAREFIELD. 1-5, flakes and blades; 6-10, scrapers; 11, graver; 12, core; 13-14, trimmed cores; 15, lower part of *tranchet*.

While the ascribing of any artifacts to the handiwork of Upper Palaeolithic man must in the meantime be at best tentative, it is otherwise with implements fashioned by his Mesolithic or Middle Stone Age successors who continued in the old Palaeolithic economy. Many of their industrial products have been recovered in Middlesex in datable conditions from Holocene beds overlying late Pleistocene deposits. For comparative

⁵⁵ *Quart. Jnl. Geol. Soc.* lxxvii. 32-63; lxxviii. 213-51; lxxi. 164-82; lxxix. 603-5.

material, however, it is again necessary to go outside the county. This permits the assessment of some past discoveries, until quite recently too readily dismissed or forgotten. The most decisive relics are clutches of flint implements found stratified in the Lea valley at Broxbourne (Herts.),⁵⁶ and beside the Colne at Sandstone in Iver parish (Bucks.).⁵⁷ The aspect of these groups and the distinctiveness of some of the included forms suggest that the origins of the producing industries do not lie in the Upper Palaeolithic of England but in that of eastern Europe, which developed into the Maglemosean culture of the Baltic region between c. 7000 and 5000 B.C., towards the end of the Pre-Boreal and during the succeeding Boreal climatic phase.

The Mesolithic Maglemosean culture comprised the stone, bone, and wood industries of hunters, fowlers, and fishers who pursued their activities and camped in the fens along the shores of the great fresh-water Ancylus Lake.⁵⁸ This water-body occupied the Baltic depression about the end of the Pre-Boreal and for the whole of the Boreal climatic phase. With the concomitant lowering of sea-level outside, the bed of the North Sea was upraised, thus extending the European plain and man's hunting-grounds, as well as bringing into being land connexions between the Continent and Britain. True, there were water-courses and marshes, but in so familiar and uniform an environment these were negotiated by migrant Maglemosean bands using boats of bark or skins on light frames of wood. Some of these food-collectors reached the coastal tracts north of the Humber and pushed up our south-eastern estuaries and rivers. Among these the Thames and its tributaries, with their lower reaches of undrained fens and swamps, provided all the game and fish that the colonists needed, while the ridges and islands of gravel were good spots for camping.

There then obtained a dry continental climate of warm summers and cold winters. Pollen-analysis of the peat overlying the Mesolithic remains from our tributary valleys shows remarkable conformity with statistics from beds in Baltic lands. It indicates that the principal trees during the Boreal climatic phase were pine, birch, and hazel.

Just within Buckinghamshire, in Denham parish, a little over a mile north-east of Sandstone, and so near Uxbridge for the site to have been long and erroneously referred to this Middlesex town, A. S. Kennard⁵⁹ and F. N. Haward⁶⁰ bared a prolific and varied flint industry that compares strictly with the collections found in much the same circumstances at Broxbourne and near Iver. Farther north in the valley of the Colne at West Hyde, in Hertfordshire but close to the Middlesex boundary, there have also been found similar specimens under and in the lower part of a compact, clayey, peaty layer resting upon the flood-plain gravel of late Pleistocene age.⁶¹

Entirely in Middlesex the immediately neighbouring Harefield Moor adds its important quota of Mesolithic relics to testify to the occupation of gravel ridges, fens, and ancient lake-margins by bands of hunters, fowlers, and fishers.⁶² Sites here have yielded assemblages of facies identical with those from this reach of the Colne valley upstream in Hertfordshire and downstream in Buckinghamshire.

One set, probably earlier than Late Boreal, was collected from under peat in Dewe's (now Hartley's) Pit, a short distance south of Harefield Wharf within the bounds of the Moor. Another (fig. on page 22) comes from a little farther south on the now intensively cultivated and deeply ploughed, narrow, flat strip belonging to Dewe's Farm, between the base of the sloping ground to the east and the much enlarged

⁵⁶ *Jnl. Royal Anthropol. Inst.* lxiv. 101-28.

⁵⁷ *Southern Beam* (Portsmouth, 1959), x (7), 18-21; x (8), 10-14.

⁵⁸ J. G. D. Clark, *Mesolithic Settlement in N. Europe*, 86.

⁵⁹ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xviii. 188-90; xix. 95.

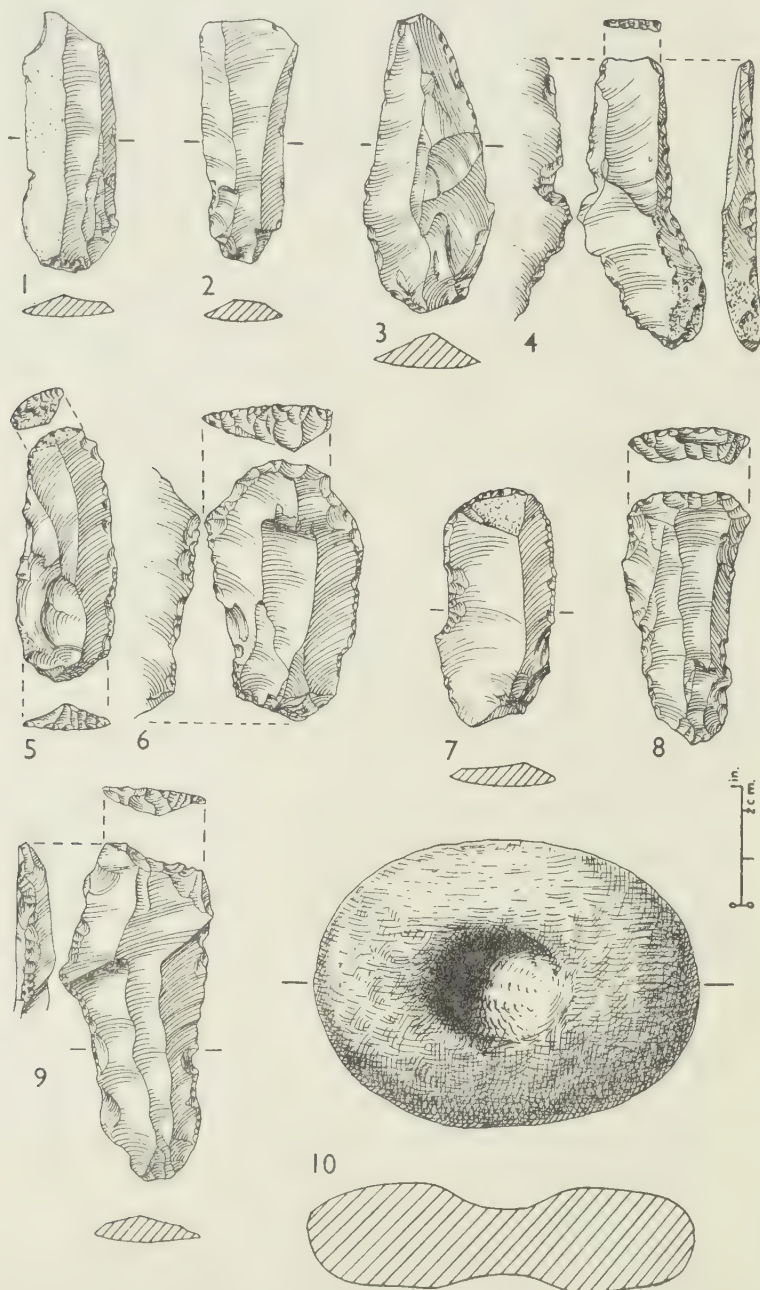
⁶⁰ J. G. D. Clark, *Mesolithic Age in Britain*, 67; *Record of Bucks.* xvii (3), 143-81.

⁶¹ *T.L.M.A.S.* xx (3), 103, 117.

⁶² *Ibid.* 117-23.

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or reformed mere. Characteristic artifacts are plain, utilized, and edge-trimmed flakes and blades, various scrapers and graters, residual cores, and *tranchets* in Maglemosean style with typical waste trimming-flakes therefrom. Shapely microliths, such as those from Broxbourne, Iver, and Denham (Boyer's, the so-called Uxbridge site), have not been found, but simple blades dressed in the microlithic manner serve to range the series from Harefield with these other industries.



ARTIFACTS OF FLINT AND OTHER STONE FROM HACKNEY BROOK. 1-3, blades; 4, graver; 5-8, scrapers; 9, multi-purpose implement; 10 quartzite pebble with countersunk hollows,

Yet another place in Middlesex provides stratified stone implements of Mesolithic date. A point of peculiar interest is that they are from alluvial deposits bordering one of the buried streams of London⁶³ The discovery was made near the Hackney Brook about eighty years ago by J. E. Greenhill⁶⁴ who frequently collaborated with Worthington

⁶³ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* viii. 336-43.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* ii (1883); typescript copies of lectures to Hackney Microscop. & Nat. Hist. Soc. in Hackney Central Libr. P. 89. G.

Smith in the field of Stone Age inquiries. Found under peat and over gravel beside this credibly geologically late minor feeder of the Lea, the suite of artifacts includes fine parallel-sided blades, a good range of scrapers, cores, and a quartzite pebble with a countersunk hollow ground in each of its opposed flat faces (fig. on page 24).⁶⁵ The last exactly matches Maglemosean examples from western Baltic lands.

Worked flints from another riparian site must be noticed because more satisfactorily datable. They were recovered by W. J. L. Abbott seventy years ago from an old land-surface revealed near the Admiralty in Spring Gardens at the north-east corner of St. James's Park,⁶⁶ where there flowed a distributary channel of the Tyburn. The artifacts, which were found with floral and animal vestiges, peat, and snail shells, are demonstrably of Mesolithic age. They occurred well above the late Pleistocene flood-plain gravel and underlay a deposit containing animal remains that can be assigned only to the climatic optimum of the Atlantic phase, after 5000 B.C. Hence the implements are referable at the latest to early Atlantic times, although more probably they were fashioned during the preceding Boreal climatic phase.⁶⁷

These groups of implements from the tributary valley of the Thames are not the only evidence of the Maglemosean penetration into the area in Early Post-Glacial times. Distinctive stone, red deer antler, and bone objects show this as well as the survival of Mesolithic tradition therein. Although the relics in museums and other collections usually lack stratigraphical indications, their number suggests a wide distribution and the persistence into Late Atlantic and Sub-Boreal times of the technological influences that first reached our region during the Boreal and early in the Atlantic climatic phase. Most were retrieved in the 19th century when the navigation channel of the Thames was being widened and deepened by dredging,⁶⁸ but utilitarian excavation has also revealed deposits near the main and tributary streams. Many may well derive from sites of the kind suggested by the comparable artifacts found stratified.⁶⁹

The right bank of the Thames has also yielded Mesolithic remains, the most significant items being the pieces of barbed bone points from Wandsworth and Battersea.⁷⁰ Hardly less important, however, are the characteristically scarred flint *tranchets* which are identical with those belonging to the industries under peat in the valleys of the Lea and Colne. The definitely Maglemosean forms (fig. on page 26), as from Brentford (no. 1) and Staines (no. 2), are discoloured brown and show glazing on the scars and roughening of the ridges. These alterations distinguish the implements from the virtually unchanged 'Thames picks' recovered from the bed and margins of the river, and even from stratified sediments.

Many of these artifacts, being no doubt later than Boreal, suggest that they are the products of Mesolithic riparian industries that arose during the Atlantic climatic phase, from about 5000 B.C. Land-sinking and the submerging of the territory previously reclaimed from the North Sea severed connexions with the Continent and, deprived of reinforcing elements from abroad, the exponents of Mesolithic culture in south-eastern Britain developed their own independent industries. In the Thames Basin this growth would belong to the complex represented by artifacts found under peat of Late Atlantic age in the estuary of the Medway at Lower Halstow (Kent),⁷¹ and regarded as the counterpart of the Ertebølle kitchen midden culture evolved from the Maglemosean on the shores of the Litorina Sea. This body of increasing volume and salinity, eventually to become the Baltic Sea, was formed towards the end of the Boreal period

⁶⁵ *T.L.M.A.S.* xx (3), 124-5.

⁶⁶ *Proc. Geol. Assoc.* xii, 346-56.

⁶⁷ *T.L.M.A.S.* xx (3), 126-8.

⁶⁸ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi, 69-98.

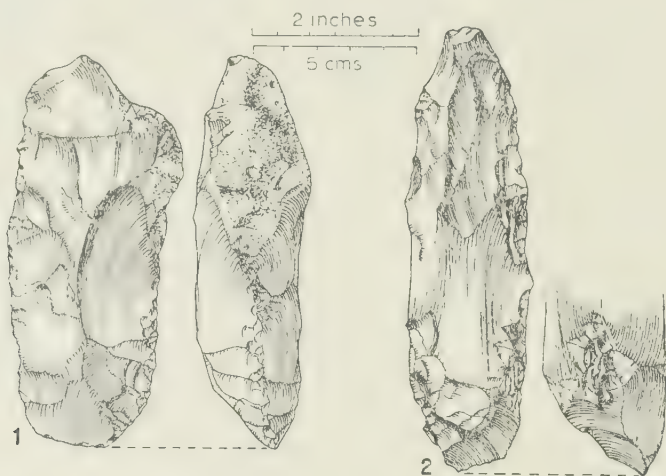
⁶⁹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxx, 31.

⁷⁰ Clark, *Mesolithic Age*, 18.

⁷¹ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, v (1), 73-78; v (2), 217-23; v (3), 288-96.

when the waxing outside sea broke down the sill enclosing the fresh-water Ancylyus Lake at its western end. With the concomitant marine transgression of our coasts, the distension of the lower reaches of main and tributary rivers in south-eastern Britain, and the resulting creation of the English Channel, our present island history began.

The pollen-analysis of peats accumulated at this time, including some that in Middlesex and Hertfordshire record the submergence, evidences the contemporary rise of such deciduous trees as oak, lime, elm, and alder to the detriment of pine and birch in a warm and damp oceanic climate. The subsequent drier and less warm Sub-Boreal phase, from about 2500 B.C. onward, witnessed the coming of food-producing and pottery-making Neolithic and early metal folk, who fashioned tools for dealing with forests and for building much heavier boats than those used by their lightly equipped Mesolithic food-collecting predecessors.



Flint *tranchets* dredged from the Thames at Brentford (no. 1) and Staines (no. 2)

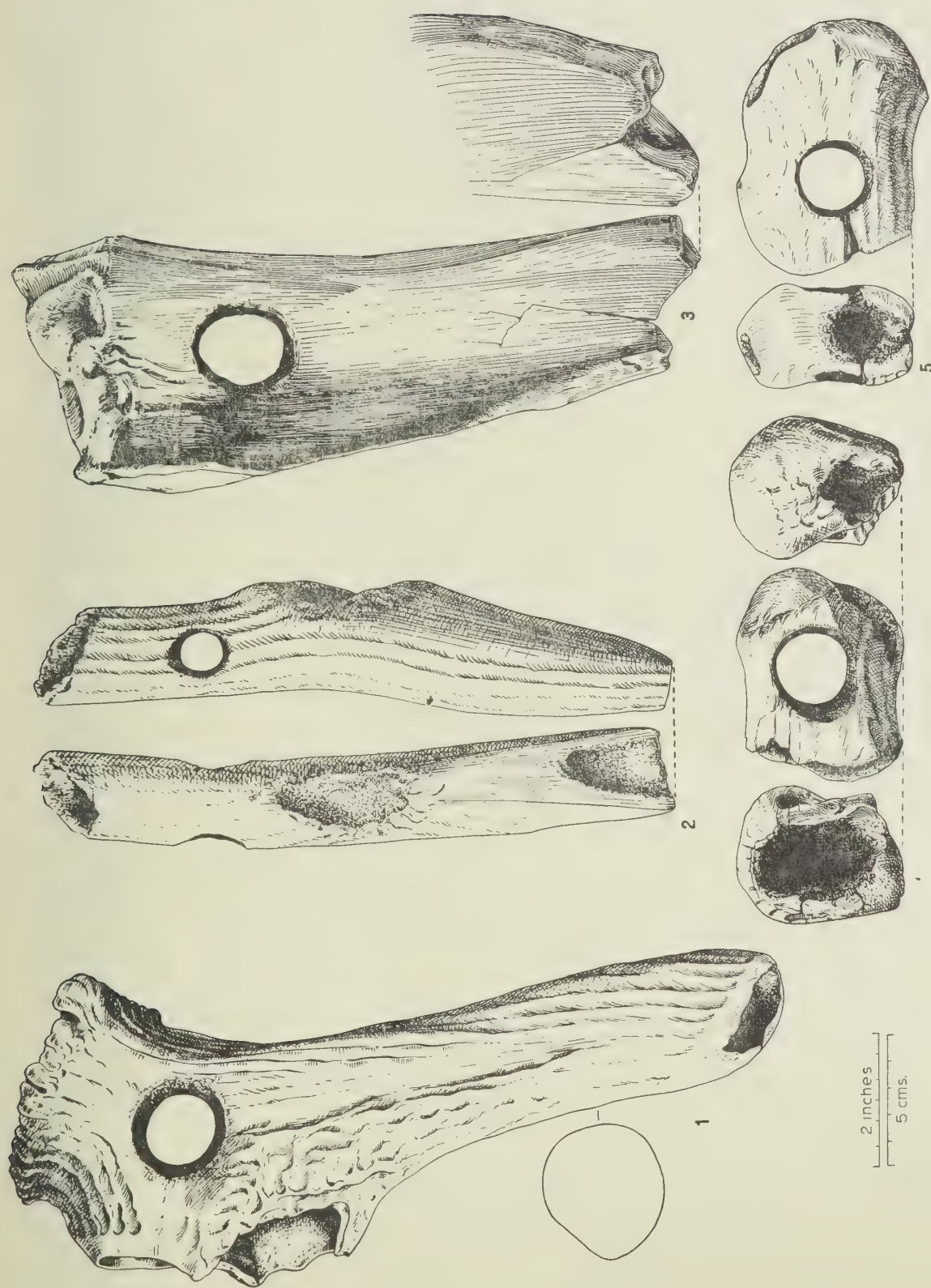
The dating of antler and bone artifacts⁷² is precarious because specimens contrast in hue from grey to brown, vary in condition from hard and mineralized to powdery and flaky, and may look ancient or quite fresh. Small groups and trimmed atypical implements occur, but adze- and axe-like implements of red deer antler perforated for hafting follow Baltic precedents (fig. on page 27, nos. 1, 2). An exceptional specimen still retaining a stick inserted handle-wise in the hole bored for it was found in the Thames at Hammersmith.⁷³ Among other rarities there is the greater part of a heavy holed tool improvised in the bone of the extinct great ox (fig. on page 27, no. 3). It is believed to have come from the Thames at Kew Bridge together with an adze of red deer antler. Twickenham has produced a similarly executed axe-like tool. Recorded specimens of possibly later date include an antler adze with an elliptical perforation from a site excavated near the Walbrook at Finsbury Circus.⁷⁴ Other places from which such implements have been reported are Staines, Eel Pie Island, the backwater at Brentford Ait, Strand-on-the-Green, Putney Bridge, and Crab Tree.

To these can be added a few perforated tools in short pieces of red deer antler comprising the crown or burr, socketed to hold a component (fig. on page 27, no. 4), or unscooped and intended for use simply as a hammer (fig. on page 27, no. 5). There are such specimens from the Thames at Eel Pie Island, Twickenham, and similar Baltic Maglemosean forms have been noted from Kempton-Hampton, Isleworth, and

⁷² For detailed consideration of these bony relics see *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 69-98; *T.L.M.A.S.* xx (3), 132-9.

⁷³ Acquired long ago by the City of Liverpool Museums, this piece was lost in an air-raid.

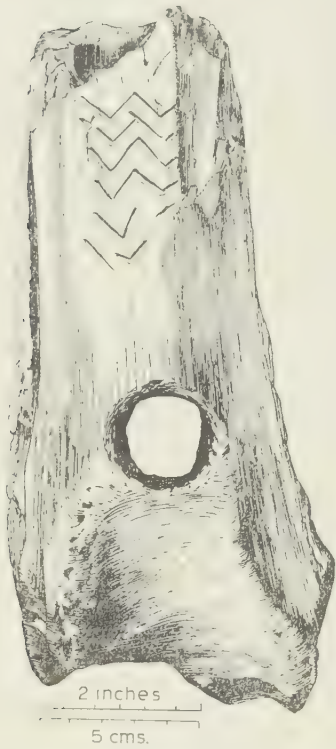
⁷⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxxi. 94.



MESOLITHIC ANTLER AND BONE ARTIFACTS. 1, supposedly from Kew Bridge; 2, Twickenham; 3, Kew Bridge; 4, Thames at Eel Pie Island; 5, Thames at Isleworth

Brentford. A horn hammer plugged in its open end with bits of the same material is known from Hampton Court. Preparatively notched pieces of antler and other partly-made bony implements have also been frequently retrieved from the main river.

Much more spectacular is a cylindrically perforated holder from Hammersmith (fig. on page 28). Executed in the radius of an ox, probably aurochs, this object emphasizes still more strongly the peculiarly Baltic Mesolithic facies evident in series from the Thames. Outstanding by reason of the characteristic chevron ornamentation incised on



Ornamented bone holder dredged from the Thames at Hammersmith

the body, it is paralleled in Britain only by a piece of red deer antler found at a great depth near Romsey (Hants).⁷⁵

The left bank of the Thames, thus credited with one of the few true works of Stone Age art in Britain, has yielded other ornamented objects made in thick pieces of stag's horn. They are a hammer from Teddington, and a sleeve or holder believed to have come from the alluvium at Brentford, together with another which is not scooped out but perforated for a haft. All three bear a geometrically faceted lattice pattern,⁷⁶ apparently achieved by pecking and rubbing. It resembles the designs scratched on some bone and antler objects from Maglemosean sites in south Sweden and Denmark, and thought to be the work of fishers inspired by their nets. The scheme is of Baltic origin, but the age of these small implements from the Thames cannot be determined exactly. On the analogy of comparably decorated ground stone hammers from various places in Britain, a Neolithic or even Bronze Age ascription would be quite reasonable.

Odd artifacts labelled 'Mesolithic' have been noticed in museum and private collections of Middlesex finds. Inquiry, however, shows them to have been selected from unassociated flints turned up by the plough and spade. Few are more than merely suggestive, although there can be mentioned a fine end-scraper on a parallel-sided blade

from Enfield and another steeply trimmed blade-tool from Winchmore Hill, Edmonton. These are forms often noticed in clutches that exhibit traits of Mesolithic workmanship and tradition from open and upland areas. Such relics indicate that food-collecting bands did not restrict themselves to fens. Wandering over higher and treeless areas, the hunters would tend to make smaller and lighter implements than they did in wooded parts. These high grounds in our region had not yet been subjected to any important natural alteration since Mesolithic strains were first developed in the Early Post-Glacial period. Hence stratified beds were not formed, and it is clear that relics of successive peoples became mixed on the surface. Of course in this generalization such distinctive discoveries as working-floors and dwelling-sites are excluded. Were it a rule, however, that objects found out of their proper context should be dismissed, then much of archaeological value would be lost. In this connexion one takes into account some relics of undoubted Neolithic and Bronze Age manufacture that testify to the adoption of Mesolithic forms and methods. Among other things such products imply the contacts of a native food-collecting population with food-producing people and their new arts.

⁷⁵ *B.M. Quart.* 121, viii (4), pp. 144-5.

⁷⁶ *Archaeologia*, lxi. 1-30.

THE NEOLITHIC AGE⁷⁷

The first Neolithic settlers reached Britain about the 4th millennium B.C.,⁷⁸ but for the thousand or so years which elapsed before the appearance of bronze there is little evidence to supply an absolute, let alone a relative, chronology for the different cultural features of the Neolithic in Middlesex. A distinction can sometimes be made in the British Neolithic between settlers and native (Mesolithic) peoples who learned the new ways of life, presumably from the migrants.⁷⁹ It is not possible, however, to divide finds in Middlesex definitely into the two divisions, for items peculiar to one group of people can appear legitimately in the equipment of another.

Only two Neolithic sites of importance have been discovered in Middlesex.⁸⁰ One comprises two small hollows or pits at Heathrow, about one mile from the Colne and over five from the Thames. These contained pieces of at least nineteen pots showing considerable variety of decoration such as might be found on 'Peterborough' or 'Mortlake' ware.⁸¹ The other site is a causewayed camp at Yeoveney, near Staines, excavated in 1961, which yielded a large quantity of pottery similar to that from Windmill Hill (Wilts.).⁸²

The presence of pottery of the Windmill Hill type suggests that its makers were the first farmers to reach the county, settling initially on the better-drained river gravels, from which they may have extended their occupations. Settled farmers possibly existed contemporaneously with comparatively nomadic groups. Even at this time there was considerable movement, at least of individuals, for axes or axe stone from as far away as the Lake District, Cornwall, and even Ireland have been found in the London and Middlesex area.⁸³ Some of the imported axes were manufactured from specially graded close-grained stone, and these were probably used for felling trees, although the more adze-like ones were possibly used for working timber, and even, as on the Continent, in building dwellings.

There is, however, little direct evidence of agriculture or cattle-keeping in Middlesex during the period. Nevertheless, the discovery of pottery similar to that of the Windmill Hill farmers suggests that grain was grown in Neolithic Middlesex, and an elegant flint sickle from the Thames at Chelsea is evidence of harvesting.⁸⁴ Hunting and food-gathering, however, almost certainly continued. Flint arrowheads have been found at a few places in Middlesex as well as in the Thames, although they are relatively few when compared with the hundreds from the right bank of the river at Ham, opposite Twickenham and Teddington.⁸⁵

No evidence of salt-winning in Neolithic Middlesex has been found, nor is there any trace of the earthen long barrows found in other parts of south-east England. Conclusions about daily life can be based only on such isolated finds as a piece of worked deer antler from the Thames at Hammersmith. This 'antler comb', an implement often

⁷⁷ The authors of this and the following sections are indebted to Prof. W. F. Grimes for his help and guidance.

⁷⁸ The authors are indebted to Dr. Isobel Smith for details of British radio-carbon datings which put the first Neolithic settlements at about 3700 B.C.

⁷⁹ For a full account of the period see *N.C.B.I.*

⁸⁰ It is not possible in the limited space available to list every Neolithic find or site. Full details for Mdx. are available in the L.M. card indexes. Fresh material and reinterpretations (from Oct. 1961) of the material discussed below is submitted from time to time to the editors of *T.L.M.A.S.*

⁸¹ *E.D.S.* 186-97.

⁸² The excavation is to be published by Mr. R. Robertson-Mackay, who has kindly furnished preliminary details. Aerial photographs taken in 1966 confirmed the existence of a second causewayed camp at East Bedfont (TQ. 080737): *Antiquity*, xl (1968), 145.

⁸³ Dr. F. S. Wallis carried out petrological analysis of selected Mdx. stone axes in time for inclusion of preliminary details in this section.

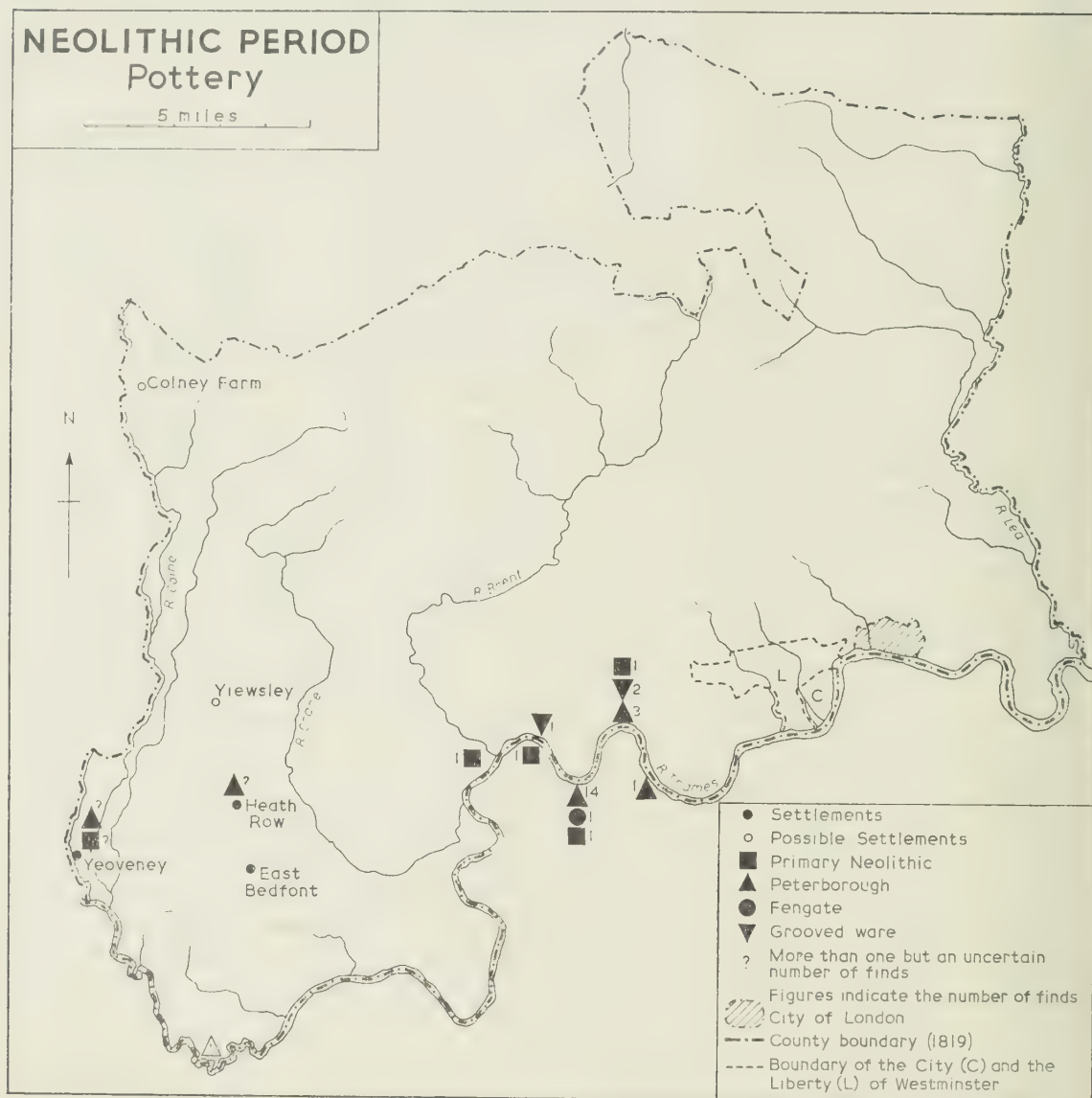
⁸⁴ Said to be 'Secondary Neolithic': *L.P.A.* pl. 111 (8).

⁸⁵ Many of the arrowheads and small flint scrapers from Ham are in the J. Orrell Knowles Collection in L.M. (60. 176). Since BA arrowheads were found in that area there was possibly some continuity in its use for hunting.

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found with pottery of the Windmill Hill type,⁸⁶ has one end cut in a fringe with parallel teeth some two inches long, and may have been used for removing hair from deer skins⁸⁷

The Neolithic pottery of Middlesex falls into three main groups, named after sites outside the county where similar wares have been found: Windmill Hill, Peterborough (Northants), and grooved-ware.⁸⁸



Windmill Hill pottery⁸⁹ is good quality, hard ware, made in baggy or shouldered, usually round-based, shapes (possibly derived from leather containers), plain or sparingly decorated round the upper part with incised lines and impressed dots⁹⁰ and very occasionally with impressions of short lengths of twisted cord.⁹¹

⁸⁶ The authors are indebted to Dr. Isobel Smith for pointing this out.

⁸⁷ This interpretation is based on *N.C.B.I.* 43-84.

⁸⁸ The term Windmill Hill is here used for pottery of a generally Primary or Western Neolithic character as defined in *N.C.B.I.* 66-75, and not merely the particular variety found at Windmill Hill. Since this was written, views on Neolithic pottery have been revised. It is now generally believed that Ebbsfleet pottery is akin to Windmill Hill types, and that Mortlake and Fengate pottery

were developed out of Ebbsfleet styles in the later Neolithic period. The term 'Peterborough' should probably be dropped. See *L'Europe à la fin de l'âge de la pierre*, ed. J. Böhm, 568; *Antiquity*, xl. 177-81.

⁸⁹ A. Keiller, *Excavations at Windmill Hill*, Comptes-Rendus 1st. Internat. Congress Prehist. Sciences (Lond. 1934), 135-8; *N.C.B.I.* chs. ii, iii.

⁹⁰ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 67-158; *N.C.B.I.* 66-75.

⁹¹ *Antiq. Jnl.* vii. 455.

In southern England the Windmill Hill people settled mostly on the chalk uplands,⁹² but the discovery at Yeoveney of one of their causewayed camps shows that there was some penetration into Middlesex. The considerable quantity of Windmill Hill pottery from Yeoveney has not yet been fully studied. It includes some pieces resembling rare types found at Windmill Hill which seem close to continental forms, and others similar to varieties found in East Anglia and at Abingdon (Berks.) causewayed camp, which are considered to represent a late stage in the British evolution of the pottery.⁹³ The only other Windmill Hill pottery so far recognized in Middlesex is one complete pot and a few stray sherds from the Thames at Kew Bridge, Syon Reach, and Mortlake.

Peterborough ware⁹⁴ is the other major group of Neolithic pottery found in Middlesex. Its makers seem usually to have lived in low-lying areas like the Thames valley, where one of the largest concentrations of the pottery in Britain occurs.⁹⁵ In Middlesex the largest finds have come from the Heathrow site and, in lesser quantities, from the Thames at Mortlake and Hammersmith, while at least one sherd was recovered from Yeoveney.⁹⁶

Within the Peterborough group a sequence of types, all represented in Middlesex, has been worked out.⁹⁷ The first is Ebbsfleet ware, named from pottery found in the Ebbsfleet valley in north-east Kent.⁹⁸ The fabric of Ebbsfleet pottery tends to be inferior to that of Windmill Hill ware, but the vessels are normally quite well made, in rather globular shapes with simple rims, distinct necks, rounded or occasionally sharp shoulders, and a moderate amount of decoration round the upper part of the pot, sometimes extending inside the rim. Decorative motifs include incised patterns, finger-nail and, more rarely, vertical cord impressions, and pits in the neck usually made with the finger-tips.⁹⁹ Ebbsfleet pottery developed into Mortlake ware, typified by a bowl (now in the British Museum) and other pottery from the Thames at Mortlake. Mortlake pottery is generally cruder and clumsier than Ebbsfleet ware and made of thicker, softer fabric.¹ The vessels usually have heavy projecting rims, deeply hollowed necks, sharp shoulders, and round bases, although flat bases are not unknown.² Close-set impressed decoration, often arranged herring-bone fashion, covers most of the exterior and sometimes the upper part of the interior. Some of the devices, like pits in the neck, resemble those on Ebbsfleet pottery, but cord impressions are much more common and new techniques, such as rustication (pinching the clay between two finger-nails), appear.³ The pottery from Heathrow is Mortlake ware and illustrates many of the techniques used.⁴ The final stage in the Peterborough sequence is the Fengate style,⁵ in which the bases and contours tend to become flattened and the rims to overhang the walls of the pot in a way that suggests the overhanging-rim urns of the Bronze Age.⁶ The bowl from the Thames near Hammersmith Bridge is a good example of Fengate pottery.

The relationship of Peterborough to Windmill Hill pottery is not clear, except that the Mortlake phase seems later than the earliest Windmill Hill.⁷ The evidence of Heathrow, supported by the modest accumulation of Peterborough pottery from the

⁹² *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 85-88; *N.C.B.I.* ch. ii, fig. 1.

⁹³ Information on Yeoveney supplied by Mr. R. Robertson-Mackay. For Abingdon and E. Anglian ware see *N.C.B.I.* 72-74. See below, n. 12.

⁹⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxii. 333-52; *Antiq. Jnl.* ii. 220-37.

⁹⁵ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 120; *N.C.B.I.* 303, fig. 48.

⁹⁶ Ex inf. Mr. R. Robertson-Mackay.

⁹⁷ *Antiq. Jnl.* xix. 405-20; *E.D.S.* 194. This school of thought is not followed by all archaeologists.

⁹⁸ *Antiq. Jnl.* xix. 405-20.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 409-20; *N.C.B.I.* 308, fig. 49.

¹ Some Mortlake-type pots from Peterborough show that they were built up from rings of clay: *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 112; *N.C.B.I.* 308.

² *Antiq. Jnl.* ii. 223, 227, 237; *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 113-14; *N.C.B.I.* 308-10.

³ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 72, 110-58; *N.C.B.I.* 308; *E.D.S.* 194-7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 186-97. See illustration facing p. 52.

⁵ Named from a site at Peterborough.

⁶ *Dawn*, 332.

⁷ *N.C.B.I.* 310, 312-16.

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Thames at Hammersmith and Mortlake and the habitation site across the Thames at Thorpe (Surr.),⁸ shows that Peterborough people lived in the Middlesex area. Indeed, the close sequence of Peterborough pottery types from the Middlesex stretch of the Thames, which includes forms apparently transitional between Ebbsfleet and Mortlake,⁹ suggests that some of the development may have taken place in the district.¹⁰

The third group of Neolithic pottery from Middlesex, Rinyo-Clacton or grooved ware, is characterized by flat-based pots with grooved, incised, dotted, and applied decoration. It is represented in the county only by a few sherds from the Thames, which are of some importance because they come from the middle of an area in which grooved-ware was previously unknown. The affiliations of grooved-ware and its makers are uncertain, but chronologically it seems to belong to the latter part of the Neolithic era, contemporary with later Peterborough ware and beakers, and possibly overlapping the beginning of the Bronze Age.¹¹

POTTERY GAZETTEER

Location/Ref.

STAINES

Yeoveney (TQ. 024726): causewayed camp. Large quantity of Windmill Hill pottery; some Peterborough ware.¹² B.M.

YIEWSLEY & WEST DRAYTON

Harmondsworth, Heathrow, 'Caesar's Camp' (TQ. 084766): settlement site consisting of two pits. Mortlake pottery; some worked flints.¹³ L.M. 49.87
Yiewsley: two sherds, apparently one Ebbsfleet and one Mortlake in box labelled 'pottery found at Yiewsley with the flints'. L.M. unnum.

THAMES (BARNES)

Mortlake, perhaps S. side of river:¹⁴ plain Windmill Hill sherd with slightly out-turned rim. L.M. A.10560
Four Ebbsfleet sherds. L.M. A.10215, A.10573, A.13671,¹⁵ C.953¹⁶
Three Peterborough sherds, apparently transitional between Ebbsfleet and Mortlake styles. L.M. A.13693,¹⁷ C.954, C.955
Mortlake bowl (alleged to have been found on same site and beneath same calcareous seam as beakers B.M. 1909.5.18.13-14); six sherds. B.M. unreg., 1909.6.25.¹⁸
L.M. A.10213,¹⁹ A.13666,²⁰ A.13668, A.13670
Fengate sherd.²¹ Dr. Isobel Smith has recognized two other sherds from same vessel. L.M. A.13667
B.M. unreg.

THAMES (BATTERSEA)

Sherd, probably grooved-ware, with flat rim. Exterior of wall decorated with horizontal herring-bone pattern of grooves and top of interior with four horizontal grooves. L.M. A.9964

⁸ *E.D.S.* 181-5.

⁹ Sherds from Thorpe show similar features: *ibid.* 185.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *P.P.S.* ii. 178-210; *N.C.B.I.* 321-46, fig. 48; *Dawn*, 334; *Antiquity*, xl. 180-1.

¹² R. Robertson-Mackay, 'The primary Neolithic settlement in southern England: some new aspects', *Proc. International Cong. for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences* (Rome, 1965), ii. 319-23.

¹³ *E.D.S.* 186-97.

¹⁴ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 82-84.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* fig. 1 (2).

¹⁶ Cf. Thorpe, no. 1: *E.D.S.* 185, fig. 71 (1).

¹⁷ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. fig. 1 (1): internal decoration on rim, similar to external, not shown.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* lxii. 340, pl. xxxvii (3); lxxxviii. 122, fig. 18 (2).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* lxxvi. 82, fig. 1 (4).

²⁰ *P.P.S.* xx. 228, n. 3.

²¹ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 82, fig. 1 (3). Decoration inside rim not shown.

THAMES (BRENTFORD & CHISWICK)

- 'Nr. Kew Bridge, off Strand Island, from ballast' (c. TQ. 194776): Windmill Hill bowl; hard black ware with some grit; suspicion of out-turned rim; plain. L.M. Lay.P.13
 Strand-on-the-Green: grooved-ware or beaker sherd. Flat base and wall with rough grooved decoration of horizontal lines and herring-bone pattern. L.M. A.27166

THAMES (HAMMERSMITH)

- Hammersmith, perhaps S. side of river:²² three Ebbsfleet sherds. L.M. C.940, C.941,²³ C.944 L.M. unnum.
 Peterborough sherd; simple rim; no neck; decorated with two rows of finger-nail impressions on outside and one on inside rim.
 Two grooved-ware or beaker sherds. One with slight horizontal grooves and finger-nail impressions. Other with small circular depressions and grooves. L.M. C.946,²⁴ C.948
 'Nr. Hammersmith Bridge' (c. TQ.229781): Fengate bowl (half); flat base and incipient overhanging rim; decorated with twisted-cord impressions, pits made with round implement, and irregular semicircles of finger-nail impressions set end to end.²⁵ Partial analogies from Peterborough and Ford (Northumb.). (Also said to have come from Thames at Wandsworth).²⁶ L.M. Lay.P.21

THAMES (HESTON & ISLEWORTH)

- Syon Reach: Windmill Hill sherd; small irregular out-turned rim; plain. L.M. A.23378

THAMES (nr. WEYBRIDGE)

- Mortlake sherd.²⁷ Weybridge Mus.

LOCALITY UNCERTAIN

- Windmill Hill sherd. Decorated on rim with oblique incised lines and below rim with roughly horizontal lines of hyphen-like impressions possibly made with string of small seeds or toothed implement.²⁸ L.M. A.3624
 Ebbsfleet sherd. L.M. A.3624

Some hundreds of axes²⁹ which can be called Neolithic have been found technically in Middlesex, although usually off its banks in the Thames. Most of them, whether chipped or polished, are of flint. A smaller proportion is of ground or polished stone, which was sometimes imported from other parts of Britain. Few of these axes are broken, although some seem to have been reconditioned by chipping. The quantity of axes is large, but it should be remembered that they represent the losses of durable objects over a period of nearly two thousand years. The evidence on which a chronology for the various types of stone axes could be constructed does not exist; nor is the relationship of the Neolithic axe to the Mesolithic 'pick' clear.

Axe finds are concentrated at several points.³⁰ Most of the land axes have been found south of a line from Yiewsley to Finsbury. They are, therefore, from the surface of the Pleistocene gravels, the brickearths, and the more recent alluvial areas of Middlesex. There is hardly any on the London Clay. Two landward concentrations are notable:

²² Ibid. 86.

²³ Cf. Thorpe, no. 1: *E.D.S.* 185, fig. 72 (6).

²⁴ Cf. Lyonesse (Essex) pottery: *P.P.S.* ii. 190 sqq.; 'Woodhenge' (Wilts.) pottery: *N.C.B.I.* fig. 58 (2); *P.P.S.* ii. 29, fig. 14 (1).

²⁵ *Archaeologia*, lxi. 11-12, figs. 9, 10.

²⁶ *Antiq. Jnl.* ii. 220-37; *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 67-158; *N.C.B.I.* 314.

²⁷ *Antiq. Jnl.* v. 431-2, fig. on p. 431; *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 152.

²⁸ Cf. *N.C.B.I.* 86; Abingdon: *Antiq. Jnl.* vii. 436-64, pl. lii, fig. 2; viii. 461-77, pl. lxxii, fig. 2, pl. lxxiv, fig. 2;

Avebury (Wilts.): ex inf. Dr. Isobel Smith.

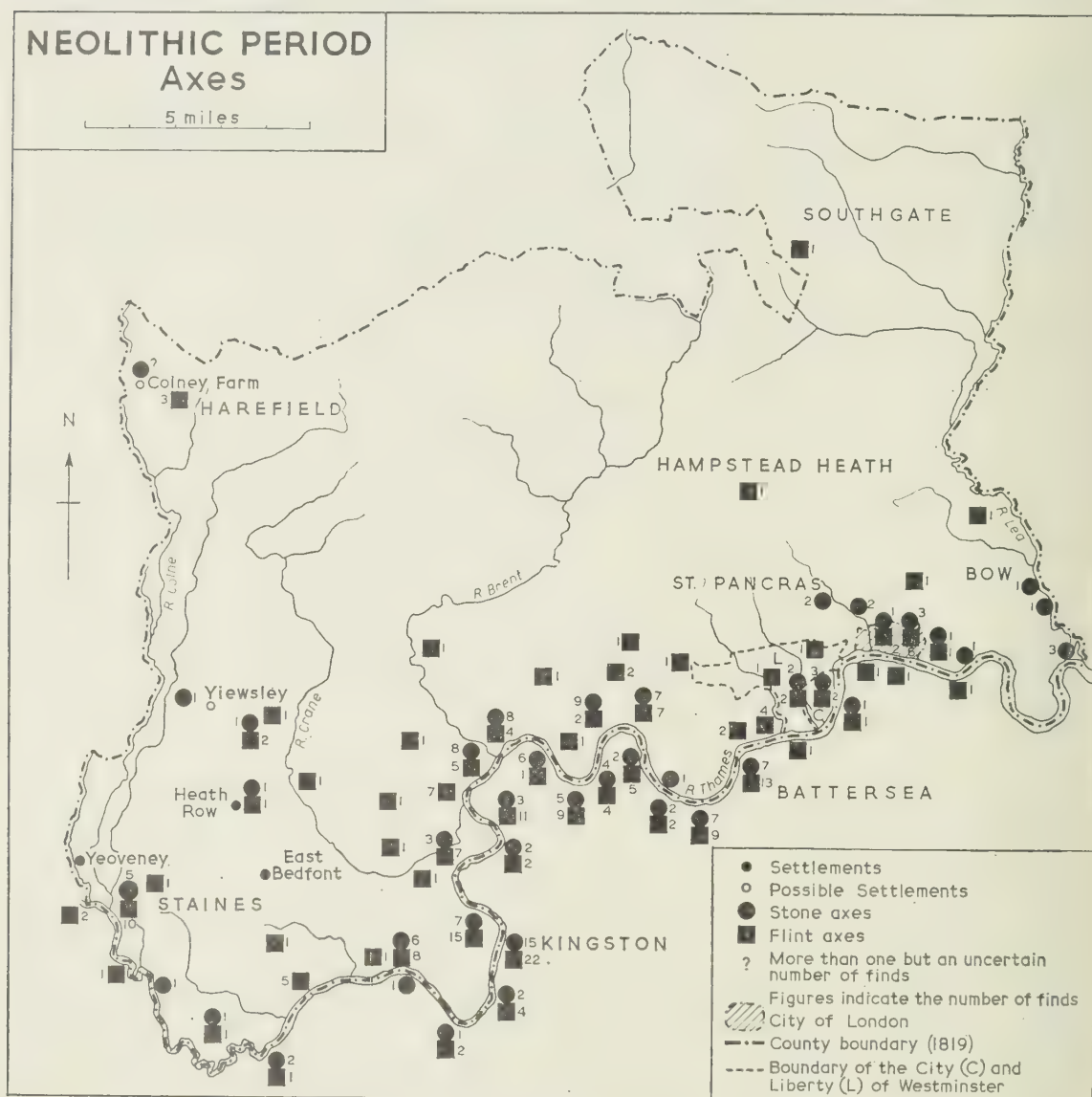
²⁹ These include the 'celts' of former writings. Objects which might better be described as adzes are included under the heading of axes. The economic background of stone axes is summarized in *Ec. H.R.* 2nd ser. xviii (1), 1-28. Jadeite axes are a special problem and it has been suggested that they came over from the lower Rhineland with Beaker groups: *P.P.S.* xxix. 133-72; Vauxhall Br., B.M. 1907, 6-19, I and L.M. 31.48.

³⁰ Lists and indexes of the axes are in the L.M. Many axes are still in private hands or in museums which have not made them available for study.

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one in the Lea valley between Hackney and Walthamstow, and another, consisting of some twenty-five axes, covering the City of London and parts of Holborn. The London area lies on the Taplow gravels, which elsewhere in Middlesex have not produced so many axe finds.

The Thames concentrations are of some interest. Staines, near the causewayed camp,



seems to be more prolific, in contrast to the lesser scatters of Sunbury and Hampton. The densest find areas are in the Teddington–Twickenham and Isleworth–Brentford stretches. Downstream the finds are thinner, except at Hammersmith and Mortlake. Below Chelsea Bridge axes are not plentiful except where the river passes the older parts of London and the City. Down-river from the Tower finds are few.

Only in the area around Yiewsley, West Drayton, and Dawley is there any rough correlation on land between axes, pottery, and leaf-shaped arrowheads. A discoidal knife was found at Yiewsley, and at Harefield, an outlier on glacial gravels, three axes have been found. The best correlation between river finds of axes and pottery appears in the stretches of the Thames at Mortlake and Hammersmith.³¹ There is a possible

³¹ The pottery in these reaches seems to be of Ebbsfleet, Mortlake, and Fengate types. Two discoidal knives with polished edges have been found in the same parts of the river.

correlation with the relatively plentiful finds of leaf-shaped arrowheads between Twickenham and Ham and, to a lesser degree, off the Fulham bank.

In addition to the axes, and the numerous indeterminate or unstudied flint types, there are from Middlesex a small number of flint objects of distinctive forms. Those with a claim to be Neolithic are included here; but, since all are stray finds, they can be dated only by reference to similar objects found outside the county. They come, generally speaking, from areas such as Yiewsley and the Thames to the west of London which have produced pottery and axes, and so confirm the overall distribution pattern. They fall into four groups.

The first form is the *petit-tranchet derivative arrowhead*,³² which has a straight chisel edge instead of a point. These arrowheads are derived from a type predominant in later Mesolithic times in Britain, Scandinavia, and other areas.³³ Outside Middlesex they have been found at various Neolithic sites,³⁴ particularly with grooved-ware pottery,³⁵ but they were evidently still in use in the earlier part of the Bronze Age.³⁶

The second form is the *leaf-shaped arrowhead*.³⁷ This was one of the innovations of the Windmill Hill people and one of their most distinctive pieces of equipment,³⁸ but such arrowheads have been found in various parts of England and Wales with Peterborough³⁹ and grooved-ware pottery.⁴⁰ They may still have been used in the Bronze Age,⁴¹ and have even been reported in an Iron-Age context.⁴² The known Middlesex examples are all of the true leaf-shaped form, not the lozenge-shaped variant.

The third form is the *discoidal knife*,⁴³ a roughly disc-shaped or triangular implement with polished edges, found chiefly in eastern Britain, and perhaps used in the preparation of hides.⁴⁴ This is not a common type, but the Thames valley in and near Middlesex has produced a comparatively large concentration.⁴⁵ Discoidal knives seem to have been exclusively British tools, possibly of Mesolithic antecedents.⁴⁶ They have seldom been found with associations, and are usually assumed to be Neolithic,⁴⁷ although there is some evidence that they were used in Beaker times.⁴⁸

The fourth form is the *sickle*.⁴⁹ The two so far recognized in Middlesex are of the long, curved, single-piece variety presumably designed for hafting at right angles to a straight handle,⁵⁰ and probably used for cutting corn and reeds.⁵¹ The type has analogies in Holland,⁵² and its distribution in Britain, where it is not very common, is confined to eastern districts, one group occurring along the Thames valley and estuary.⁵³ Available dating evidence suggests that the sickles were used in Neolithic times although not introduced by the Windmill Hill farmers.⁵⁴ How long they continued in use is uncertain: metal sickles are not a feature of the earliest part of the British Bronze Age.⁵⁵

³² Examples are known from Harefield (one, L.M.), Yiewsley (c. 3, L.M.), Thames, Wandsworth Park (one, Nat. Mus. of Wales).

³³ Clark, *Mesolithic Settlement in N. Europe*, 142, 144, fig. 51; Clark, *Prehistoric Europe: the Economic Basis*, 36; *N.C.B.I.* 285-6, 369; *L.P.A.* fig. 1 (lower, 2).

³⁴ *N.C.B.I.* 78 *et passim*.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 343.

³⁶ *Arch. Jnl.* xci. 32-58.

³⁷ Examples are known from Acton (one, Gunn.), Thames, Barn Elms (one, L.M.), Brentford (two, L.M.), Mortlake (one, L.M.), Richmond (one, Colchester Mus.: *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 77), Twickenham (Nat. Mus. of Wales and L.M.), Wandsworth (one, L.M.). Smith, *Man*, 311, mentions one from Shacklewell.

³⁸ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* iii (2), 168-72; *Archaeologia*, lxxvi. 81-106; *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 42-43, 78, 368, *et passim*.

³⁹ *N.C.B.I.* 311.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 343.

⁴¹ *Prehist. Communities*, 154.

⁴² *Archaeologia*, lxxvi. 106.

⁴³ Most of the Mdx. examples are listed in *P.P.S.E.*

Anglia, vi. 40-54. Two additions are now in L.M.: one 'found during filling of Ham gravel-pit with filling from Chelsea Reach', the other from the Thames at Richmond lock and weir.

⁴⁴ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vi. 44.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 40-54.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 46, 51; *N.C.B.I.* 286.

⁴⁷ *Ibid. passim*.

⁴⁸ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vi. 40-54.

⁴⁹ Examples are known from the Thames, Chelsea (B.M.; presumably J. Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements* (2nd edn. 1897), 357; *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vii. 67-70, 72, no. 10, pl. viii); Hammersmith (L.M.: *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vii. 72, no. 11, fig. 1).

⁵⁰ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vii. 67-68; cf. *Antiquity*, xii. 152, pl. 11.

⁵¹ *N.C.B.I.* 365.

⁵² *P.P.S.* ii. 208.

⁵³ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vii. 67-81, fig. 6.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 76-81; *P.P.S.* ii. 181; iv. 32; *N.C.B.I.* 311.

⁵⁵ *P.P.S.* iv. 33-35; cf. Clark, *Prehist. Europe*, 111.

A skull, trepanned and partly healed, was found in the Thames at Hammersmith. Trepanning was particularly common in the Beaker period but pollen samples from the skull analysed by Professor G. W. Dimbleby suggest that it belongs to the Neolithic period.

THE BEAKER PERIOD

While the Neolithic cultures were flourishing, fresh bands of continental immigrants entered Britain.⁵⁶ These were the Beaker people, so named from their distinctive pottery. They evidently landed at various times and places on the south and east coasts,⁵⁷ whence they spread over most of the country, penetrating, and probably dominating, the Neolithic societies.⁵⁸ Beaker people ranged extraordinarily widely over the Continent,⁵⁹ but those who reached Britain seem to have come mainly from north-west Europe.⁶⁰

About a dozen pieces of Beaker pottery and some of the objects normally associated with it have been found in Middlesex, mostly in the Thames to the west of London. The county has produced none of the graves or other structural remains with which beakers have often been found elsewhere, but the finds imply that some Beaker people lived in the area, mostly on the Thames-side gravels like the Neolithic inhabitants.⁶¹ The Middlesex relics, which are all unassociated finds, tell us little about the Beaker people, and to gain some idea of their activities it is necessary to look at more informative discoveries elsewhere.

Most of our fragmentary knowledge of the Beaker people comes from their burials. Unlike the Neolithic settlers, they buried dead in individual graves, a practice which has remained ever since, in one form or another, the prevailing burial rite in this country. Most Beaker burials are inhumations, sometimes under round barrows, accompanied by a few grave goods,⁶² and the combinations of objects of different materials found in such graves enable similar objects from Middlesex to be correlated better than those of any succeeding prehistoric period.

The Beaker people are further distinguished from the purely Neolithic societies because they introduced into Britain the use of metal artifacts. Knowledge of metal-working, first in copper, and later in bronze, had been spreading through Europe from its place of origin in the Near East while the British Neolithic pottery already described was in use,⁶³ but metal objects have never been found with that pottery. A very few primitive metal goods have, however, come from British Beaker burials. It is generally believed that the Beaker people did not themselves make these goods but imported them from Ireland and the Continent. They are therefore often regarded as a Neolithic rather than a Bronze-Age group,⁶⁴ but their transitional position in this respect is better recognized by regarding them as belonging to a chalcolithic phase, in which people basically at a stone age cultural level have begun to acquire a metal equipment.

⁵⁶ Dates for Beaker people in Brit. are at present estimated at c. 1900–1500 B.C.: C.B.A. BA Conference (Dec. 1960); *N.C.B.I.* 374–6, fig. 64; *BA Barrow*, 165, fig. 56; see also *I.O.A.* (1955), 29–42.

⁵⁷ *Antiquity*, v. 424–6; *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* lxxviii. 155–61; *Dawn*, 330.

⁵⁸ *N.C.B.I.* *passim*.

⁵⁹ *Danube*, 188–201; *Dawn*, 222–8.

⁶⁰ *Prehist. Communities*, 93, 96.

⁶¹ Three beakers found nr. Thames in Surr. confirm the Thames-side distribution: Ham (L.M. unpublished); 'West Hall Rd., Kew Gdns.' (*Antiq. Jnl.* xii. 170, pl.

xxxiii (2b)); Oatlands Park, Walton-on-Thames (*Surr Arch. Col.* xxxv. 5–6, pl. i (b)).

⁶² *B.A.P.* i. 52–63; *Arch. News Letter*, vi (1), 15; *P.P.S.* xxiii. 74–77.

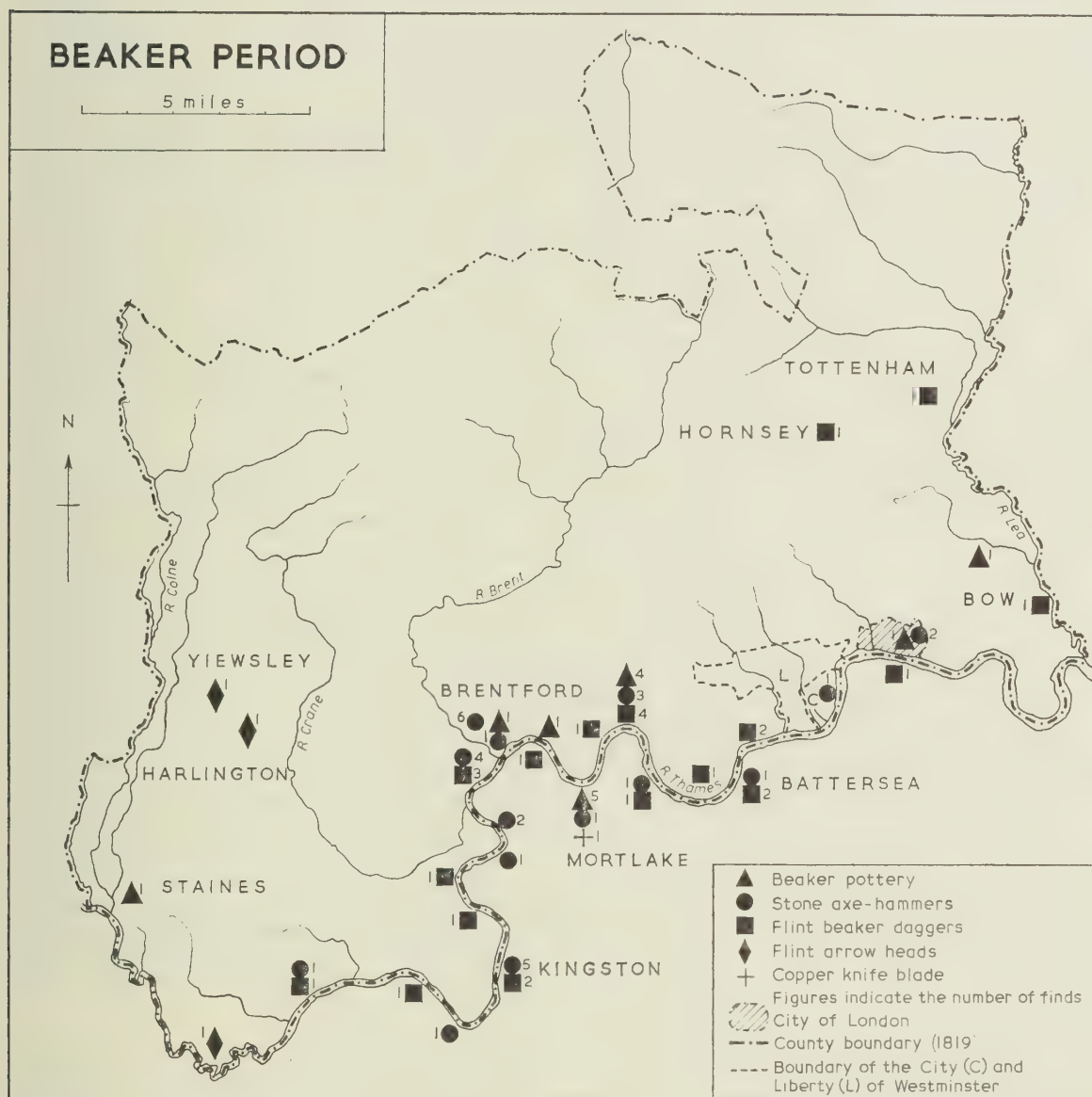
⁶³ V. G. Childe, *New Light on the Most Ancient East*; *Dawn*.

⁶⁴ *B.A.P.* i. 52–63; *Prehist. Communities*, 94, 112–18; *Dawn*, 330–1. Some continental Beaker people apparently had smiths with them: *Dawn*, 223. For a restatement of the case for the Beaker people being the first metal-workers in Brit. Isles see *P.P.S.* xxiii. 100–3.

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One copper knife of a type occasionally found with beakers has come from the Thames at Mortlake.

Other evidence from outside Middlesex shows that the Beaker people kept livestock⁶⁵ and cultivated flax and cereals, growing much more barley than wheat, in striking contrast to the Windmill Hill farmers.⁶⁶ They were perhaps the first inhabitants of Britain



to use woven fabrics.⁶⁷ Archery played an important part in their lives.⁶⁸ Little is known of their dwelling-places;⁶⁹ but the wide diffusion of their pottery suggests a mobile and energetic people, and their grave goods indicate fairly extensive trading activities.⁷⁰

The most characteristic and extensively studied item in the Beaker people's equipment is their pottery.⁷¹ Beaker pottery is flat-based and usually of good quality ware, sometimes polished on the outside and almost always decorated with impressed ornament in patterns⁷² which may often have originated as copies of basketry and wooden

⁶⁵ *Prehist. Communities*, 98.

⁶⁶ *P.P.S.* xviii. 204-7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* xvi. 130, 158; *Archaeologia*, xxxiv. 255.

⁶⁸ *Danube*, 191.

⁶⁹ *Prehist. Communities*, 98-99. They are thought to

have built some at least of the henge sanctuaries: *ibid.* 101-10; *N.C.B.I.* 354.

⁷⁰ *Dawn*, 222-3.

⁷¹ *Prehist. Communities*, 91.

⁷² *P.P.S.* vi. 112-32.

vessels.⁷³ British beakers were classified in 1912 by Abercromby but this classification was modified later and in 1963 completely revised by Professor Stuart Piggott.⁷⁴ All the main types of beakers are represented in Middlesex.⁷⁵

In Professor Piggott's classification, about 2000 B.C.⁷⁶ immigrants from the mainland of Europe introduced into Britain Cord-Zoned beakers (which Gordon Childe called B₃) and later the Bell beakers (Abercromby's type B); the Barrel beakers (Abercromby's B₂) were British derivations from them.⁷⁷ Migrants from the Low Countries to northern Britain introduced the Short-Necked beaker (Abercromby's type C) as well as variants of the Bell beaker. From the Short-Necked beakers were derived the Long-Necked beakers.⁷⁸ These are sometimes associated with grave goods, like stone battle-axes, which on the Continent are later in date than the Bell-beaker culture. Long-Necked beakers are therefore considered a local and late variant. Last of all come the Pot beakers and the Barbed-Wire beakers, coarse ware of local origin but similar to some continental patterns.⁷⁹

Cord-Zoned beakers are only commonly to be found in north Britain but a fine one was dredged from the Thames near Mortlake.⁸⁰ Barrel beakers have also been dredged from the Thames, suggesting that their makers had nearby one of their main areas of settlement. A Barrel beaker was found in 1864 during the building of the French Hospital at Hackney.⁸¹ Short-Necked beakers are common in northern Britain⁸² but one was dredged from the Thames at Mortlake⁸³ on the same occasion as the Cord-Zoned beaker was found there,⁸⁴ as well as two beakers of a similar type.⁸⁵ Three Long-Necked beakers have also been dredged from the Thames between Mortlake and Putney.⁸⁶

The Middlesex side of the Thames has produced one of the densest concentrations of flint daggers in the country.⁸⁷ These are sometimes associated with Long-Necked beakers. The discrepancy between the daggers and the pottery finds may represent the difference between settlement and traffic along the river.⁸⁸ Stone battle-axes of the kind occasionally found in association with Long-Necked beakers have also been found in the Thames near Battersea, at Westminster, and possibly at Old England, Brentford.⁸⁹

The Middlesex material does not suggest a large-scale occupation. Judging by the objects for which foreign parallels can be cited, the immediate continental sources of Middlesex Beaker people were mainly in the region extending from the Netherlands to North Germany and Scandinavia.⁹⁰ The rather high proportion of finger-nail ornament on the beakers may reflect the influence of a local Neolithic population.

⁷³ *P.P.S.* xxiii. 59; *B.A.P.* i. 17, pls. ii-xxi; *Danube*, 194; *Antiquity*, ix. 348.

⁷⁴ S. Piggott, 'Abercromby and after: the Beaker Cultures of Britain Re-Examined', *Culture and Environment*, (ed. I. L.L. Foster and L. Alcock), 53-91.

⁷⁵ *B.A.P.* i. 18. Subsequent researches have revised Abercromby's chronological system, but his lettering is still used, although now in an illogical order. A suggested new nomenclature appears in *BA Barrow*, 120-1.

⁷⁶ *Prehist. Communities*, 92.

⁷⁷ *B.A.P.* i. 19-45; *Antiquity*, v. 415-26.

⁷⁸ *B.A.P.* i. 47-48, 50-51.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 22-23; *P.P.S.* iv. 56; *BA Barrow*, 120-1.

⁸⁰ *Prehist. Communities*, 93; *L.P.A.* 8.

⁸¹ *P.P.S.* iv. 56, fig. 1.

⁸² *Ibid.*; *B.A.P.* i. 43, pl. ii; *Antiquity*, v. 415; 'Hondern eeuwen Nederland', *Antiquity and Survival*, ii (5-6), 119, fig. 26.

⁸³ *BA Barrow*, 121.

⁸⁴ *B.A.P.* i. 18.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 18, 32.

⁸⁶ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* lxxviii. 155-7; *P.P.S.* xxiii. 84; *Antiquity*, xxxv. 47.

⁸⁷ *B.A.P.* i. 18, 32; *Antiquity*, v. 415-26.

⁸⁸ *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vi. 340-55. For examples of the daggers see illustration on p. 41.

⁸⁹ Another battle-axe, apparently of Beaker type, is in *G.M.*: *G.M. Catalogue* (1908), 4, no. 30.

⁹⁰ For discussion of continental affinities of British 'A' beaker assemblages and the evolution of 'A' beaker styles in Britain see *Danube*, 200-1; *Prehist. Communities*, 94; *Dawn*, 330; *Archaeologia*, lxxv. 83-84, figs. 4-8; lxxv. 53, 85; *BA Barrow*, 137-8; *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vi. 350-1; E. Sprockhoff, *Die Nordische Megalithkultur* (Handbuch der Urgeschichte Deutschlands), ii (Berlin, 1938), Taf. 21 (4), 31 (1, 7, 9); *B.A.P.* i. 9, 10, 13; *P.P.S.* xxiii. 82-84; ii. 210 (modified by *I.O.A.* (1955), 29-42). For Dutch beakers see *Palaeohistoria*, iv. 5-46.

GAZETTEER⁹¹

Location/Ref.

HACKNEY

Site of new French Hospital (TQ. 358840): fragment of beaker; apparently B2; all-over decoration of single horizontal lines of horizontally applied finger-nail impressions.⁹² B.M. 64.2.12.1

HAYES & HARLINGTON

Two-three tanged-and-barbed flint arrowheads. L.M. 39.134
Hayes & Harl. Mus.

STAINES

Yeoveney (TQ. 024726): fragment of rusticated beaker.⁹³ B.M.

SUNBURY-ON-THAMES

Shepperton: tanged-and-barbed flint arrowhead.⁹⁴ Shepperton Pub. Libr.

TOTTENHAM

Flint dagger. York Mus.

THAMES (BARNES)

Mortlake, perhaps S. bank:⁹⁵ beaker, B2. Crudely modelled; horizontal lines of impressions resembling twisted cord in upper part but broken into single disjointed units towards base.⁹⁶ L.M. 28.37
Beaker, B3. Decorated with single horizontal lines of twisted-cord impressions. Reputedly found on same site and beneath same calcareous seam as necked beaker B.M. 1909.5.18.3 and Neolithic bowl B.M. 1909.6.25.1. B.M. 1909.5.18.14⁹⁷
Beaker, C. Finely notched decoration of four zones of horizontal lines and short angled lines, upper zone including band of approx. vertical impressions. See also preceding beaker.⁹⁸ B.M. 1909.5.18.13
Necked beaker, apparently A with some C influence. Notched decoration of zones of horizontal and vertical lines, enclosing panels of saltires round neck and open vandyke above base.⁹⁹ L.M. A.13471
Fragment of beaker base, probably C or A. Notched decoration of two bands of coarse lattice pattern with narrow plain zone between.¹ L.M. A.13672
Fragment of large pot, with paired finger-nail impressions; probably beaker or Neolithic Mortlake ware.² L.M. A.10214
Mortlake: copper knife with central river hole in tang.³ L.M. A.10214

THAMES (BATTERSEA)

Stone axe-hammer; described as diorite; similar to A-beaker type.⁴ L.M. A.14982
Flint dagger; notched tang. L.M. A.13480

THAMES (BRENTFORD & CHISWICK)

Nr. Kew: simple neckless bowl of smooth hard ware; flattened base, flat-topped rim; ornamented all over outside and round inside of rim with barbed-wire style decoration, possibly produced by impressing on the pot a flint wrapped round with cord or sinew. This, and similar bowl from Thames at Putney, B.M. 72.3.29.11

⁹¹ Flint daggers found only since the publication of *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, vi. 340–55 are included.

⁹² *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ii. 350; *I.O.A.* (1955), 32, fig. 1 (5).

⁹³ *Proc. Inter. Cong. Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences* (Rome, 1965), ii. 319–23.

⁹⁴ Ex inf. Dr. C. Burgess.

⁹⁵ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 82–84. ⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 84, pl. vii (B2).

⁹⁷ *Archaeologia*, lxii. 340–1; but see *E.D.S.* 185; *Eng. Prehist. Pottery* (V. & A. Mus. 1952), pl. 6.

⁹⁸ *Archaeologia*, lxii. 340–1, pl. xxxvii (2); *B.A.P.* i. 23.
⁹⁹ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 84, pl. vii (B1). See illustration facing p. 52.

¹ *Ibid.* 84.

² *P.P.S.* ii. 189, fig. 3 (1).

³ *Antiquity*, xxxix. 220. Analysis indicates that the metal came from central Europe.

⁴ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 92, pl. vi (A1).

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

Location/Ref.

- thought to belong to Peterborough Neolithic pottery family, but more recent opinion places them with the Beakers. (Also said to have come from Thames at Mortlake).⁵
- Old England: beaker, A; fragmentary; roughly made. Covered with finger-nail impressions in horizontal lines, in places approximating to herring-bone pattern.⁶ L.M. Lay.P.16
- Stone axe-hammers showing varying degrees of resemblance to A-beaker type. Finding place unknown. L.M. Lay.O.729, O.731, O.735, O.739

THAMES (HAMMERSMITH)

- Beaker, apparently badly-made B2 or biconical type. Decorated with paired finger-nail impressions arranged in roughly horizontal lines.⁷ L.M. Lay.P.15
- Fragment of large vase of coarse ware; decorated all over exterior with finger-nail impressions in oblique vertical lines. Neolithic or BA. Possibly part of rough beaker.⁸ G.M. 4069
- Fragment of large rusticated vessel. Possibly part of storage jar or beaker of late Neolithic affinities.⁹ L.M. A.19481

? THAMES (POPLAR)

- Flint implement, apparently dagger; clumsier and less well made than A-beaker type, but comparable to examples from N. Germany.¹⁰ From 'ballast loaded at Bow'. L.M. Lay.O.55

THAMES (TWICKENHAM)

- Tanged-and-barbed flint arrowhead. Possibly post-Beaker.¹¹ L.M. 49.107/766

THAMES (WANDSWORTH)

- Putney: simple bowl with barbed-wire decoration, less carefully executed than on similar bowl from Thames at Mortlake;¹² (Also said to have come from Thames at Barn Elms). L.M. 50.10 (formerly Royal Scottish Mus.)

THAMES (WESTMINSTER)

- Off Parliament Stairs: stone axe-hammer, A-beaker type.¹³ B.M. 56.7.1.1358

FINDING PLACE UNKNOWN

? THAMES (KEW DISTRICT)¹⁴

- Beaker, B2. Classic example. Notched decoration of bands of horizontal lines and herring-bone pattern, with traces of white inlay, a technique more common on continental than on British beakers.¹⁵ L.M. Lay.P.20¹⁶
- Beaker, A. Straight cord round neck about one-third down, a feature thought to denote Dutch affinities.¹⁷ Notched decoration, with white inlay of four zones of triangles within horizontal lines. Cross incised on exterior of base.¹⁸ L.M. Lay.P.19

⁵ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxviii. 153, fig. 14 (6); *B.A.P.* i. 96, 156, pl. xxx (21); *Antiq. Jnl.* iv. 149-50, fig. 1, pl. xxviii (1); *I.O.A.* (1955), 29-42, esp. p. 36.

⁶ *Archaeologia*, lxix. 11, fig. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.* 11; *B.A.P.* i. pl. ix (80); *P.P.S.* xxv. 45.

⁸ *G.M. Catalogue* (1908), 124, no. 167.

⁹ *P.P.S.* ii. 19-51, fig. 11.

¹⁰ Sprockhoff, *Nordische Megalithkultur*, Taf. 33 (1, 4).

¹¹ *P.P.S.* iv. 68, fig. 7.

¹² *Archaeologia*, lxii. 336; *Antiq. Jnl.* iv. 149-50, pl. lxxxviii (153), fig. 14 (6); *I.O.A.* (1955), 36.

¹³ Evans, *Stone Implements*, 194.

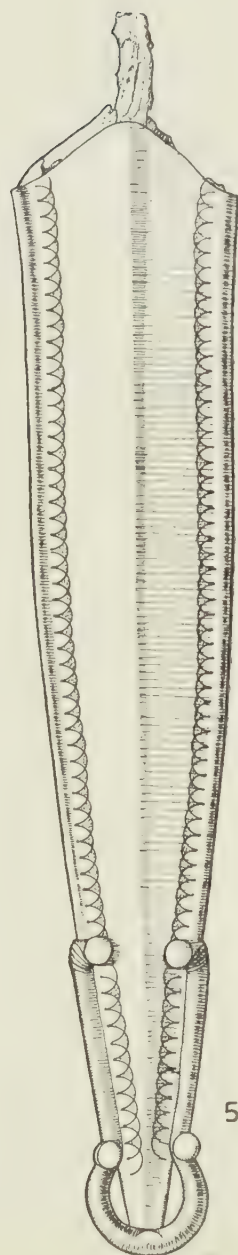
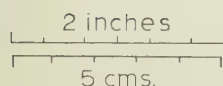
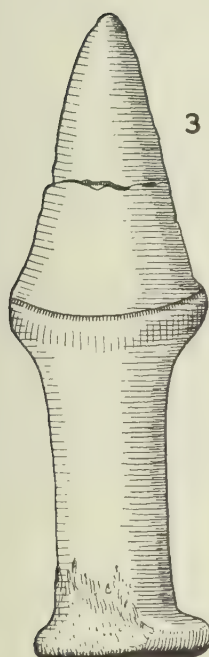
¹⁴ *A.M.L.* 87.

¹⁵ *B.A.P.* i. 10, 51.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* pl. vii (37); *Archaeologia*, lxix. 11, fig. 8. Cf. *Antiquity*, v. 415, pl. 2 (Netherlands).

¹⁷ *Archaeologia*, lxxxix. 102.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* lxix. 9-10, fig. 8.



DAGGERS. 1, flint dagger of the type found with long-necked beakers, from the Thames at Battersea (L.M. A.13480); 2, Beaker-period copper knife from the Thames at Mortlake (L.M. A.7644); 3, Beaker or Early Bronze-Age bone copy of a metal knife or dagger, found in the Thames (L.M. Lay.O.1152b); 4, bronze dagger of the Middle Bronze Age with rivets to attach a hilt, from the Thames at Brentford Ferry (L.M. A.19787); 5, Iron-Age dagger with sheath with iron back-plate and bronze front-plate, from the Thames at Hammersmith (L.M. A.22599).

THE BRONZE AGE

For the purpose of this section the Bronze Age in southern Britain is considered to cover a period extending from approximately 1800 B.C. to, at the latest, about 500 B.C. There is no evidence that during this period the climatic and general environment of the Thames valley differed from that of the country generally. The decline from the climatic optimum of the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods continued. Barley appears to have been the commonest crop until towards the end of the Bronze Age when barley-growing declined and wheat again became the dominant crop reaching an optimum in the Iron Age.¹⁹ Stone-working continued into the Bronze Age and many of the worked flints found in Middlesex such as round scrapers and the perforated battle-axes and 'maces' of 'cushion' type probably belong to the Bronze Age rather than to the Neolithic.²⁰ Some ground stone axes, such as the two flint examples from the Thames at Brentford, and from the river between Twickenham and Richmond,²¹ show a splaying of the cutting end that imitates the form of early flat bronze axes.

Middlesex does not possess many of the Bronze-Age monuments found, for example, in Wiltshire and Norfolk. A solitary mound on Parliament Hill resembles a Bronze-Age round barrow.²² A drawing made in 1725 by William Stukely seems to prove its antiquity.²³ Stukely also reported another 'barrow' near Brockley Hill,²⁴ and there was certainly a Bronze-Age mound at Teddington.²⁵ The identifiable burial urns from the Middlesex area are, however, from flat burials or 'urnfields'.²⁶

It has been suggested that the lack of Early and Middle Bronze-Age settlement sites in the Thames Basin and elsewhere is a result of the less settled, perhaps pastoral-nomadic existence of the people. The Wessex culture²⁷ (middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.) of the Early Bronze Age is represented in the county and the surrounding area by a few metal finds, but there is in Middlesex no evidence of associated settlements. Of about the same period as the Wessex culture are the earliest forms of collared or 'overhanging rim' urns which recall Neolithic pot types. A few pieces of collared urns, probably of various dates, have come from the Thames at Hammersmith and Mortlake.

The Middle Bronze Age (very approximately 1400–850 B.C.) is a period of 'urn burial' in Britain, but it is not yet possible to assess the urnfields of Middlesex (discussed below) nor, since the Middle Bronze Age is a period of truly insular culture, to relate them with the various urnfield and 'tumulus' cultures. The internal chronology of the Late Bronze Age is also uncertain.

The Beaker people seem to have merged with the rest of the population, for in the Bronze Age their pottery disappeared, a particular class of equipment can no longer be ascribed to them, and their inhumation burial rite was gradually supplanted by cremation.²⁸ The people of the earlier Bronze Age still deposited a variety of objects in their graves, notably in Wessex,²⁹ but in the later Bronze Age only pottery accompanied the bones. Consequently in Middlesex, where even Early Bronze-Age assemblages are lacking, the archaeological record of the Bronze Age is unusually difficult to interpret. Although the area has yielded a good sequence of bronze implements and a fair amount of pottery, the two groups cannot be satisfactorily correlated, and the succession of pottery types appears to be much more broken than that of bronze implements.

¹⁹ H. Godwin, *Hist. of British Flora*, 62, 262–5.

²⁰ e.g. L.M. A.14578; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* lxxviii. 16–25; *P.P.S.* xxxii. 235.

²¹ L.M. Lay. O.396, O.384.

²² *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xvi. 240–4.

²³ L.M. 55.110.

²⁴ *A.M.L.* 204.

²⁵ See below.

²⁶ *A.M.L.* 88–91.

²⁷ *P.P.S.* iv. 52–106.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 60; xxvi. 282; *Prehist. Communities*, 119; *Prehistoric Peoples of Scotland*, ed. S. Piggott, 94.

²⁹ e.g. *P.P.S.* iv. 52–106; *Prehist. Communities*, 143–4.

Middlesex has produced surprisingly little pottery of the earlier Bronze Age. Only four or five fragments of collared urns from the Thames at Hammersmith and Mortlake have been clearly identified. Collared or overhanging-rim urns largely succeeded beakers in southern Britain. They are thought to have been derived from Neolithic pottery of the Mortlake-Fengate type, with influence from beakers and other sources.³⁰ Presumably, therefore, their origin lies in the late Neolithic-early Beaker period,³¹ but for how long they continued to be made is not known. The single Middlesex fragment placed by Dr. I. H. Longworth in his Primary Series of these urns, which may have come to an end about 1400 B.C.,³² may be roughly contemporary with bronze daggers like those found in a barrow at Teddington³³ and in the Thames at Hammersmith³⁴ and Bermondsey,³⁵ dated to about 1500-1400 B.C.³⁶ Some of the plano-convex flint knives, stone battle-axes, bronze awls, and early bronze axes from Middlesex may also have been in use at the same time as the earlier collared urns.³⁷ Collared urns, often containing cremated bones, are common in southern Britain, and their scarcity in Middlesex is the more striking in view of the relative abundance of both earlier and later pottery.³⁸

No occupation sites of the collared-urn people have been found in Middlesex, but in other parts of Britain evidence has been interpreted to indicate their hunting, farming, and domestic activities and possibly nomadic habits.³⁹

One Middlesex monument which may have been connected with the collared-urn people was a barrow by Sandy Lane, Teddington. When it was excavated in 1854 the barrow stood 12 ft. 3 in. high and had already been disturbed. All the finds have been lost, but the report of the excavation indicates that the original burial was a cremation accompanied by a bronze dagger and flints. No pottery was found, but the dagger—the only find illustrated⁴⁰—has been tentatively likened to daggers from Wessex burials of about 1500-1400 B.C., when collared urns were in use.⁴¹ Apart from the fact that the Parliament Hill barrow yielded poor evidence of a cremation, its date and that of the supposed barrow at Brockley Hill, Stanmore,⁴² is unknown.

A few pieces of miscellaneous Bronze-Age pottery have been found in the Thames; but the one large group of Bronze-Age pottery from Middlesex, numbering some scores of vessels, comes within the category known as Deverel-Rimbury, a term covering a diversity of southern British wares found associated in various combinations.⁴³ The three main classes of this pottery are bucket, barrel, and globular urns, together with smaller vessels of finer ware with impressed decoration. Most Middlesex Deverel-Rimbury pots come from the south-west of the county, where they were used as cinerary urns buried in cemeteries at Acton (5),⁴⁴ Littleton (3),⁴⁵ Sunbury (or Ashford) (30-40),⁴⁶ and Yiewsley (at least 12).⁴⁷ The description of some sherds found in the Teddington

³⁰ *Prehist. Communities*, 135; *P.P.S.* xxvii. 263-306.

³¹ An urn from Wilts. which seems to come earlier in the series has a Carbon 14 date of 1540 B.C.: *P.P.S.* xxvii. 289.

³² *Ibid.* 290, 295.

³³ *I.O.A.* (1954), 47, 59.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 45.

³⁵ *L.M.* 36.241.

³⁶ *I.O.A.* (1954), 51. An example of a Primary Series collared urn and a bronze dagger of the same general type as the Mdx. examples occurring in the same grave comes from Loose Howe (Yorks. N.R.): *P.P.S.* xxvii. 305, no. 281.

³⁷ See schedule 11 of associations: *P.P.S.* xxvii. 304-6.

³⁸ *Prehist. Communities*, 156; *P.P.S.* xxvii. 275, fig. 8; 277, fig. 9; 285-6, 294-303. For the region around Mdx. the balance is perhaps partly redressed by collared urns from Ham Common (Surr.) in *L.M.*

³⁹ *Prehist. Communities*, 156-7; *Antiq. Jnl.* xx. 467; R. R. Clarke, *East Anglia*, 77.

⁴⁰ *Archaeologia*, xxxvi. 175-6; *Arch. Jnl.* xiii. 305, fig.; *Surr. Arch. Coll.* i. 74-76, fig.; J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, 243; *V.C.H. Mdx.* ii. 13-14.

⁴¹ *I.O.A.* (1954), 47, 51, 59.

⁴² W. Stukely, *Itin. Cur.* (1776), i. 118; *T.L.M.A.S.* xix. 73.

⁴³ Named from a Dorset barrow and cemetery containing urns of these types: W. A. Miles, *The Deverel Barrow*, 16-26, pls. 1-6; C. Warne, *Celtic Tumuli of Dorset*, 60-63; *B.A.P.* ii. 40-41. A division of the pottery into a Deverel-Rimbury and a Cranborne Chase group has recently been proposed: *P.P.S.* xxviii. 319-21.

⁴⁴ *Arch. Jnl.* xl. 106; *B.A.P.* ii. 51, 122, pl. xcv (470a); *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 450.

⁴⁵ *T.L.M.A.S.* x. 307.

⁴⁶ Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough, 1806), i, p. ccvi; *Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii. 449-52; *B.A.P.* ii. 51, 122, pl. xcv (469d); *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 450.

⁴⁷ *A.M.L.* 91; *B.M. Quarterly*, viii. 1; *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 451.

barrow—‘fragments of a very large and rudely formed half-baked urn and pieces of calcined bones’⁴⁸—suggests the remains of a bucket urn deposited in the barrow as a secondary burial.⁴⁹ Single bucket urns without bones have been found at Brockley Hill, Stanmore,⁵⁰ and in the Thames at Mortlake and Hammersmith. Deverel-Rimbury urns were also reported from the Brent reservoir, Kingsbury,⁵¹ but these cannot now be traced. No datable objects have been found with any of these urns.

As far as is known, the Middlesex cemeteries were of the flat, barrowless type.⁵² But when Sunbury, the best reported site, was excavated in 1870, some of the urns, most of which had been inverted over the bones, were found to be arranged in a pattern,⁵³ and this supports the view that some kind of surface mark for individual burials was used.

Deverel-Rimbury pottery similar to that from Middlesex has been found in great quantities in southern and eastern England. Much of it comes from cemeteries like those in Middlesex,⁵⁴ but some occupation sites have been found, remains from which suggest that Deverel-Rimbury people kept cattle and sheep, cultivated with the plough small, squarish fields, and wove cloth.⁵⁵ No dwelling places have so far been identified in Middlesex but the existence of cemeteries as large as Sunbury suggests a settled rather than a nomadic life.⁵⁶

The dates and affinities of the Deverel-Rimbury pottery users are uncertain. Deverel-Rimbury pottery was formerly thought to represent an immigration, from the Netherlands or France, towards the end of the Bronze Age, possibly about 750 B.C.⁵⁷ Recent evidence, however, suggests that Deverel-Rimbury pottery first appeared at an earlier date, perhaps about 1200 B.C., and that some, if not all, of its varieties were indigenous British developments.⁵⁸ Deverel-Rimbury pottery may have had a long life and the rather coarse Middlesex urns may well represent a late stage in the development of the wares. In Middlesex certainly the dramatic contrast between the scarcity of early Bronze-Age pottery and the abundance of Deverel-Rimbury, and the absence of any signs of evolution from earlier to Deverel-Rimbury types, suggest that here the pottery indicates an influx of population.

However Deverel-Rimbury pottery is dated, there seem to be gaps, not echoed in the metalwork, in the Middlesex Bronze-Age pottery sequence. The next recognizable pottery after Deverel-Rimbury probably belongs to the end of the Bronze or the beginning of the Iron Age, perhaps about 550 B.C. Whether this represents a real decline in the use of pottery or whether it is an illusion created by misinterpretation or accident of discovery, is uncertain. The problem is common to much of south-east Britain. In the case of Middlesex it is not known how quickly Deverel-Rimbury pottery reached the county nor for how long the cemeteries were in use. At Yiewsley Iron-Age pottery was found in the same field as Deverel-Rimbury sherds, although this does not necessarily indicate that the two groups were connected.⁵⁹

⁴⁸ *Archaeologia*, xxxvi. 176.

⁴⁹ Many examples of this practice are known from outside Mdx.: *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 430.

⁵⁰ *T.L.M.A.S.* xix. 73.

⁵¹ *A.M.L.* 91; *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 451.

⁵² *A.M.L.* 91. This fits in with the general picture of Deverel-Rimbury burials, which in the east of the country are generally in flat cemeteries, but in the west are often covered by barrows: *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 435–6; *P.P.S.* xxviii. 320, n. 1.

⁵³ *Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii. 449–52. Systematically

laid-out urn cemeteries are known on the Continent and in Britain: *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 434, no. 2, 435.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 414–54; *P.P.S.* iv. 186–7; xxvi. 178–92.

⁵⁵ *P.P.S.* vii. 114–33; xxviii. 289–328.

⁵⁶ Cf. Clarke, *E. Anglia*, 86.

⁵⁷ *B.A.P.* ii. 48–50; *Antiq. Jnl.* ii. 27–35; xiii. 434–40.

⁵⁸ *I.O.A.* (1956), 20–52; *P.P.S.* xxv. 155–9, 161; xxvi. 187–9; xxviii. 319–21; *Arch. Jnl.* cxix. 1–66.

⁵⁹ *B.M. Quart.* viii. 1; *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 451. See also IA section.

POTTERY GAZETTEER

Location/Ref.

ACTON

Mill Hill Park (centred TQ. 198797): five bucket urns, one barrel urn (?), all containing burnt bones. Decoration includes finger-tip impressions on rim, cordons with finger-tip impressions and incisions, and rows of knobs below rim. Some have repair and other small holes through fabric.⁶⁰

B.M. 1883.6.12.1-5,
1889.2.9.1

HARROW

Brockley Hill (TQ. 17889340): bucket-urn sherd.⁶¹

Hendon Central
Libr.(?)

HENDON

Kingsbury, Brent reservoir: 'cinerary vessels of the Ashford type'.⁶²

Unknown

SUNBURY

Ashford or Sunbury Common (centred TQ. 09707045): remains of c. 40 Deverel-Rimbury urns, one or two retaining their cremations. Few bases survive. Most of urns are buckets; a few plain, but many with decoration similar to Ashford pots (above); one has 5 applied semi-circles above a cordon, all with finger-tip impressions; 3 have concave necks; 2 have convex sides. One appears to be remains of barrel urn with short vertical rib below rim. Two are globular urns, one with unusually coarse decoration.

B.M. 1872.12.21.1-34.
L.M. A.10976-7⁶³

Deverel-Rimbury-type urns found at Sunbury during 18th cent.⁶⁴

Unknown

Littleton reservoir (TQ. 08037040): bucket urn and 2 fragments, with finger-tip impressions on rim and applied cordon. Complete urn contains burnt bones.⁶⁵

L.M. 37.221/1-3

WEST DRAYTON & YIEWSLEY

Yiewsley, most from Boyer's Gravel-pit (possibly TQ. 07488033 or TQ. 08168014): c. 14 Deverel-Rimbury urns and fragments. c. 11 are bucket-urn types, some plain, others ornamented with finger-impressed cordons, knobs, etc. One has vertical finger-tip grooves; another has an out-turned rim with finger-tip impressions; one is a bipartite urn with shoulder cordon with small knobs; one is a barrel urn with remains of two vertical perforated lugs, probably the survivors of an original four; one is fragment of globular urn.

B.M. 1933.4.6.136-7,
143, 152-61, 163

Other pottery, suggesting domestic occupation in late BA or early IA, found in same area.⁶⁶ Neolithic worked flints also reported to have been found associated with some of BA and IA pottery.⁶⁷ Investigation (1953) failed to identify gravel-pits in which pottery was found.⁶⁸

B.M. 1933.4.6.139-42,
146-50, 162

THAMES (BARNES)

Mortlake: fragment of collared urn, decorated with twisted-cord impressions, in broken vertical lines on collar and in rough herring-bone pattern on wall.

L.M. A.13665⁷¹

End of Primary or beginning of Secondary Series,⁶⁹ perhaps c. 1400 B.C.⁷⁰

Fragment of fairly fine ware, with simple rim and close-set, somewhat irregular, horizontal grooves round exterior. Probably BA, but possibly part of beaker.⁷²

L.M. A.13664

Two pieces. Possibly BA.

B.M. 1909.5.18.15, 17

⁶⁰ *Arch. Jnl.* xl. 106; *B.A.P.* ii. 51, 122, pl. xcv (470 a-c); *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 450.

⁶¹ *T.L.M.A.S.* xix. 73.

⁶² *A.M.L.* 91; *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 451.

⁶³ *Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* xxvii. 449-52; *B.A.P.* ii. 51, 122, pl. xcv (469d); *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 450.

⁶⁴ Camden, *Britannia*, i. p. ccvi; *T.L.M.A.S.* i. 140.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* x. 307.

⁶⁶ *A.M.L.* 91; *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 451; *B.M. Quart.* viii. 44-45.

⁶⁷ B.M. accessions register, quoting original labels.

⁶⁸ O.S. recs.

⁶⁹ Identified by Dr. I. H. Longworth.

⁷⁰ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 263-306.

⁷¹ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 84.

⁷² Cf. Dovercourt (Essex): *P.P.S.* ii. 182, pl. xxxix (9).

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX THAMES (HAMMERSMITH)

	<i>Location/Ref.</i>
Collared-urn fragment with vestigial stopped groove. Primary Series, probably not much later than c. 1400 B.C. ⁷³	B.M. 1891.3.20.5 ⁷⁴
Fragment, apparently of collared urn, decorated on collar with checker pattern of twisted-cord impressions.	B.M. 1891.3.20.4
Collared-urn sherd, with twisted-cord impressions round top of rim and in checker pattern on collar. Secondary Series, ⁷⁵ probably not earlier than c. 1400 B.C. ⁷⁶	L.M. C.939
Collared-urn fragment, with cord impressions obliquely on top of rim and, apparently, in herring-bone and horizontal-line pattern on collar.	G.M. M.Acer029 ⁷⁷
Fragment, apparently of bucket urn, with smoothed, lightly scored surface and narrow cordon with finger-nail/tip impressions.	L.M. A.19480
Nr. Ranelagh, opposite Crab Tree: sherds. Possibly BA.	B.M. 1906.7.2.6, 10, 11; 1907.6.19.11

THAMES (LONDON)

Small pot of coarse ware with seven remaining lugs. Some pots similar to this, but with knobs instead of lugs, resembling miniature versions of some bucket urns, ⁷⁸ appear to have come from bucket-urn cemeteries. ⁷⁹ Lugs on this pot recall those on globular urns. ⁸⁰	B.M. 1904.5.29.1 ⁸¹
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The exceptional concentration of Bronze-Age metalwork in the Middlesex area, especially from the Thames between Staines and Westminster, is of great importance in tracing the chronology of the British Bronze Age. It is not possible to list all the Middlesex material. The heaviest concentration of finds is from the Thames, and to a lesser extent from the Lea valley, although the number of 'dry land' finds from the area is not insignificant. A noteworthy feature of the Thames finds is that whereas Early and Middle Bronze-Age metal items have often been recovered from the river below Battersea, Late Bronze-Age metalwork has seldom been found in the river below that point. The full significance of this is not yet clear.⁸²

(a) *The Copper Phase*

The use of metal in the British Isles first appears with the Beaker immigrants from the Continent who dominated a period probably covering the first three or four centuries of the 2nd millennium B.C., in which only copper implements were used. Of the known copper-implement types of this phase, examples of only broad-tanged riveted-knives and halberds have been found in Middlesex.⁸³

(b) *The Early Bronze Age*

The use of bronze in Britain dates from about the 17th century B.C. The inhabitants of Middlesex possibly obtained their first bronze implements by trade. Flat axes from Middlesex and some grooved daggers may reflect Irish, less certainly Scottish influence, while daggers of the 'Camerton-Snowhill' type reflect or originated from the bronze industries of Wessex which were flourishing in this period. Whether the presence of these and other possible Wessex bronzes in Middlesex was due to trade, population movements, or theft remains obscure. The Wessex industries were also producing tanged and early socketed spearheads (using metal pegs or pins to secure shaft to socket)

⁷³ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 290.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 295, no. 63.

⁷⁵ Identified by Dr. I. H. Longworth.

⁷⁶ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 290.

⁷⁷ Guildhall Mus. *Catalogue* (1908), 3, no. 1.

⁷⁸ Cf. *B.A.P.* ii. pls. xciv (469c), xcv (470b, 474), lxxxv (368), xciii (456k).

⁷⁹ *Prehistory of the Farnham District* (Surr. Arch. Soc. 1939), 177-9, pl. xcvi; *Surr. Arch. Coll.* lviii. 112, pl. ciib.

⁸⁰ e.g. *B.A.P.* ii. pls. lxxxvii (389-94), lxxxviii, xcii (446).

⁸¹ *Ibid.* i. 96, 156, pl. xxix (17).

⁸² The authors are grateful for the help of Dr. C. Burgess throughout this section.

⁸³ *P.P.S.* xxiii. 91-123. Axes of copper have been found in Britain but not yet in Mdx. The diagnostic 'thick-butted' axes in L.M. Lay. cannot be certainly attributed to the Metropolitan area.

and cast-flanged axes in the second half of the Early Bronze Age. Although examples of all these types have been found in Middlesex, production of them was less certainly a Wessex monopoly, and it is possible that the cast-flanged axes in particular may have originated elsewhere in eastern England.⁸⁴ It seems likely that bronze-working was starting up in other parts of the south and east during the latter part of the Early Bronze Age, and the earliest bronze-working in Middlesex may date to this period.

The links between Wessex and the Continent and the Mediterranean during this period are well known;⁸⁵ but there is little concrete evidence for the direct links between the Thames valley and the Continent which almost certainly existed at this time. A magnificent pommel dagger of this period found in the Thames⁸⁶ is, however, of a type with a very wide distribution in Europe. This example has been thought to be an import from Germany.

(c) *The Middle Bronze Age*

The Middle Bronze Age, covering, in the south-east, the period from about 1400 B.C. to 900 B.C., was marked by a mainly insular development of the British bronze industries. At first, while the local industries were relatively weak, bronzes continued to be imported from the old-established Irish industries. Bronzes of Irish origin which have been found in Middlesex include socket-looped spearheads with kite-shaped blades, basal-looped spearheads with rounded blades, developed types of flanged axes—at first half-flanged, and later wing-flanged⁸⁷—and probably some dirks and rapiers. But as local metal-working gathered strength, so the Irish imports probably decreased. A considerable range of metalwork of this period is definitely of south-eastern origin, and some of it at least may have been produced by smiths in Middlesex or elsewhere in the Thames valley. As many as 119 dirks and rapiers, for example, have been found in the county,⁸⁸ while the recovery from the Thames of vast numbers of a type of basal-looped spearhead with a straight-sided blade and truncate base strongly suggests local production. Another spearhead of south-eastern origin which occurs in large numbers in Middlesex is the side-looped type with leaf-shaped blade and loops placed on the side of the socket.⁸⁹ Above all, however, the Middle Bronze Age is the era of the 'palstave', an axe-type introduced into Britain at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, probably from north or north-west Europe. Production of insular British palstave forms soon developed. The type of Middle Bronze-Age palstave commonly found in Middlesex has low flanges and belongs to a south-eastern regional group. Some at least of these also may have been produced locally.

In the latter part of the period there was a considerable revival of links with the Continent, and many bronzes from Middlesex, particularly a range of ornaments found in the Thames, reflect trade with many parts of Europe. A fine decorated pin from the Thames at Wandsworth was imported from Picardy, a ball-headed pin of early Urn-field type probably from Middlesex possibly came originally from France or Germany, while a pin with a corrugated stem from the Thames at Kingston, and a pin with side-loop from London, both⁹⁰ probably came from the same area. From northern Europe

⁸⁴ Exotic-looking cast-flanged axes (continental style) from this area, now in Hull Mus., have been regarded as dubious, and identical items in L.M. Lay. are catalogued as 'forgeries'.

⁸⁵ *P.P.S.* iv. 52-106.

⁸⁶ This section is based largely on *P.P.S.* xxv. 144-87.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* xxviii. 80-102 (with full list). In *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* xciii. 15, their use is discussed, and cattle-raising and cattle-raiding are mentioned as activities requiring weapons of this kind.

⁸⁸ These offensive weapons suggest a warlike environment, but may occasionally be 'ceremonial' or 'prestige' objects.

⁸⁹ Many spearheads found in the Thames contain the shrunken original wood of the shafts. This is ash in most analysed L.M. samples. A 'ferrule' of Late BA from the Thames was found to contain blackthorn.

⁹⁰ In B.M.; illustrated in *L.P.A.* 39, fig. 13 (9, 10).

came a D-sectioned decorated bracelet which was recovered from the Thames near London, and a twisted torque found in the Thames at Westminster. Early bifid⁹¹ razors have western French affinities, a medium-winged axe found in the river at Thames Ditton came from Germany or France, and early socketed axes of Taunton or Bishopsland type from northern Europe. Weapons, notably leaf-shaped swords with flanged hilts, were also imported. The earliest British examples of these swords have all come from the Thames between Brentford and Barking,⁹² and were almost certainly imported from the Rhine basin. Upon a few early imports of this type was based the whole complex of native British leaf-shaped sword production in the Late Bronze Age.

These sword imports mark the opening of the final phase of the Middle Bronze Age. Whereas the native rapiers of the Middle Bronze Age were designed as thrusting weapons, the new heavy-bladed swords were primarily slashing weapons. From the Thames area have come large numbers of swords of various intermediate native types, broadly contemporary with the earliest continental imports, and the product of a complex intermingling of native and continental influences. The commonest of these, the Ballintober type,⁹³ also occurs in considerable numbers in Ireland, a fact which probably indicates links between the Thames valley and Ireland.

(d) *The Late Bronze Age*

It seems certain that during the Late Bronze-Age metal-working continued to flourish in south-east England, especially in the Thames valley. The smiths of this area, inspired by continental models, seem to have specialized in the production of leaf-shaped swords; at first U-butt types, and, later, various types with V-butts.⁹⁴ Other south-eastern bronze types of the first part of this period common in Middlesex and possibly manufactured locally, include a developed palstave type, 'spearshaft ferrules', tongued chapes, and spearheads employing the continental method of rivet-hole fastenings for the shaft rather than loops as in the former Middle Bronze-Age tradition. A further important demarcating factor concerns the practice of using lead intentionally in the bronze alloy, a usage introduced in the early 1st millennium B.C. Implements of the Middle Bronze Age were made of unleaded bronze, while Late Bronze-Age implements were made from this new lead-bronze alloy.⁹⁵

From the 8th century B.C. onwards the range of bronze types was greater than ever before. The sources for some of the raw metal and for many of the types found in south and east Britain in the final phases of the Late Bronze Age must be sought on the Continent. A great variety of socketed axes and spearheads, and socketed tools such as gouges, chisels,⁹⁶ and hammers has been found in Middlesex. Local manufacture is indicated by the find of a mould for a socketed axe in the hoard from Southall.⁹⁷ Cauldrons are of Irish-British manufacture but based on an ultimately Mediterranean model. One was found in the Thames at Battersea. Hoards of metalwork of western French origin, containing such exotic pieces as winged axes, bronzes, including carp's tongue swords,⁹⁸

⁹¹ Most authorities assume that these objects are razors: *P.P.S.* xii. 121-41, includes many Mdx. examples.

⁹² *P.P.S.* xvii. 195-213, discusses many Thames finds. See also *ibid.* xviii. 129-47, where Mdx. swords are compared with continental types.

⁹³ *Ulster Arch. Jnl.* xix.

⁹⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxxiii. 253-65, where R. A. Smith's 'U' (round-shouldered) and 'V' (straight-shouldered) types are distinguished and illustrated with Thames examples. For Ewart Park swords see *Arch. Aeliana* (1933).

⁹⁵ A technical account of the constituents of the bronze

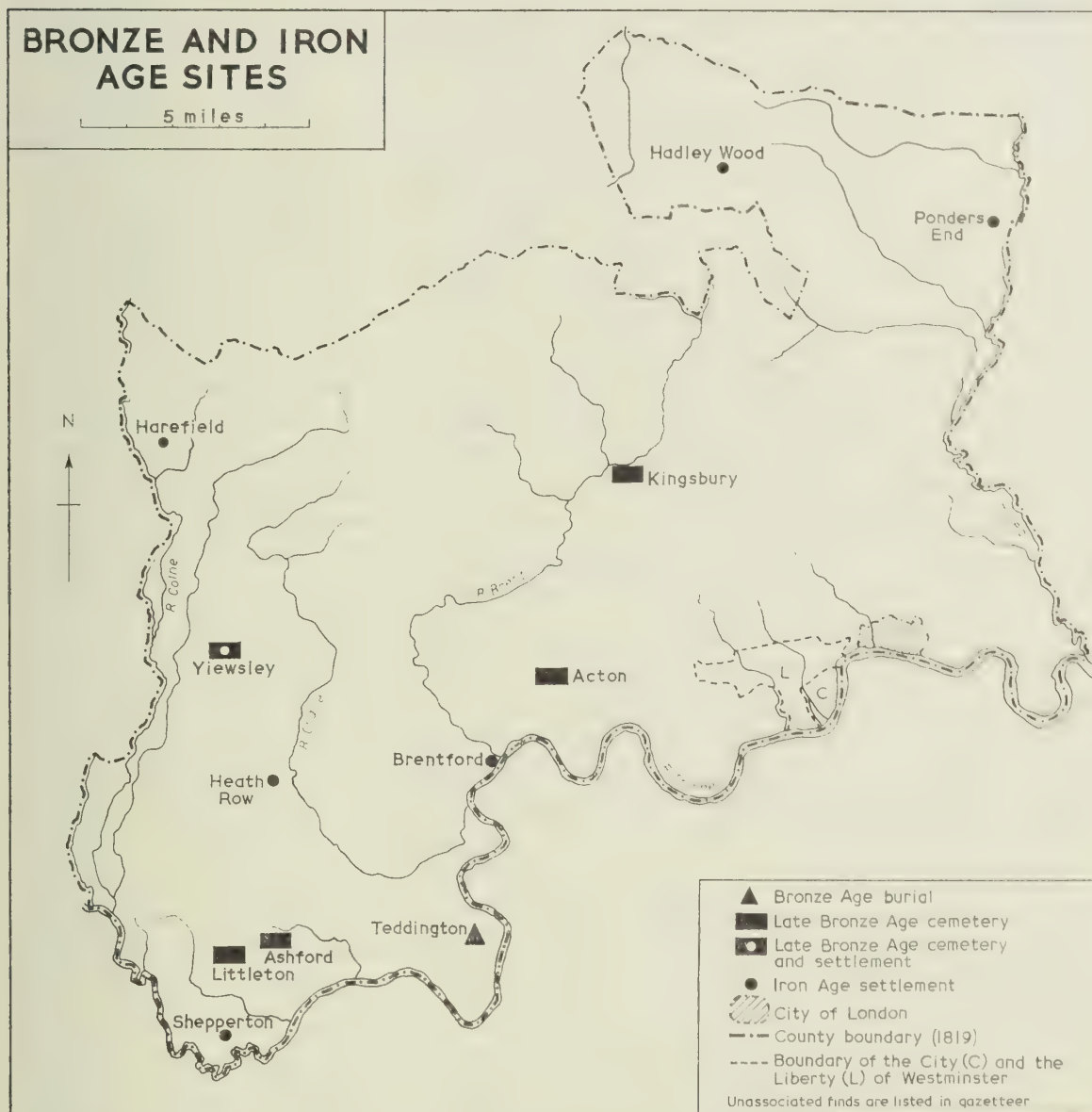
alloy of swords in Britain is to be found in *P.P.S.* xxv. 144-208.

⁹⁶ Tanged chisels are native products, but some of these go back to the early BA. Socketed chisels are originally continental. See *L.P.A.* 35, for illustrations of Late BA tools from Lond. and Mdx.

⁹⁷ In B.M.; *A.M.L.* 110; *Sibrium* (Varese, Italy, 1960), vi. 153-62. For details of the Kensington hoard (Late BA) and the Southall hoard (Middle BA) see D. Britton, *Inventaria Archaeologia, Great Britain*, 48-54.

⁹⁸ Swords with narrowing tip: *P.P.S.* xiv. 155-76.

of the so-called 'Carp's Tongue' complex from western France, bag-shaped chapes,⁹⁹ and bugle-shaped objects, are very common in the Thames valley. In Middlesex such hoards have been found at Kensington, Hounslow, and Hanwell. A decorated razor from the Thames at Old England suggests contacts between the Thames valley and north Germany. Other material is less certainly from the same area. A considerable quantity of material of continental Hallstatt type, dating to the final phase of the Late



Bronze Age, has also been found in Middlesex. Finds include large numbers of Hallstatt-bronze swords, winged chapes, crescentic razors, and horse harness plates. Contemporary with these pieces are Middlesex examples of socketed axes from Brittany and of cup-headed and sunflower pins from Scandinavia. All support the view that there were strong links between Middlesex and the Continent right up to the end of the Bronze Age.

It is difficult to account for the presence of so much of the Bronze-Age metalwork, swords, spearheads, and shields,¹ in the Thames. Accidental loss was undoubtedly a

⁹⁹ Chapes (the lower parts of tips of scabbards) occur in this order in the Late BA: (i) 'Tongued', (ii) 'Bag-shaped'—carp's tongue complex, (iii) 'Winged' (Hallstatt).

¹ Three bronze shields found in the Thames and one from the Lea valley are said to be not earlier than 8th cent. B.C.: *P.P.S.* xxviii. 187-90.

factor, but in many cases the discovery of fine, often unique pieces may indicate offerings to a river deity.²

THE IRON AGE

By about 1200 B.C., during the British Middle Bronze Age, the manufacture of iron had been mastered in the Near East. From there the knowledge spread to southern and central Europe and eventually to Britain.³ The earliest dated iron objects in Middlesex are some daggers from the Thames, to which a date somewhat before 500 B.C. has been attributed.⁴ The Middlesex material, most of which has come, like the antiquities of earlier periods, from the Thames to the west of London and from the south-west of the county,⁵ falls broadly into two groups, occupation sites, and the objects found in them, mostly pottery, and single stray finds.⁶ No burials are known in Middlesex, but occupation sites are known or suspected at Bush Hill Park (Enfield), Hadley Wood (mostly in Herts.), Harefield, Heathrow, Ponders End, Shepperton, Yiewsley, the Thames foreshore between Isleworth and Brentford, and, perhaps, at Brockley Hill. The main classes are metalwork and pottery, much of which comes from the Thames at Mortlake.

The metalwork is of bronze and iron. Bronze continued in use throughout the period for bowls and decorative objects. Iron was used for plainer, utilitarian articles like swords, axes, sickles, and 'currency bars'.⁷ The number of known Iron-Age iron objects from Middlesex is small, particularly when compared with the plentiful Late Bronze-Age implements. This apparent scarcity may, however, be an illusion created by the perishable nature of iron and by the fact that some types of iron tools seem to have changed little in style from Iron Age to medieval times.⁸ Towards the end of the Iron Age coins, made of gold, silver, and alloys, appeared for the first time.

The fabric of Middlesex Iron-Age pottery is usually harder than that of most Bronze-Age pottery and ranges from coarse, heavily-gritted wares to the rarer, fine burnished pieces. Some pots have simple convex or straight sides, but most have shoulders of varying sharpness. Many have finger-tip-impressed decoration on the rim and shoulder, usually directly on the surface, and not on an added cordon in bucket-urn style. A few have dimpled or omphalos bases, and one or two have small handles or lugs.⁹

The only thoroughly excavated Iron-Age dwelling-place in Middlesex is a site, once called Caesar's Camp, now destroyed by a runway of London Airport at Heathrow. Excavations revealed a settlement surrounded by a bank and ditch forming a four-sided enclosure about 450 feet across. Within the enclosure were the gullies and post-holes of eleven circular huts. A little apart from the huts were traces of a solidly-built, rectangular timber building surrounded by a colonnade resembling in plan a classical temple. Later than the huts and the temple was a secondary enclosure inserted among the huts, and the latest structure of all was an unfinished boundary ditch, producing an effect which has been compared to the sacred enclosure of a Romano-Celtic temple, possibly

² See IA (art) section for bog and river offerings. In *P.P.S.* xxviii. 86 it is suggested that many of the large quantity of undamaged Middle BA rapiers and dirks from the Thames by London were offerings.

³ *Hist. of Technology*, i. 592-9. The context of IA culture sketched in this section can be supplemented by the *O.S. Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age* (1962).

⁴ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 309-12, 329-31, fig. 8.

⁵ Some, for example, pottery from Brockley Hill, Harefield, Ponders End, and Stamford Hill, has come from the north. See below.

⁶ The one group of objects which is apparently not from a dwelling-place is a group of bronze animals and other models found at Hounslow in same field as a Late

BA hoard and presumably within 2-3 miles of the Heathrow site.

⁷ R. F. Tylecote, *Metallurgy in Archaeology*, 206-11, 345-7. A currency bar was found in the Thames at Hammersmith (L.M. A.20985): *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 88. Examples from areas nr. Mdx. are two from the Thames at Datchet (Bucks.) (L.M. A.17258, 9), and one from E. Ham (Essex) (L.M. C.738).

⁸ *Lond. in Roman Times* (L.M. 1930), 75.

⁹ No book has been written on Brit. IA pottery, but see *I.O.A.* (1952), 29-78; *P.P.S.* xix. 14-38; *Maiden Cas.* 185-241; A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray, *Meare Lake Village*. i. 15-59.

dug during the Roman period. The temple, which had been frequently repaired, is assumed to have been in existence throughout the occupation of the site. The southern half of the site was never built upon and was probably used for herding animals.

The dating of the settlement depends mainly on the very varied pottery of which it produced a large quantity.¹⁰ This has not yet been fully evaluated, but since some shows affinities with British Late Bronze-Age pottery, the earliest settlement may possibly date at least from the beginning of the Iron Age in Middlesex, perhaps to about 500 B.C.¹¹ Judging by the repairs to the temple, the site was in use for a long period. A piece of pottery from the secondary enclosure probably belongs¹² to a type thought to have come into use about 100 B.C.,¹³ and a fragment of Roman pottery was found in the boundary ditch. Occupation of the site seems therefore to have ranged in time over most of the Iron Age in Middlesex, but whether occupation was continuous is not yet clear.¹⁴

Information from other possible Iron-Age occupation sites is less conclusive than that from Heathrow. At Harefield at least two coarse late-Bronze or Iron-Age pots were found in a sandpit. At Ponders End a quantity of coarse, probably early Iron-Age pottery was found in a gravel-pit, reputedly with pieces of baked clay and burnt flints, perhaps hearthstones. At Yiewsley pottery that appears to be Iron Age and probably indicates domestic occupation was found in the same field as Bronze-Age Deverel-Rimbury pottery. The Thames foreshore between Isleworth and Brentford produced fragments of coarse Iron-Age pottery, some associated with a hut floor of clay and hazel wattles.¹⁵ At Shepperton¹⁶ a hoard of over 360 coins which may date from about 50 B.C. to A.D. 50 was found with or near some Iron-Age pottery, animal bones, and heat-crackled flints, suggesting domestic occupation. Late Iron-Age pottery of Belgic type was reported from Brockley Hill south-east of the Roman site of Sulloniaca, but this may not be older than the Roman conquest. An earthwork in the middle of Hadley Wood is possibly an Iron-Age fortified camp.¹⁷ The D-shaped earthwork at Bush Hill Park may be of Iron-Age date, although excavations proved inconclusive.¹⁸ The large amount of Iron-Age pottery found in the Thames at Mortlake, a reach which has also produced Iron-Age iron axes and daggers,¹⁹ suggests settlement in this district. According to one account,²⁰ most of the Iron-Age objects described as coming from the Thames here came from the middle or the Middlesex side of the river.

The events represented by the Iron-Age antiquities of Middlesex are imperfectly understood, as is much in the British Iron Age. It is generally believed that in the Late Bronze Age immigrants from western Europe were entering Britain and that the process continued during the Iron Age, when bands of people arriving at different times and from various destinations introduced the new elements that constituted the British Iron Age.²¹ Specialized metal-working techniques may have been introduced by a few craftsmen, and goods with continental parallels found in Britain, such as the bronze brooches from the Thames at Syon Reach²² and London,²³ and a bracelet from the Thames at Hammersmith,²⁴ may have arrived here through trade rather than by population movement.

¹⁰ See pottery gazetteer.

¹¹ *Archaeology*, i, no. 2 (2), 74-78; *IA Problems*, 21-28.

¹² *Arch. Jnl.* ci. 66, no. 24, fig. 8.

¹³ *IA Problems*, 12, fig. 4, where the type of pottery is named South-eastern 3rd B.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 25, fig. 7; *P.P.S.* xxvii. 322-3.

¹⁵ For details of these finds see pottery gazetteer. The iron axes and sickles found in the Thames at Brentford may be further evidence of settlement in the Brentford district.

¹⁶ See pottery gazetteer.

¹⁷ *T.L.M.A.S.* iv (1), 97-99; *Trans. E. Herts. Arch. Soc.* xiii. 204-6.

¹⁸ Personal investigation.

¹⁹ See below.

²⁰ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 82.

²¹ *Celts*, 53-58; C. F. C. Hawkes, *Scheme for the Brit. BA* (paper for C.B.A. Conference on Problems of Brit. BA, Dec. 1960); *IA Problems*, 1-16; *P.P.S.* xviii. 140-55, xxx. 99-110; *Antiquity*, xxxvii. 229-31.

²² B.M. 1930.10.23.2; *Antiq. Jnl.* xi. 60, fig.

²³ L.M. A.11927 (Thames, nr. Lond.), A 22304 (Thames, nr. Lond.), A.22357 (Thames, probably Lond.).

²⁴ L.M. A.23477. Identified by Mr. J. Barber.

Influences from the Hallstatt, La Tène, and Belgic periods of the continental Iron Age²⁵ have been distinguished in British Iron-Age material, but it is now generally accepted that the British Iron Age cannot be equated with the continental pattern,²⁶ and there is therefore as yet no overall framework into which the Middlesex material can be fitted. Moreover, as for Bronze-Age material, pottery and metalwork have not been found together, except for the few pieces of pottery found with the Shepperton coin hoard.²⁷ Consequently the metalwork, for some of which fairly close dates and affinities have been suggested, cannot be correlated with the less well known pottery. Moreover, most of the stray finds have been recovered from the Thames in a haphazard manner with no indication of how they are related to each other. Why so much material should have been lost in the river is a mystery, to which the changing course and level of the river²⁸ and its possible use as a repository for religious offerings may be a partial solution.²⁹

Finds of metalwork in Middlesex suggest that there may have been no chronological gap between the latest Bronze-Age bronzes and the introduction of Iron-Age-style metal goods.³⁰ The county has produced some of the latest Bronze-Age metalwork, such as winged axes from Kensington and from the Thames at Brentford and Syon Reach (dated to c. 300 B.C.), and Hallstatt-style bronze swords and horse trappings from the Thames at Brentford (dated to c. 300 B.C.), as well as some of the earliest known British Iron-Age products, like the Hallstatt-style iron daggers with bronze sheaths from the Thames at Battersea and Mortlake, at present dated to the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. and thought to be derived from south German and Austrian models,³¹ the Hallstatt-type iron antennae sword from the Thames at London,³² and a bronze cauldron from the Thames at Hammersmith,³³ both compared with Belgian types and thought to date from about 500 B.C.³⁴ Moreover, some of the traditions of the Bronze-Age smiths seem to have survived into the Iron Age, as in techniques used on some of the Iron-Age daggers;³⁵ the similarity to Bronze-Age shapes of some iron spearheads³⁶ such as one from the Thames at Mortlake,³⁷ and even one from the Thames at London dated by its decoration to the latter part of the Iron Age;³⁸ and in a series of iron socketed axes from the Thames that are clearly modelled on bronze socketed axes in a technique that is not suited to iron working.³⁹ The metalwork evidence suggests that there was, at least along the Thames west of London, fairly continuous occupation throughout the Bronze Age and into the Iron Age, reinforced from time to time by new arrivals of peoples and ideas.

This continuity is reflected in the pottery of this period. At Yiewsley, although Iron-Age pottery was found in the same field as Deverel-Rimbury urns, it is not known whether the two groups were connected.⁴⁰ Continuity of occupation between the

²⁵ *L.P.A.* 47-51; *Celts*, 1-25, 44-51, 52, 55-58, 148-9; *IA Problems*, 9-16; *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvii. 150-335; *Antiquity*, xxxvii. 142, 230-1.

²⁶ *P.P.S.* xxviii. 140-55; *Antiquity*, xxxvii. 229-31.

²⁷ See pottery gazetteer.

²⁸ *Hist. Mon. Com. Lond. (Roman)*, 13-14. IA and Romano-British hut foundations found below high-tide level at Brentford (*Antiquity*, ii. 20-32; *P.L.A. Monthly* (Aug. 1956), 20-32) and Romano-British hut foundations found below high-tide level at E. Tilbury (Essex) (*Hist. Mon. Com. S.E. Essex*, 38-39) were presumably on dry land when built.

²⁹ *Celts*, 147-51.

³⁰ The hoard of bronze and iron implements from Llyn Fawr (Glam.) (*Antiq. Jnl.* xix. 369-404) confirms that Late BA- and early IA-style metal objects could be contemporary in Britain.

³¹ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 309-12, 329-31, fig. 8.

³² B.M. 1936.12.10.1: *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxii. 128, fig. 7; *L.P.A.* 60, fig. 23(1).

³³ B.M. 1859.1.22.13: *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxvii. 191-8, fig. 11A.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 194, 197; *P.P.S.* xxvii. 321.

³⁵ *Ibid.* xvii. 317, 322, 325, 327.

³⁶ Cf. *Arch. Jnl.* xciii. 66, pl. va.

³⁷ L.M. A.13834; *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 84; *A.M.L.* 126.

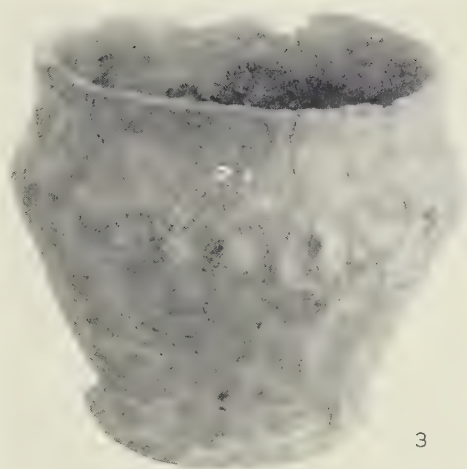
³⁸ B.M. 1938.5.4.1; Smith, *Man*, 182; T. D. Kendrick and C. F. C. Hawkes, *Archaeology in Eng. & Wales*, 1914-31, 205-6, fig. 78; *L.P.A.* 58, fig. 21(6).

³⁹ L.M. 33.153/1 (N. foreshore of Thames, between Isleworth and Brentford, nr. Old England): *Antiquity*, iii. 20; *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxv. 174-5, pl. 1(6); A.13639 (Thames, Kew): *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxv. 174, pl. 1(5); A.8407 (Thames, Mortlake): *Ibid.* pl. 1(11); A.13396 (Thames, Mortlake): *Ibid.* 174, pl. 1(4); B.M. WG.1785 (Thames, off Tate Gallery, Mdx. side): *Ibid.*, pl. 1(3). See also *ibid.* 172-3; *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, v. 254; *Hist. of Technology*, 619.

⁴⁰ B.M. *Quart.* viii. 1; *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 451. Two IA urns were reputedly found in a Deverel-Rimbury cemetery at Kinson (Dors.): *Proc. Dors. Field Club*, liv. 79.



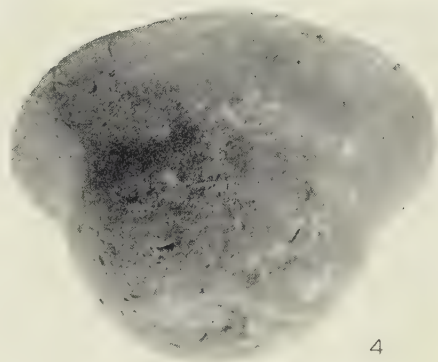
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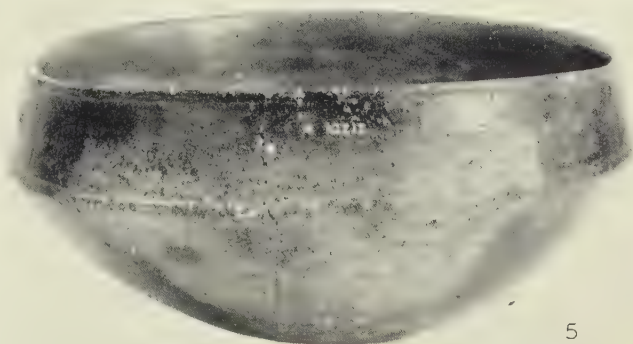
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4



5

POTTERY (approximately one-half actual size):

1, Neolithic bowl of Mortlake type (restored) from Heathrow (L.M. 49.87/29); 2, Necked beaker from the Thames at Barnes (L.M. A.13471); 3, Late Bronze or early Iron-Age pot, found in Thames ballast near Putney Bridge (L.M. Lay. P.1); 4, Iron-Age bowl from the Thames at Hammersmith (L.M. Lay. P. 26); 5, Iron-Age bowl (restored) from the Thames at Wandsworth (L.M. A. 10212)

Middle Bronze Age and the Iron Age in Middlesex is, however, suggested by the appearance in some Iron-Age pottery of characteristics which are clearly devolved from Deverel-Rimbury or Late Bronze-Age types.⁴¹ In other parts of southern Britain, also, sites considered to be of Late Bronze-Age date, like Plumpton Plain (Suss.) (perhaps c. 750 B.C.)⁴² and Minnis Bay (Kent) (perhaps c. 600 B.C.)⁴³ have yielded pottery which resembles Iron-Age pottery from Middlesex and vessels from sites like Scarborough (Yorks. N.R.) which apparently belongs to the transition period between the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages, perhaps about 500 B.C.,⁴⁴ and West Harling (Norf.) and All Cannings Cross (Wilts.), considered to be wholly Iron Age.⁴⁵

Much of the British Late Bronze Age-Iron Age pottery to which the Middlesex examples are likened is attributed to continental immigrants entering the country, particularly from France and the Rhineland, perhaps from the 8th century B.C. onwards,⁴⁶ rather than to indigenous development from Deverel-Rimbury pottery. If this interpretation is correct, some of the Middlesex pottery of the period spanning the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age may represent the entry into the area of new people who would not necessarily be identical with the initiators of the new metal styles.⁴⁷

Whether any of the Middlesex pottery can properly be called Hallstatt is uncertain; but one bowl from the Thames at Hammersmith,⁴⁸ of different shape and ware from the rest of the pottery discussed, may be a debased version of a continental Hallstatt type, perhaps of the 6th or 5th century B.C., and roughly contemporary with the Hallstatt daggers from the Thames.⁴⁹

The history of the rest of the pre-Roman Iron Age in Middlesex is also uncertain. Some metal objects show the impact of La Tène styles: daggers, later versions of which, dating perhaps from about 450 B.C. to about 300 B.C., seem to have been inspired by workmanship of the period spanning the late Hallstatt and early La Tène periods in the Marne and adjacent areas of north-east France and Belgium; straight-edged iron swords; a few brooches; and the highly decorative bronze shields and other ornamental metalwork of the later La Tène phases.⁵⁰ The only Middlesex metalwork generally accepted as Belgic is some coins, a few bearing the names of kings who ruled in Hertfordshire and Essex.⁵¹ Few Middlesex metal finds can be firmly assigned to the middle part of the Iron Age.

Middlesex has produced a group of good quality pottery, quite different from the comparatively coarse types of the period spanning the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age,

⁴¹ Examples in L.M. showing similarities include L.M. unnum. (Heathrow); A.14669, A.16964, C.951 (Thames, Mortlake); Lay. P.1 (Putney Br.); A.3410, A.3411 (unknown origin, presumably local). L.M. A.13663 (Thames, Mortlake) and A.19132 (Hammersmith) recall, by their shape and cord-on-like decoration, Deverel-Rimbury barrel and bucket urns: cf. *B.A.P.* ii, nos. 356, 356a, 374; *I.O.A.* (1956), 39, fig. 7(41), fig. 8; *P.P.S.* iv, 176, no. 39. They could, however, equally well be compared with Late BA pottery from Plumpton Plain B: *P.P.S.* i, 47-49, fig. 7(B1Bg), and Itford Hill: *Ibid.* xxiii, 194-8, figs. 20(B, C), 21(H). A.13663 resembles specimens from West Harling IA site: *Ibid.* xix, 27, pl. iii(6, 11). Cf. also pottery from the Rhineland: *P.P.S.* xix, 24-25.

⁴² *P.P.S.* i, 46-59.

⁴³ See n. 45.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Cf. A.13677 (Thames, Barnes), A.10555 (Mortlake), A.10624 (Brentford), A.19134 (Hammersmith), A.16301, A.13669, A.10212 (Wandsworth) with pots from Minnis Bay: *P.P.S.* ix, 28-47, figs. 6(5), 8(1, 2), 6(2). L.M. 28, 103, 38.99 have been compared with pots from Scarborough and other Late BA-early IA sites: *Antiquity*, iii, 27, 30-31, fig. 4, pl. v(1-3). Cf. L.M. unreg. (fragments from Heathrow), A.11949 (Thames, Syon Reach), B.M.

1933.4.4.139 (Yiewsley) with pottery from Plumpton Plain B: *P.P.S.* i, 46-48, 55, fig. 6(B1Aj); Newhaven: *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxx, 270-5, fig. 1(2); Scarborough: A. Rowntree, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 19-33, fig. 19(14-18, 22); W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix, 24, fig. 10(1-7); All Cannings Cross: *A.C.C.* pls. 44(1), 48a(1), etc. Cf. A.20888 (Thames, Hammersmith), Lay. P.1 (Putney Br.) with Late BA finds from Plumpton Plain B: *P.P.S.* i, 46-49, 51, figs. 6(B1Aj, B1B), 7; Itford Hill (Suss.): *Ibid.* xxiii, 194-6, fig. 20 (A, E, F, G); Farnham (Surr.): *Prehistory of the Farnham District* (Surr. Arch. Soc. 1939), 183-90, figs. 77(6), 81, 82(31); Minnis Bay: *P.P.S.* ix, 38, figs. 7, 8(7).

⁴⁶ e.g. *P.P.S.* i, 45-46, 55-59; xix, 25-27; *Surr. Arch. Coll.* lxxx, 271-3; Hawkes, *Scheme for BA*, 7.

⁴⁷ If the rectangular building at Heathrow is based on the plan of a classical temple and dates from the first occupation of the site, it suggests indirect contacts between Mdx. and the classical world at an astonishingly early date.

⁴⁸ L.M. C.701.

⁴⁹ See above.

⁵⁰ See p. 63.

⁵¹ See p. 64. It has been recently doubted whether these kings were in fact Belgic: *Antiquity*, xxxvii, 229-31.

which accords reasonably well with the La Tène-style metal objects. A number of pots from the Thames seem, like the La Tène daggers from the same reaches of the river, to derive ultimately from the La Tène culture of northern France and Belgium, particularly from the pottery found in the cemeteries of the Marne and Aisne valleys. An omphalos-based bowl from the Thames at Hammersmith⁵² may be devolved from pots like those found in graves of the period spanning the late Hallstatt and early La Tène periods such as those at Les Jogasses (Marne), the source to which the La Tène daggers are also attributed.⁵³ A rather unusual biconical pot from the Thames at Mortlake⁵⁴ may be Marnian inspired and, like the La Tène daggers, of the 5th or 4th century B.C.⁵⁵ Four pots from the Thames at Mortlake,⁵⁶ Hammersmith,⁵⁷ and Wandsworth⁵⁸ also show similarities to the wares of the Marne and Aisne valleys. The haematite coating on a sherd from the Thames at Mortlake,⁵⁹ which was probably made locally of London Clay, may also be due ultimately to influence from France, where haematite coating seems to have originated. Some of the French-style pottery from Middlesex can also, however, be compared with wares from further west in Britain, particularly from sites on the upper Thames and in Wessex, like Chinnor (Bucks.),⁶⁰ Long Wittenham (Berks.),⁶¹ and Maiden Castle (Dors.).⁶² As the pottery from the west appears closer to the continental prototypes than to the Middlesex examples, some of the inspiration for the Middlesex pots may have come down the Thames rather than directly from the Continent. Another indication of western influences is the incised linear decoration on the haematite sherd and on another sherd from the Thames at Mortlake.⁶³ Such decoration has been thought to be characteristic of an early phase of the Wessex Iron Age,⁶⁴ although it occurred also at Late Bronze–Early Iron-Age sites in Sussex⁶⁵ and Norfolk.⁶⁶

The identifiable Iron-Age pottery so far discussed probably belongs to the earlier part of the period. From later times there is an incised sherd from the Thames at Barnes⁶⁷ which shows similarities to pottery from Somerset of perhaps about 150 B.C. or similar pottery from south-east Britain, which may be rather later. The omphalos bowl from the secondary enclosure at Heathrow⁶⁸ belongs to the late south-eastern type⁶⁹ and the rest of the pottery from the secondary enclosure is presumably of similar date. The pottery which accompanied the speculum coins from Shepperton⁷⁰ is unlikely to be earlier than the coins, which are usually assigned to about 50 B.C.–A.D. 50. A few pieces which may be Belgic, including a vase from Hammersmith,⁷¹ were found in the Thames,⁷² in addition to those reported from Brockley Hill.

The pottery, like the metal, suggests that there was little activity in Middlesex in the middle of the Iron Age.⁷³ Much of the pottery is not, however, securely dated. Some of the coarse, indeterminate wares may be of almost any Iron-Age date. The shouldered bucket shape, even with finger-tip impressions, is known to have continued later in other areas, as in Surrey, and may have been reintroduced from time to time.⁷⁴

Little evidence has survived of the occupations of the Iron-Age inhabitants of Middlesex and none at all of their burial customs. Presumably some kind of farming was carried

⁵² L.M. Lay. P.26. Illustrated facing p. 52.

⁵³ See p. 62.

⁵⁴ L.M. A.18834.

⁵⁵ See p. 62.

⁵⁶ L.M. A.13675, B.M. 1909.5.18.16.

⁵⁷ L.M. A.19133.

⁵⁸ L.M. A.10212. Illustrated facing p. 52.

⁵⁹ L.M. A.13674.

⁶⁰ *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxi. 132–48.

⁶¹ *Oxoniensia*, ii. 1–11.

⁶² *Maiden Cas.* 188, 196, fig. 56(6, 7).

⁶³ L.M. A.10559, A.10561.

⁶⁴ *Antiq. Jnl.* xxvii. 44.

⁶⁵ Park Brow: *Archaeologia*, lxxvi. 21, fig. 13A; Plumpton Plain B: *P.P.S.* i. 53, fig. 12(B4b).

⁶⁶ W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 31, fig. 15(74).

⁶⁷ L.M. A.13681.

⁶⁸ L.M. unnum.

⁶⁹ *Arch. Jnl.* ci. 66, no. 24.

⁷⁰ L.M. 62.15.

⁷¹ Ashm. 1955.133.

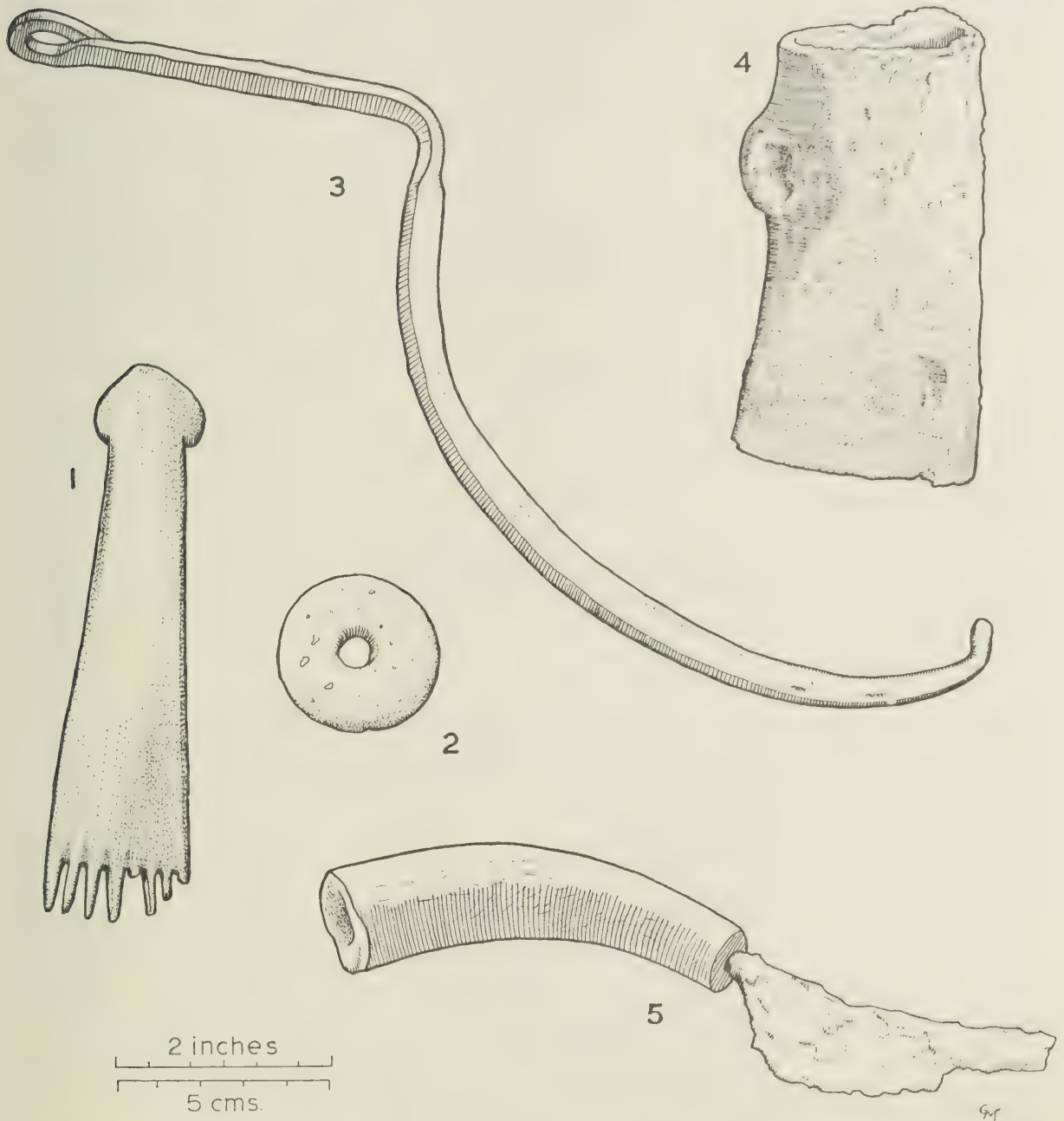
⁷² L.M. A.10557, A.10781, A.19875, 49.107/938: see pottery gazetteer.

⁷³ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 320 suggests a break in metal-working traditions after about 300 B.C.

⁷⁴ *I.O.A.* (1952), 8th Annual Report, 29–78.

ARCHAEOLOGY

on. Heathrow has not produced any positive evidence of farming activities such as that produced by some Iron-Age sites outside Middlesex,⁷⁵ but Caesar's references to cattle and the finding of iron sickles⁷⁶ in the Thames are slight confirmatory evidence. Wheat seems to have been the predominant crop as opposed to barley, which had been



IRON-AGE DOMESTIC OBJECTS. 1, bone weaving-comb from the Thames at Wandsworth (L.M. C.971); 2, clay spindle-whorl from the Thames at Hammersmith (L.M. A.10988); 3, primitive iron key or latch-lifter found in London (L.M. A.2409); 4, iron socketed axe from the Thames at Kew (L.M. A.13639); 5, iron domestic knife with horn handle from the Thames at Brentford (L.M. Lay. O.1793).

⁷⁵ e.g. W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 36-38; Little Woodbury (Wilts.): *Ibid.* vi. 30-107; xiv. 19-23.

⁷⁶ The following sickles which may be IA have been recorded: L.M. Lay. O.1771 (Thames, off Old England); Lay. O.1773 (Thames ballast, Brentford): open socket with rivet-hole; Lay. O. 1796 (Thames, Brentford): tang with loop at end, cf. *Manuel*; Lay. O.1797 (Thames, Brentford): tanged; Lay. O.1798 (Thames, Brentford);

L.M. A.10883 (Thames, Hammersmith): tanged: *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 88; L.M. C.751 (Thames, Hammersmith): tanged; B.M. 1906.5.30.44 (Thames, Hammersmith, 'site of pile-dwellings'): open socket; L.M. A.11710 (Thames, Kingston): two rivet-holes, apparently for handle; perhaps not a sickle: *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 74; B.M. 1906.5.30.37 (Wandsworth foreshore, Surr., below peat).

commonest in the Bronze Age.⁷⁷ Hunting and fishing were almost certainly carried on, and weaving is indicated by the loom-weights from Heathrow and weaving-combs found in the Thames at Mortlake and Wandsworth.⁷⁸

Metal-working seems to have been practised near the Middlesex-Surrey reaches of the Thames. The iron daggers with elaborate bronze sheaths,⁷⁹ although based on continental models, were probably made in Britain and since a very high proportion of the known examples has been found in the Thames near London, they are thought to have been made by local smiths.⁸⁰ A school of bronze-smiths is believed to have been working in the same district in the Middle Bronze Age producing bronze rapiers. Dagger-making was carried on from the opening of the local Iron Age, some time before 500 B.C., until about 300 B.C. when daggers fell out of fashion. It has been argued that the existence of so many obviously costly daggers in the Thames near London implies a local class of rich patrons.⁸¹ Examples of elaborate later metalwork found in the Thames also seem to imply a rich warrior class in or near Middlesex.

Pottery and coinage provide slight evidence of Belgic influence in Middlesex in the later Iron Age, but it is not known whether Middlesex was settled by the Belgae or formed part of the Belgic kingdom established in Hertfordshire and Essex in the last hundred years or so before the Roman conquest in A.D. 43.⁸²

The Iron-Age population of Middlesex must have been comparatively small, and, judging by the distribution of finds, concentrated along the Thames and on the gravelly, well-drained soils in the south-west. Presumably, however, there was some habitation on the northern fringes of the county, likewise concentrated upon areas of sandy soil, as at Harefield and Ponders End. Much of the centre of the county, where clay soils probably supported thick forests, may have been uninhabited.⁸³ In considering the great concentration of Iron-Age material from the Thames, it should be remembered that a number of Iron-Age settlements in north Surrey are quite close to the river.⁸⁴ There is no real evidence for a pre-Roman town or trading station on the site of London. No certainly Iron-Age pottery or structural remains have been found in the City of London,⁸⁵ but the fact that the Romans called London by the Celtic name it still bears in truncated form perhaps suggests that the place had some local significance in Iron-Age times.

A few Celtic place-names besides London have survived in Middlesex. They are the rivers Thames (*Tamesis* in Julius Caesar), meaning perhaps 'dark river';⁸⁶ Colne, of unknown meaning;⁸⁷ Lea, meaning perhaps 'bright' or 'light' river or 'river dedicated to the god Lugus';⁸⁸ and Brent. The last name, and that of the town of Brentford, situated near the junction of the Brent and the Thames not far from the place where the remains of Iron-Age huts were discovered,⁸⁹ can be linked, through Anglo-Saxon forms like *Bregantford*, with the Celtic name Brigantia, possibly meaning 'high' or 'holy'.⁹⁰

⁷⁷ Godwin, *Hist. of British Flora*, 62, 262-5.

⁷⁸ B.M. 1906.5-30.28; L.M. C.970, 971. Illustrated p. 55.

⁷⁹ See below.

⁸⁰ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 307-43.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² But see *Antiquity*, xxxvii. 229-31.

⁸³ *Hist. Mon. Com. Lond. (Roman)*.

⁸⁴ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 322.

⁸⁵ R. Merrifield, *The Roman City of London*, 29.

⁸⁶ *P.N. Mdx. (E.P.N.S.)*, 6, 191.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 2, 191.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 4, 191.

⁸⁹ *P.L.A. Monthly* (Aug. 1956).

⁹⁰ E. Ekwall, *English River-Names*, 51-52; *P.N. Mdx (E.P.N.S.)*, 1, 31, 191; K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, 447-8.

POTTERY GAZETTEER

Location/Ref.

ENFIELD

Ponders End: collection of IA pottery from gravel-pit. Most coarse, gritted ware, but, as at Heathrow, a few fragments of finer fabric. Recognizable forms are situlate, some with finger-tip impressions on rim. One small-aperture lug of coarse, soft, gritty ware. Also pieces of baked clay and burnt flints, possibly hearthstones. Bones of animals, including *bos longifrons*, pig, and swan, believed associated with the pottery. Accounts not clear, but almost certainly represents habitation site.

B.M. Hazzledine
Warren Coll.⁹¹

HACKNEY

Stamford Hill: fairly hard, coarse sherd; possible traces of impressed cable pattern on flat top of rim and row of oval depressions on high rounded shoulder. Found by W. G. Smith, 1883.

L.M. 28.111⁹²

HANWELL

Gravel-pit: fragments of coarse pottery. Described as IA but seem similar to supposed Saxon pottery in L.M. from Hanwell gravel-pits.⁹³

Gunn. T.2231

HAREFIELD

Sand-pit 450 yds. N. of Dewe's Farm: remains, probably of two pots. Determine one apparently shouldered bowl with exterior below shoulder rendered in vertical strokes, possibly with finger-tip. Reputedly contained 'black stuff', but no bones. Possibly occupation site. Late BA or early IA.

B.M. 1935.2.13.1

HARMONDSWORTH

Heathrow (TQ. 805766): settlement site.⁹⁴ Finds suggest Late BA activity. Include bronze disc of carp's tongue sword complex (may be a stray find), clay loom-weight of cylindrical BA shape.⁹⁵ Scrap of coarse pottery with finger-tip impressed cordon round constricted neck, resembling pottery from Late BA and early IA sites,⁹⁶ with remains of perforated baked clay slabs similar to objects from Yiewsley⁹⁷ and IA sites outside Mdx.⁹⁸ Remains of c. 100 vessels comprise variety of IA types in wide range of coarse and finer wares. Some have similarities to BA pottery. Forms include many angular and round-shouldered vessels, some with finger-tip impressions; a few barrel-shaped pots, one, of coarse ware, with internally bevelled rim and splayed base;⁹⁹ remains of two lugged vessels, one with both ends of handle pushed through wall of pot;¹ fragment of dark grey burnished ware with faint impressed chevron decoration on round shoulder. Also at least one clay loom-weight of cubic IA shape² and pieces of daub and clinker. Pottery from secondary enclosure includes small omphalos-base bowl of fine burnished ware belonging to group known as S.E.B. or S.E. 3rd B. found in S.E. Eng. and dated from 1st cent. B.C. onwards,³ and some unusually light-weight, corky sherds with rounded sides and simple rims with external grooves. None of IA pots is wheel-made or has a pedestal base.

L.M. unnum.

⁹¹ *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* lxxviii. 26; *Archaeologia*, xc. 173.

⁹² Cf. Abington Pigotts (Cambs.): *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, iv. 217, fig. 2(A); Cobham (Surr.): *I.O.A.* (1952), 61.

⁹³ *Lond. and the Saxons* (L.M. 1935), 136-9.

⁹⁴ *Archaeology*, i. 322; *IA Problems*, 25; *P.P.S.* xxvii. 322.

⁹⁵ *Archaeologia*, lxxxvi. 5, 18, fig. D; *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxii. 190; xcix. 80-81, pl. xib; *P.P.S.* vii. 133, fig. 8.

⁹⁶ e.g. Newhaven (Suss.): *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxx. 270, fig. 2; Plumpton Plain: *P.P.S.* i. 46-49; 55; W. Harling: *Ibid.* xix. 24-27; Scarborough: *Archaeologia*, lxxvii. 184, 186-8, and figs. 14-18, 22. ⁹⁷ *B.M. Quart.* viii. 44-45.

⁹⁸ e.g. *Arch. Jnl.* xxv. 154-5, fig.; *Maiden Cas.* 321, pl. xxxviii. The purpose of these objects is unknown. Prof. W. F. Grimes suggests that they may have been some kind of ventilator.

⁹⁹ Cf. Plumpton Plain: *P.P.S.* i. 51, figs. 9(B3d), 10 (B3m).

¹ Cf. Hunsbury (Northants.): *Arch. Jnl.* xciii. 80, fig. 7, pl. xiv(L.3); L.M. A.13673 (Thames, Barnes), with more slender handle.

² Cf. *Guide to Antiquities of Early IA.* fig. 130.

³ *Arch. Jnl.* ci. 56-57, 66; *IA Problems*, 14.

SUNBURY

Two supposedly Celtic urns exhibited to Soc. of Antiquaries in 1725.⁴ Shepperton (TQ. 07186758): pot reputedly containing hoard of speculum coins. Of fairly coarse ware with flint and stone grits and smoother surface, made in simple bowl shape with flat-topped rim. When found reported to have had buff deposit inside, as if it had been used for cooking. Also found at same time were other sherds, including one of coarse ware with beaded rim and small hollow neck, one of dark grey burnished ware, some cracked flints, and broken animal bones. Whole perhaps indicates habitation site.

Unknown
L.M. 62.15⁵

YIEWSLEY

In same field as Deverel-Rimbury urns: pottery of Late BA or early IA character, most decorated with finger-tip impressions either on applied bands⁶ or directly on pot. Pierced slabs of baked clay, of same general type as those from Heathrow and other IA sites also found here. Domestic occupation indicated, but relationship to Deverel-Rimbury cemetery uncertain.⁷ Fragments of coarse pottery, probably Late BA or IA, in box labelled 'pottery found at Yiewsley with the flints'.

B.M. 1933.4.6.139-42,
146-50, 162

L.M. unnum.

THAMES (BARNES)

Small, weakly-shouldered jar of fairly hard, dark grey ware. Possible traces of curvilinear impressed decoration on neck.
Part of apparently dumpy pot of fairly hard, gritty ware, with flat base and convex walls, top showing signs of thinning to form incurved neck.
Mortlake: two dark brown-grey burnished sherds of carinated bowl, neck decorated with horizontal and parallel oblique grooves. Similar ornament, but with chevrons instead of one-direction oblique grooves, occurs on some Brit. Late BA pottery thought to be derived from France.⁹
Fragment, apparently from rounded bowl, with traces of incised double or triple chevron ornament round upper part. Haematite applied to exterior and interior surfaces producing glossy, rust-coloured appearance. Composition of clay suggests local manufacture.¹⁰ Piece cannot be assigned to either Brit. group,¹¹ but incised chevron ornament possibly indicates Wessex influence.¹²
Sherd of fine, dark grey ware, burnished inside and out, from bowl with simple, flaring rim and sharp shoulder forming an angle with neck. Two horizontal furrows round shoulder, three deep vertical grooves below. Base missing. Similar bowls possibly derived from N. French pottery. Two similar, plain sherds from Thames at Hammersmith¹³ and Wandsworth.¹⁴ Other somewhat similar pottery from Chinnor (Bucks.).¹⁵ Sharply-angled shoulder recurs at Wisley (Surr.),¹⁶ and on haematite-coated bowl from Maiden Cas. (Dors.), dated c. 300-200 B.C. and considered derivative of pottery from late Hallstatt-early La Tène cemetery at Les Jogasses (Marne).¹⁷
Sharply biconical pot with lipped rim; of fairly hard, partly burnished reddish-brown ware mottled with dark grey. Probably of early La Tène date, perhaps 5th or 4th cent. B.C.¹⁸
Small bowl of fairly fine, small-gritted, dark grey ware, with slightly omphaloid base, rounded sides, and concave neck. Most of rim missing, but appears to be turning outwards. Omphalos bases possibly introduced early in Brit. IA¹⁹

L.M. A.13677⁸

L.M. A.13678

L.M. A.10559,
A.10561

L.M. A.13674

L.M. A.13675

L.M. A.18834

L.M. A.13679

⁴ *T.L.M.A.S.* i. 140.

⁵ Letter from Mr. A. J. Buttress, Sunbury U.D.C., to Ordnance Survey, 10 July 1950; L.M. files, report by Mr. G. C. Dunning, 27 Sept. 1950; *Num. Chron.* (Ser. 6), x. 148-9; *P.P.S.* xx. 72-73; *IA Problems*, 205.

⁶ Cf. Heathrow (above) and Thames, Brentford (below).

⁷ *Antiq. Jnl.* xiii. 451; *B.M. Quart.* viii. 1, pl. xii.

⁸ Cf. Peterborough: *Arch. Jnl.* c. 197, fig. 1(A3); W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 20, fig. 14(63).

⁹ Plumpton Plain: *P.P.S.* i. 56, fig. 12(B4, f); and see *I.O.A.* (1952), 35-36; *Oxoniensia*, vii. 39-40; cf. *A.C.C.* pl. 41; Rams Hill (Berks.): *Antiq. Jnl.* xx. 473-4, fig. 5(1); Peterborough: *ibid.* c. 206, figs. J1, K1; W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 21, 74; Crayford (Kent): *ibid.* iv. 151-68.

¹⁰ Ex inf. Mr. H. W. M. Hodges who tested the sherd.

¹¹ *Maiden Cas.* 190-2, 379-80; *Antiq. Jnl.* xxii, 129-38;

xxvii. 43-46. But for qualifications see *P.P.S.* xxviii. 145-52.

¹² L.M. A.10559, A.10561 (Thames, Mortlake).

¹³ L.M. A.19133.

¹⁴ B.M. 1868.3.18.6.

¹⁵ *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxi. 132-48, figs. 7, 8.

¹⁶ *P.P.S.* xi. 32-38, fig. 1(10).

¹⁷ *Maiden Cas.* 196, fig. 56(5). Other N. French pottery shows resemblances to A. 13675: *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxi. 138, fig. 9.

¹⁸ Identification from illustrations suggested by Prof. Hawkes; cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxvi. 128-33, fig. 6; *Arch. Jnl.* xxv. 154-5, fig.

¹⁹ *A.C.C.* 144-6, pl. 28; *Oxoniensia*, ii. 4-11; vii. 38-60; *P.P.S.* xix. fig. 16(90, 103).

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- and reintroduced towards end of period.²⁰ This example appears to resemble earlier rather than later group.²¹ Similar bowl found in Thames at Old England.²²
- Shouldered bowl of fairly hard, thin ware, with concave neck and omphalos base.²³ B.M. 1909.5.18.16
- Fragmentary bowl of fairly fine ware, with small base and rounded sides and shoulder. Rim, largely missing, turns outwards and has slight internal bevel. Similar bowl from Thames at Strand-on-the-Green, but lacking internal bevel.²⁴ L.M. Lay.P.31
- Fragmentary bowl of fairly fine dark brown ware with simple rim, hollow neck, and rounded sides; carelessly executed grooved decoration between neck and shoulder, apparently of imperfectly-formed detached lozenges between horizontal lines. Grooves appear to be inlaid with whitish substance. Base missing. Shape and decoration recall those of pottery from Glastonbury and Meare (Som.) lake villages,²⁵ dated from c. 150 B.C. to Roman conquest.²⁶ L.M. A.13681
- Hollow-necked sherd of hard, smooth ware, with impressed zig-zag decoration. Possibly Belgic. L.M. A.10557
- Fragment of large jar of hard gritty ware, with applied band of cable ornament inset along rounded shoulder. Possibly derived from BA forms,²⁷ but technique is IA.²⁸ L.M. A.13663
- Fragment of handled, shouldered jar of fairly coarse ware. Upper arm of slender surviving handle pushed through wall of jar at shoulder level and lower arm appears to be attached to surface. Form of handle reminiscent of BA styles.²⁹ L.M. A.13673
- Fairly coarse, smooth-surfaced sherd, with slightly turned-out rim and row of small finger-tip impressions along shoulder. L.M. A.13669
- Fairly coarse sherd from large, sharply-shouldered jar with markedly concave neck. Finger-tip impressions on top of rim and round shoulder.³⁰ L.M. A.16944
- Fairly coarse sherd with smoothed surface, from large vessel with rounded shoulder bearing deep finger-tip impressions, deeply hollowed neck, and everted, flattened rim.³¹ L.M. A.17173
- Two adjoining fragments of coarse ware from large, sharply-shouldered jar with sloping, flattened rim. Shoulder is irregularly worked and wall below it is lightly and roughly scored. L.M. A.10555, A.17301
- Sherd of fairly hard, rough, dark grey ware, with row of finger-tip impressions. L.M. A.10562
- Fragment of coarse ware, surface lightly and roughly impressed, horizontally and diagonally, apparently with finger-tips. From large vessel with rounded shoulders and finger-tip pie-crust impressions along top of rim. L.M. A.951
- Fragmentary pot of coarse ware with finger-tip impressions below rim and round slight shoulder. B.M. 1910.10.7.3
- Fragment of coarse, thick ware, with rough pattern of criss-cross lines lightly scored on smoothed surface.³² Scored decoration, fairly common in E. Eng.,³³ may have originated in Late BA, but continued late into IA.³⁴ L.M. A.10216
- Indeterminate coarse sherd. Probably IA. L.M. A.13671
- Sherd of hard, smooth ware, with dark grey surface. Curvature seems too slight for piece from normal pot. On less well finished, slightly concave side are remains of c. 8 circular to sub-triangular depressions. L.M. A.10556
- Two sherds with chevron decoration. Possibly IA. B.M. 1909.5.18.20, 21.
- Barn Elms, Surrey side, from ballast on foreshore; two-handled cup of fine black ware; 7th cent. B.C. Italic type, possibly an import.³⁵ B.M. 1920.11.8.1

THAMES (nr. London, possibly BATTERSEA)³⁶

- Two small black pots, reputedly found in Thames c. 40 yds. from bank and containing bones.³⁷ 57.7.20.2 is shouldered, possibly late version of situlate B.M. 57.7.20.2,3

²⁰ Ibid. iv. 152-6, 166-7; *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxx. 252-8.

²¹ Cf. *P.P.S.* iv. fig. 10.

²² L.M. Lay. P.24.

²³ *A.M.L.* 137, fig. 22(D); *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 84; cf. L.M. A.13675, A.13679 (Thames, Mortlake).

²⁴ L.M. Lay. P.34.

²⁵ Cf. Bulleid & Gray, *Glastonbury Lake Village*, ii, pl. lxxix, 198 (shape); pl. lxxxii, 204; pl. lxxxvi, 274 (decoration). Examples from Meare are in the same authors' *Meare Lake Village*, i, pl. ix, 123; cf. *Manuel*, iv. 1468, fig. 663(4) for detached lozenge decoration from Brittany.

²⁶ Hawkes in *IA Problems*, fig. 3

²⁷ Cf. Plumpton Plain: *P.P.S.* i. 49, fig. 7.

²⁸ Cf. W. Harling: *ibid.* xix. 14-15, 27, pl. iii(6); Caburn (Suss.): *Sussex Arch. Coll.* lxxx. 223 sqq. figs. c, D; Horsted Keynes (Suss.): *ibid.* lxxviii. 260, fig. 26.

²⁹ Cf. Park Brow (Suss.): *Archaeologia*, lxxxvi. figs. 2, 2a; Plumpton Plain: *P.P.S.* i. 43-44, fig. 4; Itford Hill: *ibid.* xxiii. 194-200; Heathrow IA site (above).

³⁰ Cf. W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 22, fig. 16(82).

³¹ Cf. Minnis Bay: *ibid.* ix. 38, fig. 7.

³² Cf. Abington Pigotts (Cambs.): *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, iv. 220, pl. ivA.

³³ W. F. Grimes, *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond*, 161-3.

³⁴ *I.O.A.* (1952), 71-72.

³⁵ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxv. 84-88, pl.; *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Preistoria Mediterranea*, 319-21, pl. 5A.

³⁶ B.M. 57.7.20.1 (bronze bowl from Thames nr. Battersea).

³⁷ *A.M.L.* 137.

form; 57.7.20.3, burnished and showing coil construction, has slight foot-ring and faint finger impressions near rim.

THAMES (BRENTFORD & CHISWICK)

- Brentford: fragment of large pot of loose-textured, thick, gritted ware, blackened on inside. Possibly part of late Belgic cooking pot.³⁸ L.M. A.10781
- Fragment of hard, slightly gritty ware, from curving wall of vessel, with rough, possibly accidental scorings on exterior. L.M. A.10910
- Fragment of fairly hard, smooth ware, with notched rim and band of oblique incisions, below which pot wall turns inwards. L.M. A.10911
- Sherd of fairly coarse ware, with finger-nail impressions on rounded shoulder and on cordon round constricted neck and finger-tip pie-crust impressions on top of rim.³⁹ L.M. A.10991
- Brentford, Old England: eight fragments of Late BA-early IA pottery. More than 20 sherds found off Old England during excavations in 1928.⁴⁰ L.M. A.10634, 28.103, 38.99
- Very small bowl of fairly fine, coarse-gritted dark grey ware with apparent traces of burnishing; omphalos base, rounded sides, and hollow neck.⁴¹ L.M. Lay.P.24
- Three fragments of fairly coarse, gritty IA pottery; one associated with hut foundations discovered 1955.⁴² L.M. 57.10/17, 19, 48
- Chiswick, Strand-on-the-Green: bowl of fine-gritted, dark grey, burnished ware, with small flat base, rounded shoulder, and simple, slightly flaring rim. Resembles softened version of Marnian-type bowl from Thames at Wandsworth⁴³ and similar to bowl from Thames at Mortlake.⁴⁴ L.M. Lay.P.34
- Sherd of fairly hard, coarse ware, with band of finger-tip impressions just above turn of rounded shoulder, which forms an indentation where it joins almost upright neck. Simple, slightly flaring rim. L.M. A.27165

THAMES (HAMMERSMITH)

- Bowl of grass-tempered ware, with short upstanding neck and flat base. Date uncertain. Possibly debased Hallstatt form of 6th or 5th cent. B.C., but Dark-Age date also suggested.⁴⁵ L.M. C.701
- Rim sherd similar to La Tène bowl from Thames at Mortlake,⁴⁶ but of inferior ware and lacking grooved decoration. L.M. A.19133
- Small bowl of fairly fine ware, with widely flaring rim, rounded body, and small omphalos in base, probably made with stick. Related to pottery from upper Thames sites, like Long Wittenham and Allen's Pit (Oxon.)⁴⁷ which appears to be derived from N. French or Belgian late Hallstatt-early La Tène pottery.⁴⁸ May be 4th cent. B.C.⁴⁹ L.M. Lay.P.26
- Small cup of hard, dark grey ware, with simple, flaring rim, hollow neck and very low, sharp carination. Presumably IA,⁵⁰ although some late Roman bronze bowls⁵¹ and Saxon pots⁵² have similar shapes. L.M. A.14687⁵³
- Slender vase of hard burnished ware with solid base and bead rim. Belgic.⁵⁴ Ashm. 1955.133
- Small fragment of thick, fairly coarse ware, apparently from large vessel, with rough, grooved lattice pattern. Perhaps late Belgic.⁵⁵ L.M. A.19875
- Fairly coarse sherd, incised with horizontal line and rough chevron pattern.⁵⁶ G.M. 397

³⁸ The authors are indebted to Dr. Anne Burchall for this suggestion; cf. *Arch. Cant.* xlviii. 157, 163-4, fig. 1v(2, 3).

³⁹ Cf. Scarborough: *Archaeologia*, lxxvii. 184, figs. 14(8), 22, pl. xxi(9, 16-18); Rowntree, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 20-32, figs. 19(14-18, 22), 23; W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 24, figs. 10(1, 4-7), 16, 80, 88, pls. ii(1, 2, 4, 5), iv(2); Eastbourne (Suss.): *Sussex Arch. Coll.* xcii. 115, no. 540; fig. 9; Plumpton Plain: *P.P.S.* i. 46-47, 55, fig. 6(BrA, j). In Mdx. other sherds with neck cordons have come from Heathrow (L.M. unreg.) and Yiewsley (B.M. 1933.4.6.139).

⁴⁰ *Antiquity*, iii. 20-32, fig. 4, pl. v, fig. 1(1-3).

⁴¹ Cf. L.M. A.13679 (Thames, Mortlake).

⁴² *P.L.A. Monthly* (Aug. 1956), 226-9.

⁴³ L.M. A.10212.

⁴⁴ L.M. Lay. P.31.

⁴⁵ IA pottery from Eastbourne is rather similar in shape but has pedestal bases: *Antiq. Jnl.* ii. 354-60, figs. 1, 2. See also *P.P.S.* xxviii. 140-3. For possible continental parallels see N. Sandars, *BA Cultures in France*, fig.

89(4); *Archaeologia*, lxxvii. 191, fig. 40; *Bonner Jahrbuch*, 30, fig. 7. The authors are indebted to Prof. Hawkes, Mr. J. G. Hurst, Mr. D. M. Wilson, and others who made suggestions for the identification of this pot.

⁴⁶ L.M. A.13675.

⁴⁷ *Oxoniensia*, ii. 5, fig. 2(6); vii. 36-60, fig. 10(12, 13).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* ii. 8-11; fig. 2(24); *Préhistoire*, v. 50, 102-4; *Maiden Cas.* 189, fig. 54, especially no. iv.

⁴⁹ Dating suggested by Mr. E. M. Jope. Illustrated facing p. 52.

⁵⁰ Cf. Mount Farm (Oxon.): *Oxoniensia*, ii. 28-29, fig. 6 (D8 BvI); All Cannings Cross: *A.C.C.* pl. 45(2).

⁵¹ M. H. P. den Boesterd, *Rijksmuseum Catalogue V: The Bronze Vessels*, 48-51, pl. vi(160), pl. vii(166, 8).

⁵² Belgium: G. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv. 492, pl. cxxx(1).

⁵³ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 86.

⁵⁴ Identified by Ashm.

⁵⁵ The authors are indebted to Dr. Anne Burchall for this suggestion.

⁵⁶ *G.M. Catalogue* (1908), 20, no. 317.

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	<i>Location/Ref.</i>
Small bowl of thin, gritty ware, with rounded sides and slightly hollow neck. Fairly fine, dark grey sherd, with sharp shoulder and finger-tip cabling on top of rim. ⁵⁷	L.M. Lay.P.22 L.M. A.19134
Fairly coarse, smooth-surfaced sherd, with rounded shoulder, hollow neck, and band of finger-tip pie-crust impressions inside rim. ⁵⁸	L.M. A.28178
Small, fairly coarse sherd, with hollow neck and finger-tip impressions along rounded shoulder.	L.M. C.947
Small sherd of coarse ware, with weak shoulder, flattened turned-out rim, and deliberately-made hole in hollow neck.	L.M. C.945
Small fragment of large vessel of coarse ware, with row of triangular impressions round hollow neck. ⁵⁹	L.M. C.943
Part of base and wall of pot of coarse, fairly hard ware, surface irregularly marked, probably with fingers, and base projecting slightly from wall. Probably Late BA or early IA. ⁶⁰	L.M. A.20888
Almost straight-sided rim sherd of coarse, dark grey ware with smoothed surface. Slight horizontal ridge c. 9 cm. below rim recalls profile of cordoned bucket urn, ⁶¹ or Late BA pottery; ⁶² but potting technique seems to be IA.	L.M. A.19132
Fragment of soft, dark grey gritted ware with smoothed surface, apparently from bowl with rounded sides and slightly hollowed neck, with three rows of, probably, finger-nail incisions round neck and shoulder. Possibly IA. ⁶³	L.M. C.942
Off Biffen's Boathouse: fragment of large vessel of coarse soft ware with large shell grits. Simple rim, hollow neck, and band of oblique slashes on round shoulder. ⁶⁴	L.M. A.13662
Crab Tree: three sherds. Possibly IA or Roman.	B.M. 1906.7.2.7-9
Hammersmith Mall: squat, rough pot, found 1862. Partly smoothed surface, sides slightly convex.	L.M. Lay.P.6
Off Sawyer's: roughly-made, squat barrel-shaped pot, with slightly flattened rim. Found 1855. ⁶⁵	L.M. Lay.P.5
Site of pile dwelling: base of medium quality, shell-gritted ware. Round internal circumference, at junction with wall, incised apparently haphazard strokes, filled triangles, and ladder patterns, faintly reminiscent of designs on some Hallstatt pottery. ⁶⁶	L.M. A.23398
Site of piles: fragmentary pot. Omphalos base and rough grooved decoration. ⁶⁷	G.M. 10416

THAMES (HESTON & ISLEWORTH)

Syon Reach: coarse sherd with hollow neck and finger-tip impressions on top of flattened, turned-out rim and round shoulder.	L.M. A.11949
Syon Reach: small squat pot of rough ware, with rounded sides. Rim missing. Probably Late BA or early IA. ⁶⁸	L.M. A.27339/1

THAMES (KINGSTON)

Small pot of rough dark grey ware, with smoothed surface; vague, somewhat circular grooving along rounded shoulder.	L.M. A.13105
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THAMES (SHEPPERTON)

Pot of fine, dark grey, burnished ware with high rounded shoulder and, apparently, erect rim, top of which is missing. Rough zig-zag pattern shallowly engraved round wall. ⁶⁹	L.M. 49.107/938
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THAMES (TWICKENHAM)

Hampton Court, nr. Karno's Island: small, barrel-shaped pot of dark grey, burnished ware, with four small perforated lugs. Form reminiscent of BA pottery, but pot is of IA. ⁷⁰	L.M. A.26497 ⁷¹
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⁵⁷ Cf. *I.O.A.* (1952), 44, fig. 8(7, 8); *P.P.S.* xix. 25, fig. 13(33, 35).

⁵⁸ Cf. *Arch. Cant.* xlix. 281, fig. 1.

⁵⁹ Cf. German Hallstatt: *Archaeologia*, lxxvii. pl. xxii; *A.C.C.* pls. 32(3, 5), 49(1), 50; W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 24-25, fig. 12(31).

⁶⁰ Cf. Plumpton Plain: *P.P.S.* i. 49, 57-59, figs. 6 (B1A_j, B1B_a), 7; *Prehist. of Farnham District*, 190, figs. 77(6), 81, 82(31).

⁶¹ Cf. *B.A.P.* ii. pls. lxxxvii (385), lxxxix (412, 416a).

⁶² Cf. *P.P.S.* xxiii. 195-6, 210, fig. 20(B, C).

⁶³ Cf. *Archaeologia*, lxi. 432, fig. 3.

⁶⁴ Cf. *A.C.C.* pl. 44(1); W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 29, fig. 12(28); Wendover (Bucks.); J. F. Head, *Early Man in S. Bucks.* 65, fig. 21; Esher (Surr.): *Antiq. Jnl.* xxvii. 40, fig. 17(18).

⁶⁵ Cf. *A.C.C.* pl. 29(3).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 51.

⁶⁷ *Archaeologia*, lxiii, pl. lxix(10); cf. L.M. A.13679 (Thames, Mortlake). ⁶⁸ Cf. *B.A.P.* ii., pl. lxxxix(272).

⁶⁹ Cf. *P.P.S.* xix. 26, fig. 15(65), but with different rim.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* xxiii. 197, and fig. 23(G); *B.A.P.* ii., pls. lxxxvii (392), lxxxviii(401), lxxxix(416b), cxiii(441, 2), cxiii (445d, 456k, 457); cf. *A.C.C.* 180, pl. 42(1).

⁷¹ *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 75.

Karno's Island, among piles: roughly-made, squat, shouldered pot. Probably IA or, perhaps more likely, Saxon.⁷²

L.M. A.26335

THAMES (WANDSWORTH)

Fragmentary carinated bowl of fine, dark grey ware, burnished inside and out, with inward-sloping neck and groove below rim and round shoulder. Base missing. Probably derived from Marnian La Tène pottery.⁷³ Possibly used as cover for pots similar to La Tène bowl from Thames at Mortlake.⁷⁴

L.M. A.10212

Shouldered bowl, similar to La Tène bowl from Thames at Mortlake,⁷⁵ but apparently of inferior quality.⁷⁶

B.M. 1863.3.18.6

Nr. Putney Bridge: rough pot, with splayed base and band of finger-tip impressions along rounded shoulder.⁷⁷ Exterior surface has slight vertical streaks, apparently similar to some Late BA pottery.⁷⁸

L.M. Lay.P.1

The Thames, especially between Waterloo Bridge and Richmond, has yielded an exceptional quantity of objects of Celtic art.⁷⁹ Suggested explanations for these finds of shields, helmets, swords, daggers, horse-equipment, and items of personal adornment include sacrificial deposit and loss in mishaps of crossing or skirmish. A further, although little favoured, view is that many of the numerous finds were manufactured locally. The majority of these finds, however, are probably relics of mishaps during passage rather than evidence of settlement, although this is not to deny that there was settlement in the area.⁸⁰

A bronze 'horn-cap',⁸¹ part of the handhold of a chariot, which was found near the Thames at Brentford, is generally regarded as an import of the 'Waldalgesheim' style of the 3rd century B.C. or earlier. Although not the earliest of the Middlesex art objects, it is certainly one of the most striking. Among earlier and possibly foreign items are daggers with decorated bronze sheaths of which eleven⁸² have been found in the Thames between Chelsea and Isleworth. Many of them have chapes with rings at the end. Continental analogies have been used in giving them a range from the beginning of the 6th century B.C. to the late 4th century or the beginning of the 3rd century B.C.⁸³ They include both 'Hallstatt-D' and 'La Tène I' types, and it has been suggested that they may represent a local development rather than imports.⁸⁴ Since it is still uncertain whether they represent trade goods or local manufacture, the horn-cap and sheaths can tell us little of local daily life. A group of brooches from various points along the Thames also casts little light on local life. Some of the brooches are continental types which came by trade or on the clothes of immigrants, but others are local adaptations.

Another, more spectacular, object is an iron sword with antenna-pommel which may date from the 6th century and was found in the Thames at London.⁸⁵ A bronze cauldron, also from the Thames, has been assigned to the 6th–5th century B.C.⁸⁶ The daggers, cauldron, and other such objects are clearly luxury articles.

⁷² *Arch. Jnl.* lxxxvi. 75; *A.M.L.* 137–8, fig. 22c.

⁷³ France: *Guide to Antiquities of Early IA*. pl. iv(8); *Manuel*, iv. 977; France and Kent: *Antiq. Jnl.* xx. 115–21, figs. 2, 8; Esher: *ibid.* xxvii. 37, fig. 16(1); Fetcham (Surr.): *Surr. Arch. Coll.* lix. 86, fig. 2(1); W. Harling: *P.P.S.* xix. 26, fig. 16(97).

⁷⁴ L.M. A.13675. See illustration facing p. 52.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *A.M.L.* 137, fig. 22A; *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxi. 138.

⁷⁷ Cf. *P.P.S.E. Anglia*, iv. 212, 217, pl. 1B. But the rim of L.M. Lay.P.1 is more upright. See illustration facing p. 52.

⁷⁸ Cf. *P.P.S.* xxiii. 195, fig. 20(e, f).

⁷⁹ The authors are indebted to Dr. F. R. Hodson for advice and criticism.

⁸⁰ On the dating of Celtic finds see Sir Cyril Fox, *Pattern and Purpose: a Survey of early Celtic Art in Britain*; *IA Problems*, 69–83; *Heritage of Early Britain*, ed. D. Knowles, 56–82; P. Jacobsthal, *Early Celtic Art*.

⁸¹ L.M. Lay. O.1760; Fox, *Pattern*, 3.

⁸² *Ibid.* 3–4; *P.P.S.* xxvii. 307–43; xvi. 1–28. E. M. Jope in *IA Problems*, 69–83 assigns them to 'Hallstatt II' (beginning c. 600–550 B.C.) or La Tène I (c. 450–300 B.C.). For an example see illustration on p. 41.

⁸³ *P.P.S.* xxvii. 307.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Illustrated in *L.P.A.* 65, fig. 23(1).

⁸⁶ In B.M. See *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxvi.

The 'Marnian' invaders who entered Britain about 400 B.C. are conspicuous in the archaeological records of East Yorkshire. An ugly pin from the Thames at Hammer-smith⁸⁷ has been adduced as evidence of their influence in other parts of the country. The pin, however, may well be later and non-Marnian. Two fine 'Marnian' horse-bits came from the Thames at Windsor and the City, and also from the river at Hammer-smith came a brooch with a red stud near the catch-plate end which may be of the same period.⁸⁸ The brooch is certainly of continental tradition and of early La Tène date, but again it is uncertain whether these are local products. The earliest evidence of local craftsmanship (apart from the daggers above), indeed for a 'native school' in Britain, perhaps in the mid-3rd century B.C., may possibly be found in the art recovered from a few places which include the Thames and Witham (Lincs.). The two shield bosses⁸⁹ from the Thames between Hammersmith and Wandsworth and the well-known Battersea shield are the main evidence for this phase, although there may be a century between the Wandsworth items (c. 250 B.C.) and the later Battersea shield. The following century saw the making of a helmet with great horns found in the Thames near Waterloo Bridge.⁹⁰ Fox suggested that this was from the same *atelier* as one of the late Wandsworth shield bosses. If his dating of 25 B.C. is correct, the helmet reflects life during that restless period of independence between the invasions of Caesar and Claudius.

Most of the items so far mentioned are military, and few non-martial chattels, such as the fire-irons from Welwyn (Herts.), have been found in Middlesex. A small bronze big-eared boar from Hounslow⁹¹ was possibly used as a fitting for some piece of fighting equipment.

Celtic thirst has often been alluded to, and the tankard found at Kew is one of many such objects found in Britain.⁹² The tankard's great capacity renders it an awkward vessel and one cannot know today what liquid it held. This object can be assigned to about the end of the 1st century B.C.

The use of horses or ponies may be inferred from the ornamental bridle bits found in and near the London area.⁹³ These bits, which seem very awkward to a modern rider, may provide some evidence of the size of animals at this period. Some are of iron and probably of late date, while others, of bronze, may date from 'Marnian' times.

Although the broad pattern of entry and movement of the Belgae and other tribes is known, it is difficult to connect objects with particular migrations or incidents. A further difficulty in Middlesex is that no find in the county is from a settlement or associated with pottery. An example once thought to be of Belgic origin is a handsome sword scabbard⁹⁴ from the Thames between Chelsea and Battersea. This, however, could at best be described as derived from La Tène III prototypes.

A handled cup of Italian type of the 7th century B.C. was found on the riverbank at Barnes (Surr.).⁹⁵

Many examples of Celtic coinage have been found in Middlesex and London. These have been conveniently listed.⁹⁶ Some were found in or near the Thames, always an

⁸⁷ In B.M. See Fox, *Pattern*, 9, 18, pl. 2(E).

⁸⁸ Ibid. 16-17. Cf. *P.P.S.* xxix. 206-13 (L.M. O.1761 from Strand-on-the-Green; 1st cent. B.C.)

⁸⁹ Fox, *Pattern*, 25-28. In B.M.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 49-51. In B.M.

⁹¹ Ibid. 76. In B.M. In L.M. is a forepart of a bronze boar, found in London, which may have been a mount. The boar is not uncommon in Brit. Celtic art and there are in B.M. several other animal art items from the Hounslow area.

⁹² Ibid. 108-9. The tankard is in L.M. Lay. O.1755. See *P.P.S.* xviii. 85-102.

⁹³ Fox, *Pattern*, 125-6, pl. 71a. This two-piece bit is thought to be Belgic.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 117-19, fig. 73(6).

⁹⁵ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxv. 84-88, plate; *Atti del 1° Congresso Internazionale di Preistoria e Protostoria Mediterranea* (1950), 319-21, pl. 5A.

⁹⁶ Sir J. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864, suppl. 1890); R. P. Mack, *Coinage of Ancient Britain; IA Problems*, 97-308. For the background to Belgic coinage see *P.P.S.* xxiv. 43-63. *Archaeologia*, xc. 1-46 contains a valuable study. The authors are grateful to Mr. D. F. Allen for constructive criticism.

area of settlement and movement, but their distribution appears to be of little significance and they give no sure evidence of trade and other activities in the area.

The earliest coins, the gold staters and quarter staters traditionally but wrongly ascribed to the Bellovaci of Gaul,⁹⁷ were certainly originally struck in north-east Gaul but are found fairly frequently in Britain, usually in a very worn condition. One was found at Golders Green. It has been tentatively suggested⁹⁸ that these coins first began to appear in the late 2nd century B.C., and that most of them were introduced by immigrants rather than as a result of trade.

Of greater local interest is a coin group with defaced obverse dies,⁹⁹ only a little later than or perhaps roughly contemporary with the north-east Gaul group. These coins are found 'in a wedge spreading across Greater London from north-east to south-west, both north and south of the Thames'. It is not certain whether they arrived by trade or by invasion, but it has been suggested¹ that they are the result of an exodus from Gaul.

Harlington and Sunbury have each produced a gold stater with the so-called 'Remic' three-strand tailed horses device. A quarter stater of this kind was found at St. John's Wood. Such coins may be synchronous with the movements of the chief Commius who was a contemporary of Caesar.²

From Sunbury, Brentford, Chiswick, and Acton have come at least 650 examples of 'native tin money' of 'speculum', a mixture of cast tin and bronze. It is not known whether the coins found in hoards in the Thames area were deposited in times of danger or whether they are hoards of passage.³ The coins have a 1st-century-B.C. origin, but in Kent they have been found in Roman contexts of the 1st century A.D.

Although Middlesex lay between the territories of the Belgic Catuvellauni⁴ and their enemies the Trinobantes of Essex, their coinage is found only sporadically in the county. A coin of Tasciovanus, a ruler of the Catuvellauni (c. 20 B.C.–A.D. 10), was found at Poplar, while in Chiswick was found a coin of Addedomaros, a ruler of the Trinobantes (c. 15–1 B.C.). In Brentford was also found a coin of the son of Tasciovanus, Cunobelinus,⁵ who appears to have ruled both tribes. If Brentford is regarded as a centre or post, the presence of these coins in the area is easily explained.

J. G. Milne lists finds of eight Carthaginian and pre-Roman bronze coins from London and Middlesex:⁶ Ashford and Ealing (Carthage); London and Westminster (Ptolemaic); Edmonton (Seleucid (2), Rhegium, Bithynia). The grouping is not so significant as for similar and more plentiful finds from Dorset, and Milne suggests that some of the finds represent parts of imported bronze scrap. In any case coin finds from near a large city are always suspect since they may be lost collectors' items.

THE ROMANO-BRITISH PERIOD

Maps of Roman Britain, such as that produced by the Ordnance Survey, show no finds or settlements in Middlesex. Intensive fieldwork since 1956 has produced many

⁹⁷ Usually referred to as 'Gallo-Belgic A'.

⁹⁸ *IA Problems*, 102, 150.

⁹⁹ 'Gallo-Belgic B': *ibid.* 102–3, 154. Find-places include Ealing, Enfield Chase, Southall, 'London', and 'Kew'. The distribution of these coins is generally different from that of 'Gallo-Belgic A'.

¹ Commander R. P. Mack has confirmed this point and made many useful criticisms.

² *IA Problems*, 116–18, 200, 202.

³ There is reason to believe that the Sunbury material is from an occupation site. It 'had originally been contained in three earthenware pots' of IA type, with flints. Material

in L.M. See *Num. Chron.* (1950), pts. i, ii, 148–9; (1951), 339–40; *P.P.S.* xx. 72–75.

⁴ These had their centre at Verulamium nr. St. Albans. Their influence spread unevenly over Beds., Hunts., Cambs., Bucks., Northants., Oxon., Essex, and Suff. Mdx. was not obviously one of their preserves.

⁵ Cunobelinus (Cymbeline) was a later king of the Trinobantes. Two of his coins have been found in or nr. the City of Lond. The distribution is, as may be expected, thin when compared with that of Essex.

⁶ *Finds of Greek Coins in Brit. Isles* (Ashm. 1948).

items, listed in the gazetteer, but the distribution pattern remains thin and difficult to explain on environmental grounds. However, the area was certainly in early contact with Roman London and it seems possible that, even earlier, Julius Caesar may have campaigned in the area. Extended discussion, however, has failed to establish with certainty the point at which Caesar crossed the Thames during the second invasion of 54 B.C. or that the line of his march lay through Middlesex. Various places between Westminster and Kingston have been suggested.⁷ Stakes found in the Thames⁸ and archaeological finds from all periods have caused several scholars to suggest Brentford as the most likely crossing⁹ but this view is by no means widely accepted. The stakes may be parts of medieval fish traps.

Caesar then marched¹⁰ possibly directly towards Hertfordshire to grapple with Cassivellaunus who had dismissed all his forces except about 4,000 chariots.¹¹ These were used to harry the Romans, darting from the shelter of the woods in which the Britons had hidden their families and cattle. The Roman cavalry were able to plunder and devastate the fields. All this implies that the territory through which Caesar passed was far from wild, desolate, or trackless.¹²

One may wonder at the nature of a landscape which enabled chariots to deploy in or near woods, and Caesar's observations are not easily correlated with known topographical details of early Middlesex.¹³ The Trinobantes of Essex are known to have come to terms with the Romans and Caesar's troops were forbidden to harm them.¹⁴ If this arrangement is to be interpreted as a means of safeguarding Caesar's right flank, the advance probably lay through eastern Middlesex, perhaps following the Lea. All that is certain is that, probably only a few days after crossing the Thames, Caesar defeated the Britons, perhaps somewhere near St. Albans (*Verulamium*).¹⁵ Nothing further is known of the campaign.

The Romans under Aulus Plautius again crossed the Thames in A.D. 43 in advance of the Emperor Claudius. Subsequently the area later known as London was quickly Romanized. Recent modifications in the story of Roman London, such as the discovery of a fort in Cripplegate, or even the backdating of the Boudiccan revolt from A.D. 61 to A.D. 60, have, however, little effect on the present conception of Roman Middlesex set out below.

Roman occupation as shown on the map (which excludes the City of London and Westminster) indicates, first, east and west spreads from London (*Londinium*) consisting entirely of extramural burials. Roadside burials were customary, but inhumations do not necessarily imply the existence of a road. The 2nd- or 3rd-century burial at Hampstead, for example, might be better interpreted as being near a dwelling. Apart from the area outside the city the largest concentration of burials with some evidence of associated settlement is found around Enfield, perhaps chiefly on the west side of Ermine Street. Finds from this area, which include coins, pottery, lamps, and many other

⁷ T. R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasion of Julius Caesar*, 692-9; Fox, *Pattern*, 62 n.; *T.L.M.A.S.* iii. 382-446.

⁸ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* bk. 1, ch. ii. Many of the stakes in that part of the river are now thought to be the remains of fish weirs and traps. They may in any case vary in date.

⁹ No meaningful statement can be made about river levels in the Thames in IA or Roman times until the full tidal range or amplitude at the time can be ascertained. It is already becoming clearer (1960) that the Thames was lower in Roman times.

¹⁰ Caesar followed a route which Cassivellaunus knew (*iis regionibus quibus nos iter facturos cognoverat*) and which might have been a trackway (*Cassivellaunus . . . itinera nostra servabat paulumque ex via excedebat*): Caesar, *De Bello*

Gallico, ed. A. Klotz, v. 19.

¹¹ Four thousand is possibly an error. The text is *milibus circiter quattuor essedariorum relictis*. But discussion then hinges on how many strokes were used to write the numeral IIII or *quattuor* in a hypothetical earlier text. The minimum would surely be *two* thousand. For discussion of chariots see *IA Problems*, 84-85.

¹² *omnibus viis notisque semitisque*; *De Bello Gallico*, v. 19.

¹³ Brentford is almost due south of St. Albans and Wheathampstead, the general objectives of the march.

¹⁴ *Trinobantibus defensis atque ab omni militum iniuria prohibitis*; *De Bello Gallico*, v. 21.

¹⁵ R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Verulamium: A Belgic and two Roman Cities*.

objects, cover virtually the entire Roman period. At Churchfield, Edmonton, evidence of a small settlement has been found and at Parkfield, Potters Bar, a kiln and settlement were excavated. There may have been a settlement at Acton, and near Old England there seems to have been a small complex of waterside huts.¹⁶ Tiles and nails found in the Brentford reach of the Thames suggest more substantial buildings and may mark one of the larger settlements in south-west Middlesex. Staines, thought to be the *Pontes* of the *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* (3rd century), which was 22 miles from London and clearly a crossing of the Thames, has not yielded many Roman remains, although the unexpected discovery in 1961 of Romano-British sherds at Yeoveney on the site of a Neolithic causewayed camp may indicate that much still awaits discovery. Excavations at Brockley Hill, Stanmore, have yielded evidence of continuous occupation from Belgic times until the 4th century A.D. Kilns were brought into use here between A.D. 70 and 80 and Brockley Hill is thought to be the *Sulloniacae* of the Antonine Itinerary and associated with the mortarium stamp of SULLONIA found at Corbridge (Northumb.).¹⁷ Mortaria stamps of the potters Matugenus and A. Terentius Ripanus have been found, suggesting that they worked here as well as in Lyons (?*Lugdunum*) where they are known to have had kilns.¹⁸

Reports of excavations at Brockley Hill suggest nearby ploughland,¹⁹ and there is little doubt that the Romano-British site at Yeoveney and the settlement noted by S. S. Frere at Shepperton were agricultural. Little farming equipment has, however, survived. One coulter of unknown provenance but from a collection containing many Thames finds may be from the Middlesex stretch of the river.²⁰ Middlesex has in the past been the subject of research for evidence of centuriation.²¹ Air photography has revealed striking evidence of this form of land division in Italy,²² but similar photographs of Middlesex show no such patterns.

The Roman roads of Middlesex²³ are fairly well defined and their known or presumed courses are indicated on the distribution map.²⁴ In the east a road, of which the exact alignment is unknown after some distance from the City, ran from Aldgate towards Old Ford where it crossed the Lea at Iceland Wharf and proceeded to Colchester.²⁵ A road along this line is shown on a late-16th-century map.²⁶ The road from London to Dunmow (Essex) crossed the river near Lea Bridge.²⁷ Ermine Street ran northward from Bishopsgate through Shoreditch, Kingsland, Stoke Newington, Stamford Hill, Tottenham, Edmonton, and Enfield. Watling Street ran, possibly from Westminster to Marble Arch, along Edgware Road to Brockley Hill, and thence into Hertfordshire.²⁸ The road to Silchester (Hants) ran from Newgate along the approximate line of Oxford Street through Bayswater, Notting Hill, and Holland Park, down Goldhawk Road and across Turnham Green to Chiswick High Road and then to Brentford where it probably joined Akeman Street which followed the line of the Strand and passed through Kensington and Hammersmith to Chiswick. The road then ran through Hounslow

¹⁶ R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Old England, Brentford', *Antiquity*, iii. 20-32, pls. i-v.

¹⁷ For the significance of this name see *T.L.M.A.S.* x (3), 226.

¹⁸ The key references are *ibid.* vii. 686-7; x(1), 1-23; x(3), 201-28; xi(2), 173-88; xi(3), 259-76; xviii(1), 60-64 (on Moxom Coll.); xix(1), 65-75. Some of the finds may have come from just over the Herts. border.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* x(3), 224-5; xi(2), 178.

²⁰ L.M. Lay.O.1985. For a critical analysis of the evidence see *Jnl. of Roman Studies*, liv. 54-55.

²¹ *T.L.M.A.S.* viii. 1-13.

²² *Antiquity*, xxiii. 65-70, pls. iii-v; xxiv. 88-91, pl. vi.

²³ Except where otherwise stated this section is based on

Hist. Mon. Com. Lond. (Roman), 49-56; O.S. *Map of Roman Britain* (1956); I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain*, i, *passim*; The Viatores, *Roman Roads in the South-East Midlands*, *passim*. See also *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 1 sqq.

²⁴ See p. 67.

²⁵ *Essex Naturalist*, xxxi(3), 208-13.

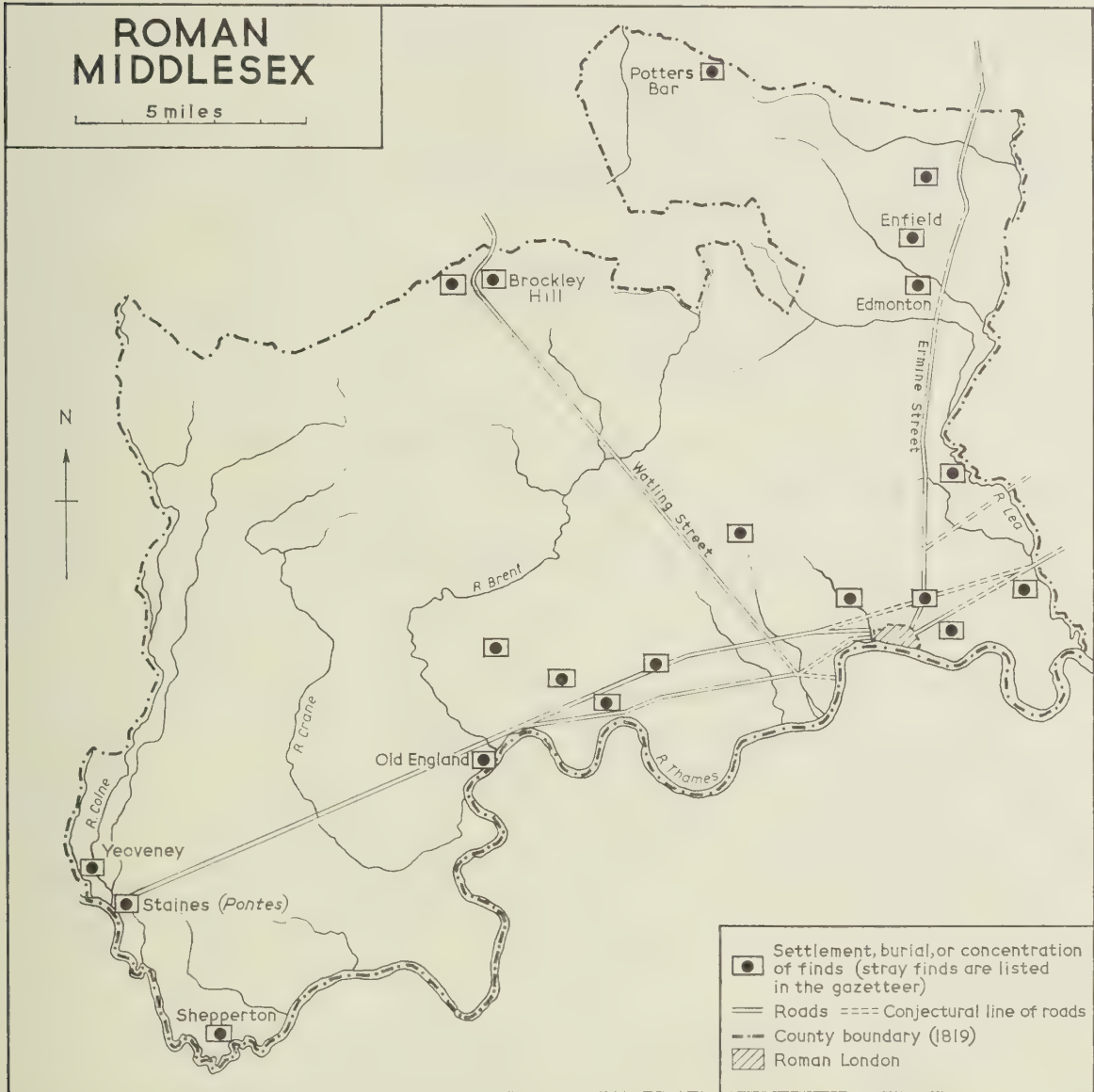
²⁶ P.R.O., M.P.F. 120. (The road from Aldgate to Bow Bridge is of medieval origin.)

²⁷ *Essex Naturalist*, xxxi(3), 208-13.

²⁸ It is thought that the building of the Roman bridge, which was close to the site of the modern London Bridge, effectively diverted Watling Street from an axis from Westminster to Marble Arch to one from the City to Marble Arch.

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and East Bedfont on its way to Staines where it crossed the Thames. There is reason to believe that all these roads were linked by a road, possibly of pre-Roman origin, which ran from Old Ford and by-passed London by way of Roman Road, Old Street, and Oxford Street and then joined the Silchester road. A road probably ran from the City through a postern gate on the south-east along the Highway towards Limehouse.



Another road is thought to have run northward from Laleham up the Colne valley to St. Albans;²⁹ it has been suggested that this route linked by a spur from Harefield to a road running on the other side of the Colne from Chorley Wood and Langley Park (Bucks.) to St. Albans. Other old roads and trackways on the Middlesex side of the Colne valley, particularly around Harefield, are possibly of Roman origin. A road excavated near Rickmansworth Station (Herts.) continued southward into Middlesex and probably ran through Ruislip parish.

Stray pottery finds, particularly in south-west Middlesex, suggest further possible areas of occupation, and organized fieldwork here and elsewhere will probably expand considerably knowledge of Roman settlement in the county.

²⁹ Ex inf. Mr. E. V. Parrott, whose help with this paragraph is gratefully acknowledged.

GAZETTEER³⁰

Location/Ref.

ACTON

- 'Acton Green' (centring on TQ. 209788): fragment of stamped tile of VIth Legion.³¹ Gunn.
- Bedford House (centring on TQ. 21157894): four damaged 'Samian' sherds with whitish encrustation similar to that on material from the Thames. c. 2nd cent. A.D. Gunn. T.853/1-4
- Chaucer Road (centring on TQ. 20358037): Romano-British pottery found 1869 by A. H. Pitt-Rivers in surface soil.³² Unknown
- 'Springfield Estate' (centring on TQ. 201809): found 1899 seven similar coins (Vespasian to Severus) and handled lamp of Walters Type IV. Lamp possibly of 1st cent. A.D. onwards; coins at least 3rd cent.³³ L.M. A.10016-22

BATTERSEA

- Thames nr. Battersea Bridge (TQ. 270774 and up river): ten³⁴ pewter ingots of Syagrius with various Christian markings. B.M. (6), L.M. (2), York Mus. (2)

BETHNAL GREEN

- Corfield Street (TQ. 34828268): lead coffin in wood casing found 1862.³⁵ B.M.

BRENTFORD & CHISWICK

- Chiswick, Turnham Green: 'Nov. 1731 a labourer dug up an urn full of silver Roman coins . . .'³⁶ Unknown
- Thames, Brentford: iron axe-hammer.³⁷ L.M. A.19538
- Thames, 50 yds. west of Chiswick Ferry (TQ. 21707765): part of Roman quern found 1911 in river bed.³⁸ Chiswick Church
- Barnes, downstream from the railway bridge (approx. TQ. 215765): handleless flagon found 1872 off 'Jessop's Creek', Chiswick. L.M. Lay.P.127
- Thames, Brentford, off Old England: bronze brooch derivative of native trumpet type; with thin bow. 2nd cent. A.D. Found 1864. L.M. Lay.O.1815
- Sutton Court (centring on TQ. 203777): alleged Roman bath found 1905.³⁹
- Thames, Kew: bronze cheek-piece of legionary helmet. Probably 1st cent. A.D.⁴⁰ B.M.
- Thames, Brentford, Syon Reach: terracotta representation of theatrical mask. G.M.
- Thought to be 1st-2nd cent. A.D.
- Brentford (possibly Thames): three T-shaped Roman nails. L.M. Lay.O.2008-10
- Brentford, nr. The Ride and Ealing Park Gardens (TQ. 17147857)⁴¹: copper coin of Commodus. L.M. Lay.
- Chiswick, Strand-on-the-Green: Roman (?) key. Unknown
- Old England, mainly on Isleworth side of boundary (centring on TQ. 178769 approx.):⁴² Sir Mortimer Wheeler found in 1928 remains of rectangular huts with wattle floors (possibly IA) as well as Roman tiles and pottery of 2nd cent. A.D.⁴³
- In 1955 Mr. I. N. Hume⁴⁴ examined several points along Syon Reach and recovered late (c. 4th cent. A.D.) Roman pottery as well as decorated flue-tiles, not necessarily of the same period. Traces of IA pottery in lower waterlogged levels. L.M. 57.10

³⁰ Cf. also the gazetteer in the London Museum.

³¹ Dr. G. Webster has pointed out that its position, so far from York where it was made, renders its provenance doubtful.

³² *A.M.L.* 215.

³³ R. E. M. Wheeler, *Lond. in Roman Times*, 6, implies the association.

³⁴ Hist. Mon. Com. *Lond.* (Roman), 175. In *Antiquities of Roman Brit.* (B.M. 1958), 46, the ingots are said to have been found in the Thames between Battersea and Wandsworth.

³⁵ Hist. Mon. Com. *Lond.* (Roman), 164.

³⁶ Stukely, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (2nd edn.), i. 205.

³⁷ Wheeler, *Roman Lond.* 78, pl. xxxiv.

³⁸ W. Draper, *Chiswick*, 17.

³⁹ Sharpe, *Mdx.* 89-90.

⁴⁰ *Arch. Jnl.* cxv. 84.

⁴¹ Ref. from O.S. recs.

⁴² *Jnl. Royal Anthropol. Inst.* vii. 422.

⁴³ *Antiquity*, iii. 20-32.

⁴⁴ *P.L.A. Monthly* (Aug. 1956), 226-9; typescript by Mr. I. N. Hume deposited in L.M. Jan. 1957. See also I. N. Hume, *Treasure in the Thames*, 43-46.

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Location/Ref.

EALING

- The Mount, site of reservoir made by Grand Junction Water Co. (centring on TQ. 19183204): six Romano-British cinerary urns and other pottery found 1880.⁴⁵ Material was in collection of J. A. Brown. Unknown
- Northolt, at the manor site by the church: five fragments of Roman tegulae were found built into walls. The material was thought to have been brought from another site since no Roman sherds were found.⁴⁶

EDMONTON

- 45 Bridlington Road (TQ. 34679476): lamp of Walters Type IV (late 1st cent. onwards) found in garden after Second World War.⁴⁷ Unknown
- 432 Church Street (TQ. 32829471): tetterine or feeding-bottle of c. A.D. 100 found in modern filling during foundation work.⁴⁸ Skeleton of unknown date found next door at no. 434.⁴⁹ Unknown
- Churchfield (TQ. 33709425): during gravel working in 1929 pottery and roof and hypocaust tiles found in quantity, as well as a 'hipposandal', key, and horse bit. Coin hoard (A.D. 150-200) found between the sleeper beams of a hut. Excavations by Mr. G. R. Gillam and others in 1951 proved presence of small settlement of late 3rd-mid 4th cent. A.D. A second hut with latrine trench was noted. Further work in 1952 confirmed this dating.⁵⁰ Part of site now under playing field. L.M. 28.137/4
- 7 Forest Road (TQ. 34909444): imitation *as* of Claudius found in garden in 1943.⁵¹ Unknown
- 421 Monmouth Road (TQ. 35259360): coin of Maximian (A.D. 286-305) found in garden. This was site of Moat House Farm.⁵² Unknown
- Raglan School playing fields (TQ. 33459480 approx.): female skeleton found 1908 in Roman coffin of oolitic limestone from Peterborough region. Edmonton Pub. Libr.
- Glass bottle found with the burial.⁵³ G.M.
- Two flagons, one probably of 3rd cent., found 1912. Forty Hall Mus. Enfield
- St. David's Hospital, Silver Street (TQ. 32759245): traces of occupation—roof tiles, *tesserae*, combed pattern hypocaust tile—found 1959 in grounds of hospital nr. Pymmes Brook. Probably of period A.D. 60-150.⁵⁴ Huxley School, Silver Street
- Lamp (c. A.D. 70-120) of Walters Type IIIa dredged from Pymmes Brook in 1955.⁵⁵ Huxley School, Silver Street
- St. Edmund's Road (TQ. 34059470): coin of Gallienus (mid-3rd cent. A.D.) found nr. brook W. of railway line.⁵⁶ Unknown
- Trinity Av. (approx. TQ. 34009532): stone coffin noted before 1939. Details lost. Unknown
- Amphora handle found 1956 at junction of Trinity Ave. and the Cambridge arterial road. (TQ. 34129526).⁵⁷ Unknown

ENFIELD

- Broomfield (TQ. 32909603):⁵⁸ signs of possible occupation noted at various times. In 1816 'Roman urns and coins were found in this gravel-pit and some skeletons'.⁵⁹ Unknown
- Carterhatch (or Caterhatch) Lane (approx. TQ. 342975): c. 70 Roman silver and bronze coins ploughed up in a field and sold in 1820. Probably of period A.D. 69-180,⁶⁰ with a few of early 3rd cent. Unknown

⁴⁵ Sharpe, *Mdx.* 90; Edith Jackson, *Annals of Ealing*, 12; *Jnl. Geol. Soc.* xlii. 192; O.S. recs.

⁴⁶ J. G. Hurst, 'The Kitchen area of Northolt manor, *Mdx.*', *Medieval Arch.* v. 254.

⁴⁷ Ex. inf. Messrs. G. R. Gillam and G. W. Sturges.

⁴⁸ *Enfield Arch. Soc. Bull.* no. 2 (Sept. 1959).

⁴⁹ *Archaeologist in Essex, Herts., London and Mdx.* 1959, 27.

⁵⁰ G. R. Gillam, *A Romano-British Site at Edmonton*. Some of the 1929 finds were sent to Hertford Mus.: G. W. Sturges, *Edmonton Past and Present*, i. 2.

⁵¹ Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam.

⁵² *Tottenham and Edmonton Herald*, 7 July 1953.

⁵³ Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam. The borough engineer in 1961 gave the position as Lat. 51° 39' 23" N. and Long. 0° 3' 54" W.

⁵⁴ Ex inf. Messrs. G. R. Gillam and G. W. Sturges; *Enfield Arch. Soc. Bull.* no. 3. ⁵⁵ *Archaeologist*, 1959, 27.

⁵⁶ Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam. ⁵⁷ Ex inf. eiusdem.

⁵⁸ The authors are indebted to Mr. G. R. Gillam for locating Broomfield from an inclosure map of 1801-3. The gravel-pit (also known as Mr. Mellish's Pit) could still be traced in 1961; the O.S. recs. are very full for this area.

⁵⁹ W. Robinson, *History and Antiquities of Enfield*, i. 57-58. ⁶⁰ Ibid.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

	<i>Location/Ref.</i>
Brigadier Hill (approx. TQ. 32309800): two copper coins of Maximian (A.D. 284–308) and Crispus (A.D. 317–26) dug up in 1910. ⁶¹	Unknown
Burleigh Road (TQ. 33359613; TQ. 33349615 in O.S. recs.): lead coffin, decorated with scallop pattern, containing skeleton in lime found 1902. Nearby were two lead canisters holding burnt bones placed under a brick cist covered with flints. ⁶² Coffin may be first half of 3rd cent. A.D. ⁶³	Forty Hall Mus., Enfield
Cambridge Road (TQ. 33809486): <i>aureus</i> of Domitian picked up in Nov. 1956 on W. side of road. Considered to have been in circulation for a century before being lost. ⁶⁴	Fitzw.
Forty Hill, probably nr. Clock House (TQ. 33959849 approx.): Roman glass bottle found a few years before 1873 during excavations in grounds of one David Henry. ⁶⁵ Puddingstone quern also found.	Unknown
Landseer Road (centring on TQ. 34079565): during road construction in 1902 evidence of occupation ranging from 1st to 4th cent. A.D. was uncovered. Mr. G. R. Gillam has analysed contemporary press and magazine reports. ⁶⁶ Finds included 'Castor' and 'Samian' ware (including patera stamped M.D.C.C.A.), roofing and hypocaust tiles, brooches, tettine, flanged mortarium, quern fragments, iron knives, bronze statuette of Apollo (found c. $\frac{1}{2}$ mile W.). Other material included Samian bowl found in garden in Landseer Road.	Unknown
Lincoln Road (centring on TQ. 350957 approx.): coin of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38) found in garden in 1956. ⁶⁷	Unknown
Maiden Bridge, Forty Hill (TQ. 34308975; TQ. 34239877 in O.S. recs.): coin of Constantine (A.D. 306–37) found nr. brook in 1885. ⁶⁸	Unknown
Old Park Farm Moat, nr. W. bounds of first green on Enfield golf course (TQ. 31409635): coin of Antoninus Pius. ⁶⁹ Also an <i>as</i> , a brooch, and 'nondescript pieces of bronze; also a quern of pudding stone'.	Unknown
Ponders End: bronze 'trumpet' brooch of Collingwood type Rii, of northern affinities. 2nd and 3rd quarter of 2nd cent. A.D. (illustrated facing p. 74.)	L.M. C.995
River Lea, Ponders End: bronze brooch, rather like Polden Hill type of Camulodunum type IX (illustrated facing p. 74.)	L.M. A.7733
Bush Hill Park (centring on TQ. 38084575): Roman burial ground in garden of 'Ferndell' uncovered in 1893–4. ⁷⁰ Mr. G. R. Gillam has analysed ⁷¹ 'Belgic' pottery and other finds, which included coin of Vespasian, and suggested a general date in second half of 1st cent. A.D.	Forty Hall Mus., Enfield
Trent Park (centring on TQ. 290975): four copper coins found 1859; one coin of Magnentius (A.D. 350–53), another of Constantine (A.D. 306–37).	Barnet Mus. ⁷²
Windmill Hill, now King George playing fields (centring on TQ. 34429692): fragments of coffin, urns, bones in one, 3 coins in another, ploughed up in Windmill Field in 1820. ⁷³	Unknown

FINSBURY

Rahere Street: carved stone head of a man found in 1936. ⁷⁴	G.M.
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FULHAM

Thames, between Fulham and Putney: legionary sword with embossed bronze scabbard. ⁷⁵	B.M.
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HACKNEY

Lower Clapton (within 100 ft. radius of TQ. 35508758 approx.): marble sarcophagus with inscription of 'late Empire' found 1867. Coin of Nero was found c. 1842 c. 100 yds. north. ⁷⁶	G.M. Unknown
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⁶¹ Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam; C. W. Whitaker, *An Illustrated . . . account of Enfield*.

⁶² *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xix. 206–10; *Archaeologia*, xlviii. 24.

⁶³ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxxviii. 1–61.

⁶⁴ Ex inf. Messrs. G. R. Gillam and J. P. C. Kent; *Enfield Gazette and Observer*, 9 Nov. 1956.

⁶⁵ Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam; E. Ford and G. H. Hodson, *History of Enfield*, 121–2; O.S. recs.

⁶⁶ *Illustrated Lond. News*, 5 Apr. 1902; *Enfield and Edmonton Chron.* 25 Apr. 1902; Whitaker, *Enfield*, 19.

⁶⁷ Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam.

⁶⁸ Ex inf. eiusdem; Whitaker, *Enfield*.

⁶⁹ Ford and Hodson, *Hist. of Enfield*, 121–2; additional

details from O.S. recs.

⁷⁰ Whitaker, *Enfield*, 16. Photograph of the finds bound with a copy of this work in Enfield Pub. Libr.

⁷¹ Private communication.

⁷² Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam. Location of two coins unknown.

⁷³ Robinson, *Antiquities of Enfield*, i. 57; O.S. recs.

⁷⁴ J. M. C. Toynbee, *Art in Britain under the Romans* (1964), 54. Professor Toynbee feels there is a possibility that it may be modern!

⁷⁵ *Arch. Jnl.* cxv. 140, for refs.

⁷⁶ *T.L.M.A.S.* iii. 191–4; *Hist. Mon. Com. Lond.* (Roman) (plate and refs.). Cf. Toynbee, op. cit. 217.

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Location/Ref.

'Spring Field Lane at Upper Clapton' (centring on TQ. 346875): stone coffins found *c.* 1814 and in 1837.⁷⁷

Unknown

HAMMERSMITH

Thames: simple bronze safety-pin brooch; Camulodunum type VI or Collingwood type B; 2nd–3rd quarter of 1st cent. A.D. (illustrated facing p. 74.)

L.M. A.28562

Thames: bronze 'knee-brooch' with semicircular plate. Probably 2nd–3rd cent. A.D.⁷⁸

L.M. A23483

Goldhawk Road, W. of 'Queen of England Tavern' (TQ. 21967920): 'old Roman causeway' found during roadworks in 1834 10 ft. below surface with coins and 'small square tiles'. 'Roman traces' said to have been found E. of the pond and W. of the Metropolitan Railway Bridge.⁷⁹ Borough engineer declared in 1930's that no trace of a Roman road had been seen in recent works.

Black Lion Lane, nr. Thames (centring on TQ. 221785): coin of Trajan 4 ft. down in gravel found 1907.⁸⁰

Unknown

Thames: bronze handle of clasp knife showing dog chasing hare.⁸¹

L.M. A.10479

HAMPSTEAD

Nr. Well Walk or Gainsborough Gardens: cinerary urns found 1774. Included Form 27 (Drag.) Samian vessel.⁸² Group has been dated to period A.D. 90–120.

Unknown

HAMPTON/KINGSTON

Thames off Kingston (TQ. 176695 approx.): 'poppy-head' beaker of 'Upchurch' type with vertical bands of barbotine dots found 1862. End of 1st to beginning of 2nd cent. A.D.

L.M. Lay.P.153

HANWELL

Cuckoo Hill, Hanwell Park: Roman coins and pottery found 1850.⁸³

Unknown

HARROW

Great Stanmore Common: fifty coins (Constantine, Arcadius, Honorius, etc.) and other items found 1781.⁸⁴ Coins, if in authentic context, deposited in early 5th cent.

Unknown

Harrow Weald, in 'Money Dell' nr. Bentley Priory: Roman coins, including gold of Vespasian; nearby, in brickfield: cinerary urns and a lamp.⁸⁵

Unknown

Priory Drive (approx. TQ. 15809335): brass coins of Tetricus (*c.* A.D. 237) and Constantine (A.D. 306–37).⁸⁶

Unknown

Gordon Ave. (TQ. 16099161): fragments of Roman pottery found.⁸⁷

Unknown

Harrow (TQ. 15319238): two Roman amphorae of 1st cent., one has MAR stamp, found 1948.⁸⁸

B.M.

137A, Pinner Road (TQ. 14408820): thirteen Roman bronze coins of 1st cent. A.D. (including a sestertius of Vespasian) found in garden.⁸⁹

Unknown

HENDON/HARROW

Brockley Hill, Stanmore, nr. the Orthopaedic Hospital and mainly E. of Elstree Road (Watling Street) (centring on TQ. 177938 approx.): several points in the vicinity have produced Roman finds. Excavations since 1937 have yielded evidence of both occupation and of a pottery industry. Pottery, apart from wasters from the kilns and their products such as jars, flagons, lids, bowls,

⁷⁷ W. Robinson, *History and Antiquities of Hackney*, i. 29–31. Several other possibly Roman antiquities are listed here, probably from nr. Temple Mills (TQ. 376855): *Gent. Mag.* 1783, liii. 899 (urn found 1783).

⁷⁸ Wheeler, *Roman Lond.* 94, fig. 26(17). Illustrated facing p. 74.

⁷⁹ Draper, *Chiswick*, 17, using Faulkner's account. The authors are indebted to Hammersmith Pub. Libr. for details.

⁸¹ Wheeler, *Roman Lond.* 78–79; Toynbee, *Art in Britain under Romans*, 127, n. 2.

⁸² *Gent. Mag.* 1776, xlvii. 169. Mr. N. Cook has studied the illustrations in this publication and fixed the range of dates.

⁸³ Sharpe, *Mdx.* 90.

⁸⁴ W. Camden, *Britannia*, ed. R. Gough, ii. 30–31.

⁸⁵ Sharpe, *Mdx.* 90.

⁸⁶ Ex inf. Mr. J. E. Ayto.

⁸⁷ O.S. recs.

⁸⁸ Information from O.S. recs.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

includes imported 'Samian' ware and mortaria. Charcoal fragments of local oak and ash indicate the fuel used to fire the clay, which was also local. Shortage of birch remains thought to indicate that the cleared areas in the vicinity were cultivated. Kilns probably close to a road, but its precise course still uncertain.⁹⁰

Location/Ref.

Church Farm Mus.,
Hendon

HENDON

Nr. Mill Hill: seven lamps and defaced coins found 1769.⁹¹
Hendon Grove: pottery and bones.⁹²
Hendon (TQ. 22698937): jugs, pottery, and bricks.⁹³
Hendon (TQ. 1798 9328): burials of 2nd cent. found 1953.⁹⁴

Unknown
Unknown
Church Farm Mus.

HOLBORN

Corner of Endell Street and New Oxford Street (TQ. 301814 approx.): cylindrical lead cist found shortly before 1864 with bones and silver coins of Vespasian.⁹⁵
Drury Lane (partly in Westminster): stone (oolite) figure probably of Atys.⁹⁶
Gray's Inn Road: lattice-patterned urn and bones, probably A.D. 100-50, and biconical urn of c. A.D. 50-100.⁹⁷
Southampton Row: rusticated urn and bones. End of 1st cent. A.D.⁹⁸
Tavistock Square: 700 copper coins of Constantinian period (4th cent.) found by workmen in 1924.⁹⁹
Barter Street/Bloomsbury Court (TQ. 30358153): fragment of tombstone of G. Pomponius Valens discovered March 1961 in modern backfill of sewer trench.¹

Unknown

B.M. 29.194
L.M.
L.M.
B.M.
B.M. 1961.7-4.1

HORNSEY

Barrenger Road: coin (c. A.D. 312) of Constantine found in garden.²
'104, Cranley Gardens, Muswell Hill':³ hoard of 654 coins found 1928 in garden. Coins, a few Republican but mainly Empire, contained in globular pot. Latest dated coin is of A.D. 209.
Broken bronze ring, and silver spoon with a round bowl and pointed handle found in association.
'Grounds of the Priory, Shepherd's Hill Road':⁴ coins of 3rd cent. (Probus and Caracalla) in pot, and 'bronze sword handle' found c. 1848-9.

Unknown
B.M. 1928.10-19.1

B.M. 1928. 10-20.1.
Unknown

ISLEWORTH

Thames (?): bronze figurine of Minerva, 'provincial classical'.⁵

L.M.

ISLINGTON

Caledonian Road (?): two carved Roman grave or memorial stones found in 18th and 19th cents.⁶ Finding places uncertain.

Unknown

KENSINGTON

Notting Hill (probably TQ. 24748049): Roman coffin with burial in 'lime' found 1841 in 'foundations for new buildings situated in Victoria Park, near the Hippodrome'.⁷

Unknown

⁹⁰ See p. 66.

⁹¹ *Archaeologia*, lxxviii. 243.

⁹² *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xiii. 15.

⁹³ O.S. recs.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* ii. 376; *Hist. Mon. Com. Lond.* (Roman), 165.

⁹⁶ Toynbee, *Art in Britain under Romans*, 93.

⁹⁷ Wheeler, *Roman Lond.* 43.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Num. Chron.* (Ser. 5), v. 298-9.

¹ Ex inf. British Museum.

² *Evening Standard*, 20 Mar. 1937.

³ S. J. Madge, *Early Records of Harringay*, 22-24, with

two plates, showing pot, spoon, and fourteen coins, and list of all Hornsey Roman coins. See also *Num. Chron.* (ser. 9), 1929, 315-19.

⁴ J. H. Lloyd, *History of Highgate*, 8, 15; Madge, *Recs. of Harringay*, 22.

⁵ Toynbee, *Art in Britain under Romans*, 80.

⁶ *Archaeologia*, lxxviii. 247-9; J. Timbs, *Curiosities of Lond.* 715, writes: 'In 1825 arrow heads and a figured pavement were found at Reedmont.' Toynbee, *op. cit.* 209. n. 5 regards *stelai* from Islington as modern imports.

⁷ *Gent. Mag.* 1841, cxi (2), 499, and fig. The Hippodrome was a racecourse, and the position of the find is only approximate. For another account and parallels see *T.L.M.A.S.* iii. 209 *et passim*. The grid ref. is based on

ARCHAEOLOGY

Location/Ref.

POPLAR

- Gawthorn Road area (centring on TQ. 371832): skeleton in stone coffin (oolite) and Roman vessels, one of which held bones of an infant, found in 1856.⁸ Unknown
- Morville Street (TQ. 37118312): two stone coffins found c. 1868–70. One, with female in lime, probably contained a 'Castor' beaker. Against this were some large vessels containing bones. The other coffin contained two males and a female in lime.⁹ Unknown
- Nr. Old Ford Station (probably TQ. 37148362): skeleton in stone coffin found by workmen in 1867.¹⁰ B.M. 1910.2.10.1
- Old Ford: pot of bronze coins of Allectus found 1866.¹¹ Unknown
- Old Ford area, 'about 150 yards to the south of the old ford on the River at Stratford-le-Bow': a Roman lead sarcophagus burial, found in Oct. 1844.¹² Unknown
- Nr. Saxon Road and Coburn Road (centring on TQ. 368833): Roman burial in stone coffin found c. 1866 with pottery, some cinerary, a few feet away. Pottery probably 2nd–3rd cent.¹³ Unknown

POTTERS BAR

- Parkfield (TQ. 25900145: kiln; TQ. 26800145: occupation area): site connected with a Roman works making bricks, roofing tiles, etc., excavated 1953–4. Probably abandoned at end of 1st cent. A.D.¹⁴

RUISLIP-NORTHWOOD

- Ruislip (TQ. 09158760): remains of 'a building of apparently Romano-British origin . . . associated with fragments of pottery of this period'.¹⁵

ST. MARYLEBONE

- Oxford Street (TQ. 28358111): twelve silver coins of Vespasian, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Gratian, Valens, and Julian the Apostate found some years before 1846 'in digging the foundations of Gillow's upholstery warehouse'.¹⁶ Unknown
- Baker Street (TQ. 27918205): Roman sherds found when Mrs. Siddons's house demolished in 1904.¹⁷ Unknown

SHOREDITCH

- Queensbridge Road (TQ. 339839): 'Romano-British urns' found 1849.¹⁸ Unknown

STAINES

- Staines (TQ. 03497157): 'In 1871, near the Angel Inn were found Roman coins, pottery, and a bronze sword, and in 1880, by the High Street, a bath and some *tesserae*'.¹⁹ Unknown
- Rosefield Road (TQ. 04307170): 'three earthenware vessels 9 inches high' found 1931 in a garden.²⁰ Other Roman finds have been reported,²¹ suggesting possible occupation. Unknown
- Laleham (TQ. 052691): coin, mid-4th cent. A.D., found 1950–60.²² Unknown
- Laleham Burway:²³ two urns, possibly Roman, and what was possibly BA hoard found 1814 in south bank of Thames.²⁴ Unknown
- Wheatsheaf Lane, nr. 'Wheatsheaf and Pigeon' (TQ. 03547009): 'poppy' beaker of 2nd cent. and grey beaker and pottery fragments of 3rd–4th cent. A.D.²⁵ Reading Mus.

the assumption that the find was at No. 1 Ladbroke Square, as deduced from F. M. Gladstone, *Notting Hill in Bygone Days*, 2, where a stone trough (placed in St. John's vicarage garden) was said to have been found c. 1850.

⁸ *T.L.M.A.S.* i. 192–4.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 208–12; *Hist. Mon. Com. Lond.* (Roman), 161.

¹⁰ *East London Antiquities*, ed. W. A. Locks, 66. The O.S. 25" Plan, 1953 (TQ. 3783), states the Roman antiquities were found in 1868 at the grid point given above.

¹¹ *Hist. Mon. Com. Lond.* (Roman), 189.

¹² *Archaeologia*, xxxi. 308; *Hist. Mon. Com. Lond.* (Roman), 164.

¹³ *T.L.M.A.S.* iii. 207–8. The location is uncertain: 'near the Saxon Road and Coborn Road, Bow, some 60 yds. south of the Roman highway'.

¹⁴ G. R. Gillam, 'A Romano-British Site at Potters Bar', *Barnet and Dist. Rec. Soc. Bull.* no. 9.

¹⁵ *T.L.M.A.S.* vii. 103.

¹⁶ *Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* ii. 392. The site was traced from old Lond. directories by members of the Guildhall Libr. staff.

¹⁷ A. M. Eyre, *St. John's Wood*, 33.

¹⁸ *T.L.M.A.S.* iii. 197; *Jnl. Brit. Arch.* iv. 79.

¹⁹ Sharpe, *Mdx.* 115.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; O.S. recs.

²¹ *T.L.M.A.S.* v. 520.

²² Ex inf. Mr. G. P. Sanctuary, Laleham.

²³ See *V.C.H. Mdx.* ii. 396–7.

²⁴ *Archaeologia*, xviii. 426–7.

²⁵ O.S. recs.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

Location/Ref.

STEPNEY

Little Alie Street (centring on TQ. 34058125): cremation burial group in urns found 1913. Probably mid-1st cent. A.D. ²⁶	L.M.
Great Alie Street (centring on TQ. 33908115): cremation burial group in pots found 1904. Probably 2nd cent. A.D. ²⁷	G.M. Cat. No. 345
Angle of Cable Street and Brodlove Lane (approx. TQ. 356809): stone coffin burial, one in lead coffin, and other Roman items found in 17th cent. ²⁸	Unknown
Back Church Lane, nr. Cable Street (TQ. 34208095 approx.): tombstone of soldier of XXth Legion found 1776. ²⁹	Unknown
(Old) Montague Street (centring on TQ. 343817): pinkish buff, two-handled, globular amphora (c. 2nd cent. A.D.) found 1887. ³⁰	Unknown
Haydon Square and Mansell Street (centring on TQ. 337810): ragstone sarcophagus found 1854 with lead coffin and burial in lime; also burial in lead canister, at least four urn burials (one with colour-coated ware) ³¹ .	Unknown L.M. A.20347
St. Clare Street, Minorities (TQ. 33608100), about 5 ft. north-east of burial place of Anne Mowbray, Duchess of York: a cremation in a grey pot with red lid; found 11 Dec. 1964. Many other burials of this kind were found including a piece of painted wall plaster.	L.M. 65.8

SUNBURY

Shepperton: 'remains of Roman tessellated pavements have been found in this neighbourhood'. ³²	Unknown
Shepperton (TQ. 06206695): Romano-British pottery found 1943 in gravel. Probably of 2nd cent. A.D. 'The site will have been a peasant village.' ³³	Unknown

TOTTENHAM

18 Crawley Road (TQ. 32259017): decorated 'Samian' ware and worked flints found on surface. ³⁴	Walthamstow Mus.
Devonshire Hill School (TQ. 32259152): tetradrachm of Diocletian minted at Alexandria in A.D. 284 found in 1945. ³⁵	Unknown

UXBRIDGE

Harefield, at Breakspear on the land of J. A. Partridge: 'remains of Roman sepulchres' found c. 1818. ³⁶	Unknown
Cowley, St. Laurence Church (TQ. 05998205): 'Roman remains' found 1959. ³⁷	Unknown
Uxbridge (TQ. 06048831): base of 'Rhenish' ware pot and stamped flue tiles. ³⁸	Uxbridge Mus.

WEMBLEY

Kingsbury, St. Andrew's Church (and area centred on TQ. 20108644): 'incorporated in chancel-walls, some sections of Roman hypocaust flues'. ³⁹ Roman bricks said to have been dug up beside Salmon Street.	
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WOOD GREEN

Alexandra Palace, grounds nr. pond (centring on TQ. 295903): coin (<i>folles</i>) of Diocletian (A.D. 284-305).	Bruce Cas. Mus., Tottenham
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THE PAGAN SAXON PERIOD

With the end of the Roman occupation, traditionally fixed at about A.D. 410 when Honorius bade the Britons defend themselves, the fabric of Roman life did not

²⁶ Hist. Mon. Com. Lond. (Roman), 159.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid. 163-4.

²⁹ Ibid. 172 for full refs.

³⁰ Wheeler, *Roman Lond.* 143, pl. lv(6).

³¹ Hist. Mon. Com. Lond. (Roman), 157-9.

³² Sharpe, *Mdx.* 90.

³³ *T.L.M.A.S.* ix. 203-4.

³⁴ Ex inf. Mr. G. R. Gillam.

³⁵ Ex inf. eiusdem; *Tottenham and Edmonton Herald*, 7 Dec. 1945.

³⁶ G. Redford and T. H. Riches, *Hist. of Uxbridge* (Uxbridge, 1818), 70-71.

³⁷ O.S. recs.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ *Inventory of Hist. Monuments in Mdx.* (H.M.S.O. 1937), 89; S. Potter, *Story of Willesden*, 28.



ROMANO-BRITISH BRONZE BROOCHES (actual size):

1, a type common in the Rhineland and central Europe but rare in Britain; late 2nd–early 3rd century A.D.; from the Thames at Hammersmith (L.M. A.23483); 2, 1st century A.D.; from the Lea at Ponders End (L.M. A.7733); 3, a type made in northern Britain; 2nd century A.D.; from Ponders End (L.M. C.995); 4, 1st century A.D.; from the Thames at Hammersmith (L.M. A.28562)



ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY JAR (one-half actual size);
2nd–3rd century A.D.; from Staines (L.M. A.10914)



SAXON POTTERY FOUND AT SHEPPERTON IN 1812 (NO. 4) AND NEAR WALTON BRIDGE (NOS. 1, 5, 6, 7).
 Details of the size of the original vessels and of the finding-places of nos. 2, 3, and 8 are uncertain

instantly fall to nothing.⁴⁰ The period during which the Romano-British population in the area round London was replaced by an 'English' people is, however, hard to define. It may perhaps be said to have begun with the arrival of early 'Pagan' (Teutonic) elements and to be distinct from the later period during which a discernible organization under known rulers was established. In any case the conventional picture of Teutonic invaders arriving to take advantage of anarchy after the departure of the Romans needs qualification.⁴¹ In A.D. 429 and about 447⁴² Verulamium, less than nine miles from the boundaries of Middlesex, was found by St. Germanus to be still run on Roman lines, albeit creakily and timorously. But already 'Picts and Saxons' were advancing in that area and Germanus is credited with helping to repel an attack. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records a series of battles in south-east England between Britons and the invaders. A reference to a Cuthwulf or Cutha capturing in A.D. 571, after a battle, places⁴³ as near Middlesex as Aylesbury seems to imply that weapon-bearing Romano-British elements remained at large in or near the Chilterns until at least the late 6th century.⁴⁴

Some aspects of the 'Saxon' or Teutonic settlement may have originated as early as the 3rd century or even before. Various Teutonic peoples were brought to Britain by the Romans: these included Alamanni and, doubtless, others. Archaeological corroboration for this has been found in pottery considered to incorporate both Teutonic and Romano-British features, and dating from the last century and a half of Roman rule.⁴⁵ Ware of this kind has been found in places close to Middlesex: in, for example, the City of London, at Verulamium, and in Essex and Kent. The pottery can be attributed to the presence and influence of mercenaries, of casual or enforced settlers, of traders, and of British women who married incomers. Detailed assessments of this pottery are, however, far from complete or unanimous.

The true picture of arrivals in the mid-5th century and later may be complex, some groups perhaps arriving under their 'lords', while others may have left their homeland as a result of family enterprise. To these might well be added former mercenaries of the Britons now seeking land, and to whom Middlesex, especially the south of the county, offered reasonable agricultural land. Motives for the choice of settlement are not difficult to find, but the direction from which the newcomers arrived is uncertain. Evidence from burials indicates early settlement in the Upper Thames valley in, for example, Berkshire and Oxfordshire. Kent and Surrey, especially around Mitcham, Ewell, and Croydon, all near Middlesex, were also settlement areas; and in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere in East Anglia there were also settlements that can be termed 'early', that is, of the 5th century. Essex, on the evidence of burials, was not an area of dense settlement, although 'early' place-names ending in *-ing* are common. The settlers may have extended their occupation by 'nibbling' where the opportunity offered, but since few Middlesex sites have produced early Saxon material it is difficult to find affinities with occupation areas elsewhere in south-east England.

Roman culture may possibly have remained intact for longer in the district around London than in neighbouring areas.⁴⁶ That there are few Saxon finds from Middlesex

⁴⁰ The authors are indebted for help and advice to Dr. J. N. L. Myres, and to Messrs. N. C. Cook, J. Morris, and Miss Vera Evison.

⁴¹ For example, the Hengest and Horsa episode: *Saga-Book of Viking Soc.* xiv (4), 273-90.

⁴² The date and number of visits are uncertain: N. Chadwick, *Studies in The Early Eng. Church*, 23.

⁴³ The places are 'tunas' or villages. It should be noted that there had been Teutonic settlements in Bucks. and Beds. long before A.D. 571. This does not preclude the presence at the same time of British elements: G. J.

Copley, *Conquest of Wessex in the Sixth Century*, 180, 184.

⁴⁴ See Vera Evison, *The Fifth-Century Invasions South of the Thames*, 1-8 and *passim* for a brief assessment of the value of the *Chronicle*.

⁴⁵ J. N. L. Myres, 'Roman-Saxon Pottery', *Dark-Age Britain*, ed. D. B. Harden, 35.

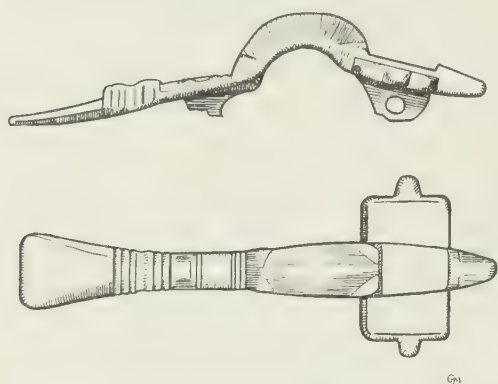
⁴⁶ J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*; Copley, *Conquest of Wessex*, 113-19; R. H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 137-47. Cf. H. Lüdeke, 'The London Basin in the Saxon Invasion', *Philologia: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (Baltimore, 1949), 105-9.

and in the area between St. Albans and London,⁴⁷ that Verulamium in A.D. 447 was still 'Roman',⁴⁸ and that in A.D. 456 or 457 the Britons from Kent fled to London⁴⁹ is evidence in support of this theory. After this, however, nothing is known for more than a century, and whether London was destroyed and deserted or continued to exist as a trading centre is uncertain. The earthwork in the Harrow area known as Grim's Dyke was once thought to have been raised against the Saxons, but the finding in the 1950's of Iron-Age pottery in the context of the rampart renders the date of the earthwork problematical.

The subsequent story of the fairly rapid assertion of East-Saxon rule in the London area has not been fully elucidated. London became the seat of a bishopric again early in the 7th century, and this perhaps suggests that some continuity of settlement on the site had been maintained. Moreover, the Old English name *Lunden* (London) is in form

very close to the late Celtic *Lundenion*,⁵⁰ possibly suggesting that the Teutonic newcomers heard the name from Celtic speakers. Perhaps, then, there were in the 6th and even in the 7th centuries both Celtic-speaking Britons and Teutons in the region.

Archaeological finds in the county have proved inconclusive and are considerably scantier than might be expected from place-name evidence.⁵¹ Much of the material was, moreover, discovered before 1900 and is therefore inadequately recorded. Finds at Shepperton and Han-



CRUCIFORM BROOCH FROM SHEPPERTON (actual size)

well, however, certainly belong to the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. At Shepperton close to the Thames, near both Chertsey and Walton bridges, and at Shepperton Range (approximately TQ. 06756711) were found at various times⁵² many Saxon burials in the gravels. The burials are varied and seem to suggest a connexion with a settlement. Skeletons and four urns were reported by Shurlock as having been found by labourers in 1867 and 1868. In 1868 eight skeletons were found, all with their feet to the east, three side by side and the rest laid 'promiscuously'. Associated finds included a cruciform brooch, three pots, and some sherds. Two vessels found before 1869 at Walton Bridge Green contained calcinated bones, a small 'opalized glass bead, and a small fragment of a bronze ornament'. Shurlock claimed to have found traces of Roman pottery nearby. An heptagonal pot, possibly of the 5th century, displayed in Shepperton library may be one of those noted by Shurlock. A series of 19th-century water colours (reproduced facing p. 75) of pottery of the 5th century and later from

⁴⁷ A comparison of the number of finds recorded in the old Saxon and Roman guides to L.M. suggests that the relative paucity of Saxon items is not merely chance.

⁴⁸ See above.

⁴⁹ Dr. J. N. L. Myres has said that this does not prove that London was a going concern: 'it may be no more than a geographical expression'.

⁵⁰ K. Jackson, *Language and History in Early Britain*, 306-8.

⁵¹ R. E. M. Wheeler, *Lond. and the Saxons*, 40, where names ending in *-thun* in the Boulonnais are said to have few corresponding relics of Saxon type.

⁵² In 1812, 1817, 1853, 1867, 1868, 1869. *A.M.L.* 227-30 gives a brief account of these sites which are not mentioned in Wheeler, *London*. One specific find-place is the 'Upper

West Field' (TQ. 06756711): *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* iv. 118-20, 191. G. B. Brown, *Arts in Early Eng.* iv. 635; 623, pl. clvi (6) (brooch, sword); iii. 177, pl. xviii (burial); 219, pl. xxvi (2). J. Douglas, *Nenia Britannica* (1793), 94, refers to barrows nr. Walton Bridge. Further useful Shepperton references are in Audrey Meaney, *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*, 167-8. In the Guildford Mus. are a water-colour of the gravel-pit and some manuscript notes of M. Shurlock. The authors are indebted to the Surr. Arch. Soc. for permission to make use of them. At Walton Bridge, where a part of Mdx. is south of the Thames, Saxon burials, some under tumuli, were reported in the 18th cent. and later. The O.S. card index gives sources and the grid refs. TQ. 09106665 and 09776615. No material is known to survive.

the Shepperton and Walton area was found in the Guildford Museum in 1962. The vessels have disappeared and little is known of the details of the burials with which they were associated.⁵³ In a burial found in 1868, of which a drawing exists,⁵⁴ the skeleton is on its back; of the wooden shield that was over the body there survives only the boss over the face. A sword is by the right arm and on the left flank had been a lance, indicated by the remaining split-socket iron spearhead and ferrule. In the drawing is also shown a plain, quasi-globular urn some distance from the feet, possibly the 'inverted urn, covering a heap of calcinated bones' mentioned by Shurlock. The drawing is perhaps not entirely trustworthy since the skeletal toes are shown pointing skywards. The difficulty of generalizing about burial fashions is indicated by the variety of arrangements recorded by Shurlock: 'some bodies were burnt . . . and placed in urns . . .; some were buried at full length, while others were found in a contracted position'. The split-socket spearhead, a brooch,⁵⁵ and the various items of pottery are undoubtedly of the Pagan period, perhaps of the late 5th or early 6th century.

A Saxon burial of the 7th century or later recorded from Twickenham is noteworthy. It provided an ogee-profile shield boss, a garnet-set disc jewel and other items. The uncertain associations of these objects and doubts about their provenance⁵⁶ put them, however, outside the scope of this study. The Hanwell area has produced Pagan-Saxon finds from at least two sites.⁵⁷ One site was Seward's Pit, noted for Palaeolithic finds, and in an area said to have been 'once heathland'. Seven burials, at least three of which were of men with spears, are said to have been found there in 1886. The skeletons are said to have been found with 'their martial cloaks' held by gold-plated bronze saucer brooches of mid-6th-century date. One of the three⁵⁸ saucer brooches has a piece of fibre still attached to the back. Some fifty iron spearheads were found 'adjoining' the graves.

Pieces of pot and four pierced lead discs were recovered about 1910 and in 1915 at Boston Road, Hanwell (centring on TQ. 153800), which is not far from the Seward's Pit site. Two sherds are said to be from the 'top soil of the gravel pit'.⁵⁹ The plain-rimmed and flat-bottomed pots are fairly early, perhaps of the 6th century. The finds suggest a settlement site and the discs were probably loom-weights.⁶⁰

Between 1953 and 1958 the kitchen area of Northolt Manor was excavated.⁶¹ The Saxon remains from this site, which was occupied until Tudor times, have been dated as 'late 7th century-early 8th century'. The remains are three graves, at least two of which contained males. A few trinkets were found but no associated structural remains. One of the skeletons, more than 45 feet from the other two, was that of a man aged not more than thirty with a decorated seax-type knife by his left leg; there was also a knife tip and two pieces of iron. The seax was of a broad type found on the Continent in deposits of the 7th century and similar to seaxes from Long Wittenham (Berks.), St. Neots

⁵³ Apart from minor notes, such as that the teeth of one skull were 'worn away in an unusual manner'.

⁵⁴ The drawing is in the Guildford Museum; also exhibited there in 1961 were a sword, a shield boss with grip, and a spear which probably came from this burial.

⁵⁵ In Guildford Mus. Illustrated on p. 76.

⁵⁶ *A.M.L.* 230; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxiv. 327-9. The material is in B.M.: *Guide to Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities* (B.M. 1923), 62-63. See Meaney, *Gazetteer*, 168, n. 19.

⁵⁷ J. A. Brown, *Chronicles of Greenford Parva*, 11; Sharpe, *Mdx.* 152 (photographs of saucer brooches). The fullest account is in Wheeler, *London*, 136-9, with illustrations of pottery. See also Meaney, *Gazetteer*, 167, n. 19.

⁵⁸ In L.M. Illustrated on p. 78. The authors are indebted to Miss Margaret Morris who emphasized how

tenuous the dating is for such objects. In St. Albans City Mus. are three scramasaxes, a sword, and a knife from Hanwell which may be from the same site, although the material might be later.

⁵⁹ The Garraway-Rice finds are in L.M. The pottery and one lead loom-weight are illustrated in Wheeler, *London*, 136-8. Details of the Hanwell lead loom-weights are on p. 139. Parallels from Felmersham (Beds.) for the Hanwell sherds are given in *Antiq. Jnl.* xxxi. 138.

⁶⁰ Wheeler, *London*, 140, points out that loom-weights were used in sets of four. Two additional lead discs (in Gunn., Sadler Coll.) were found with Saxon pottery at Seward's Pit, Hanwell, in 1910.

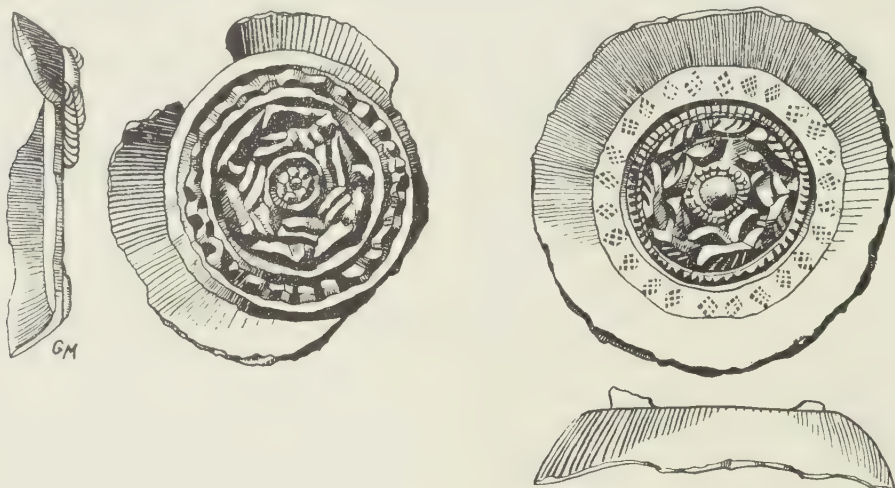
⁶¹ J. G. Hurst, 'The Kitchen Area of Northolt manor, Middlesex', *Medieval Arch.* v. 211-99, esp. 226-30.

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(Hunts.), and Purton (Wilts.).⁶² The excavators of the site considered that there might have been a gap in time between these Saxon burials and the 10th-century occupation.

Little other material firmly datable to the 'early' or Pagan period has been found in Middlesex. Material from the county thought to be of this period is listed in Sir Mortimer Wheeler's *London and the Saxons* (1935). Examples include a bronze bowl (Roman?) with triangular suspension lugs rising from the rim⁶³ and attractive coloured beads which, despite their uncertain or Roman origins, have been found in Saxon contexts in the Greater London area.⁶⁴

The London Museum has a large collection of split-socket iron spearheads, most of which were found in the Thames, especially near Old England.⁶⁵ They are regarded as



SAUCER BROOCHES (L.M. 49.107/967,/969) FROM SEWARD'S PIT, HANWELL (actual size)

being of the 'early' period since similar examples have been found in datable contexts elsewhere in south-east England. They cannot, however, yet be precisely dated.

Other material, such as scramasaxes and swords, is omitted from this account. Many of these objects may not belong to the 'early' period, and they have, in any case, been listed elsewhere.⁶⁶ Their archaeological value is limited by the fact that most are unassociated finds from the Thames.

*Place-name evidence*⁶⁷

Representing the survival of a description given centuries before, place-names may sometimes indicate early settlements as surely as archaeological excavation.⁶⁸ Some names are regarded as 'early', but it is not always possible to be sure that all the 'early' names, for example, those ending in *-ing(s)*, of which there is a great ring round London,⁶⁹ are of the earliest settlements. Yeading and Ealing preserve the names respectively of the Geddingas and the Gellingas, and Wapping perhaps that of Waepa's people.⁷⁰ A group of place-names in the west of the county, Uxbridge, Uxendon, and Waxlow, probably denotes the area of influence of the Wixan, a tribe mentioned in a 7th-century

⁶² *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 98; there are close resemblances between the finds at Northolt and Purton.

⁶³ Wheeler, *London*, 147, fig. 25: 'found in the Thames near London'. These bowls may have origins in the Roman period: M. H. P. den Boersted, *Bronze Vessels in the Rijksmuseum G.M. Kam at Nijmegen*.

⁶⁴ Wheeler, *London*, 142-6.

⁶⁵ Many are in the Layton Coll.: *ibid.* 162-74.

⁶⁶ e.g. by Wheeler, *London*. Many of the swords and scramasaxes have been examined under X-rays and show

evidence of 'pattern welding'. Examples of these are in L.M. and Gunn. A shield boss of the pagan period in the Layton Coll.

⁶⁷ The authors are indebted to Mr. J. M. Dodgson for useful criticism on this section.

⁶⁸ Wheeler, *London*, 36, remarked that 'almost every London omnibus bears the name of some Saxon suburb'.

⁶⁹ *Proc. Brit. Academy* (1956), 67-88.

⁷⁰ *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), pp. xiv, 152.

source,⁷¹ while the name Harrow denotes the temple (*hearg*) of another ancient people (*gumeninga*).⁷² Wembley and Fulham contain rare personal names.⁷³ Sometimes, as in Hounslow and in Earthbury in Stepney, a tumulus (*hlaw*) or an earthwork is featured in a place-name.⁷⁴ Legendary figures appear in the names Grim's Dyke, attributed to Woden (Grim),⁷⁵ and Grinsgate in Hendon, a name which recalls Grendel, the monster of the Beowulf saga.⁷⁶

The distribution of early Saxon place-names in Middlesex is significant.⁷⁷ Most farm or settlement names are in the southern part of the county, whereas in northern Middlesex there are hardly any of them. It is clear that early settlers avoided woodland, moors, and some heath and clay areas, much preferring the gravels and the drier parts of the alluvial plain.

Little information can be drawn from the name Middlesex itself.⁷⁸ Although the Middle Saxons are otherwise unknown in history, it is clear from the form in which the name appears in an 8th-century charter that 'Middle Saxons' is indicated. It is only possible, however, to speculate on the relations of this group with the East Saxons (Essex) and their southern counterparts, the men of Surrey and Sussex. They may have been a powerful group or merely dwellers in a region between larger and more powerful groups or kingdoms.

⁷¹ Ibid. xiv, 49.

⁷² Ibid. xiv, 51-52.

⁷³ Ibid. xiv.

⁷⁴ Ibid. 27, 196.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 11.

⁷⁶ Ibid. xiv-xv.

⁷⁷ Ibid. xiv.

⁷⁸ Ibid. xiii-xiv, 1; *Jnl. of Roman Studies*, xxvi (1), 91.

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I. The Assessment—the Hundreds—manorialization of the shire, pp. 80–88. II. Ploughs and team-lands—ploughs on demesne and ploughs among the men—holders of the men's teams, pp. 88–90. III. Classes of peasantry in 1086—*francigene*, *milites* and *Anglici*—*villani*—*bordarii* and *cotarii*—*servi*, pp. 90–94. IV. Meadow—mills—eels and fishponds—woodland—herbage—vineyards, pp. 95–98. V. Royal demesne before and after 1066—secular estates in 1066—ecclesiastical estates—secular estates in 1086, pp. 98–118.

I

THE Domesday Survey of Middlesex,¹ a small county, occupies only 4½ folios of the larger of the two volumes² which contain the final abstract of the greater part of the information obtained at the inquiry. London is not included, which is surprising. It is possible that the two nearly blank folios which precede the Middlesex entry were to have contained the London Survey.³ The available evidence strongly suggests that the material collected by the Domesday commissioners was first set down according to hundreds, and that afterwards the returns for each shire were rearranged on the basis of fiefs, and abridged. For the purposes of the visitation Middlesex appears to have been grouped with the counties of Hertfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and it is possible that Cambridgeshire and Bedfordshire belong to the same circuit⁴ for in all of these counties the method of estimating woodland in terms of swine is employed instead of the more usual reckoning by length and breadth or area measurement. The Middlesex Survey contains only two allusions to the taking of evidence by the commissioners. Both are references, common enough in Domesday, to the testimony of the hundred. The first relates to the seizure of 53 acres in Stepney (85) by Hugh de Berneres.⁵ In the other it is stated that the whole hundred of Spelthorne supported the assertion of Geoffrey de Mandeville's men that he had been possessed of a small estate (98) which Alveve, the wife of Wateman, held in 1086.⁶

Parts of the Middlesex Survey are not very clearly written and some readings are uncertain, but it has obviously been compiled with care. The hundred to which the estate belongs is almost always given in a rubric and the entries, with very few exceptions, conform to the same orderly pattern throughout. First is given the assessment in hides and the number of ploughlands in the estate (*pro a hidis se defendit, terra est b carucarum*), followed by the hides and the plough-teams (*ibi sunt c caruce*) in demesne. The number of plough-teams among the men is then stated, after which come details of the men's holdings. Information concerning woodland, pasture, weirs, mills, and other matters is then recorded, followed by a statement concerning the value of the property. This is invariably given for the periods mentioned in the king's writ preserved in the *Inquisitio*

¹ The writer wishes to acknowledge his grateful thanks to Prof. R. R. Darlington for his help and encouragement in preparing this article and to Sir Frank Stenton and Sir Goronwy Edwards for their kind advice. Throughout the tables and footnotes to this article the abbreviations *a*, *h*, and *v* are used to denote acres, hides, and virgates. Italicized numbers in brackets in the text refer to entry numbers in the translation on pp. 119–29.

² *Domesday Bk. Re-Bound* (H.M.S.O., 1954), 4. On the date of Domesday see *ibid.* and *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 42, n. 1.

³ R. W. Finn's suggestion (*Introd. to Dom. Bk.* 87–88) that blank spaces were left for the principal towns which may not have been dealt with by the Inquest until the

Hundreds were complete seems not unreasonable.

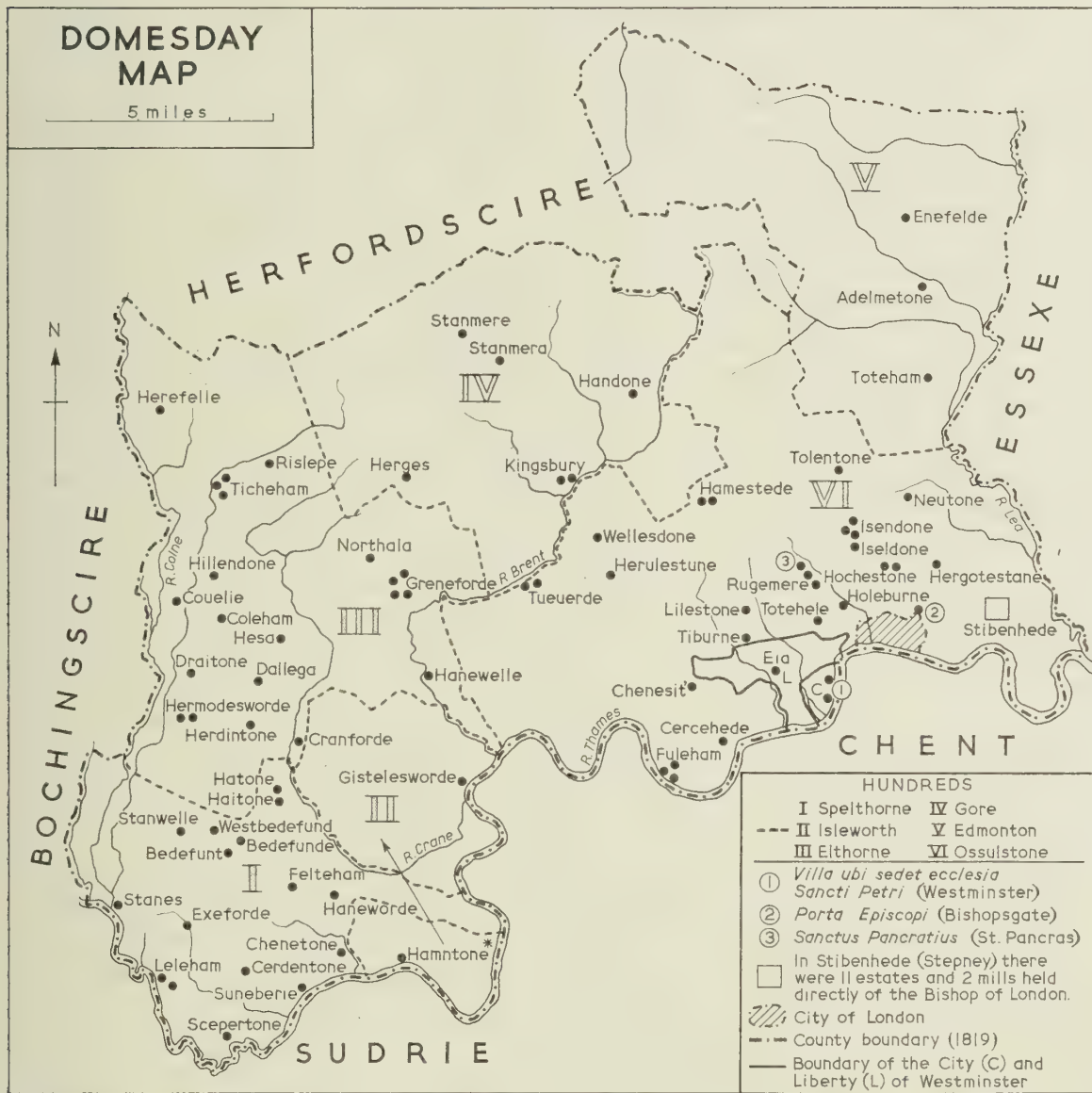
⁴ Eyton, Ballard, and Stephenson agree that the first three counties named belong to the same circuit. Eyton, however, considered that Cambs. and Beds. formed a separate circuit. See *Dom. Bk. Re-Bound*.

⁵ *Cum his iiii hidis sunt modo liii acre terre que non erant ibi tempore Regis Eduuardi, quas occupavit Hugo de Berneres super canonicos Sancti Pauli et apposuit huic manerio testante hund'.*

⁶ *De hac terra Goisfridus de Manneville erat saisitus quando iuit transmare in servitium regis, ut dicunt homines sui et totum hundret.*

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Eliensis,⁷ namely the value in 1086, at the date when the present holder received it, and in the time of King Edward.⁸ Finally are recorded pre-Conquest holders of the land, by name or status, and sometimes other details relating to ownership. In statements concerning the pre-Conquest ownership, instead of the more usual expression *T(empore) R(egis) E(duardi)*, in a few instances the formulae *die qua rex Eduuardus fuit vivus*



Hampton parish lay in the Hundred of Isleworth until transferred to Spelthorne in the 13th century

*et mortuus*⁹ and, once only (*I3*), *die qua rex Eduuardus obiit* are used. In entries concerning ecclesiastical holdings, where there is continuous occupation by the same church, the expressions *fuit et est in dominio ecclesie*¹⁰ and *iacuit et iacet in ecclesia*¹¹ frequently occur. The compilers of the Middlesex Survey are also careful to record, in the

⁷ *Dom. Bk. Addimenta* (Rec. Com.), 497. For a translation see *Eng. Hist. Docs.*, ed. Florence Harmer, ii. 882.

⁸ The most usual phrases are *inter totum* or *hec terra valet*; *quando receipt*; *t.r.e.* In a few entries two values only are given and these are written either *valet et valuit* (27, 95) or *valuit et valet* (30, 39, 53). In one entry (34) there are 24 men *qui reddunt xxx sol. per annum*, and in another (32) there are 10 cottars *qui reddunt per annum xviii sol. et vi*

den. No other values are stated in either case. Values are always stated in £ s. and/or d. but at Tottenham (96) the present value is given as £25 15s. and 3 ounces of gold (*iii uncias auri*).

⁹ Nos. 4, 8, 12, 65.

¹⁰ e.g. nos. 36, 42, (6, 17: *fuit et est de episcopatu*).

¹¹ e.g. nos. 21, 22, 40, 50.

case of *homines* and sokemen, whether the holder of the land was free or not free to take his land to another lord.

The calculation of the total assessment resting on a county as small as Middlesex presents little difficulty. There are at the most three instances of lands in dispute and there appear to be no duplicate entries. Although it is not specifically stated in the entry cited above¹² (98) that Geoffrey de Mandeville claimed $\frac{2}{3}$ hide, a dispute seems to be implied. The other two examples both relate to Stepney, the greater part of which was held by the Bishop of London. The bishop claimed Robert Fafiton's 4 hides (85) there which had belonged in 1066 to Sired, Canon of St. Paul's, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides there held by Robert fitz Roscelin (87). Included in Robert Fafiton's manor, it may be noted, are the 53 acres which, the hundred declared, had been taken from the Canons of St. Paul's and added to it by Hugh de Berneres.¹³ This entry suggests that Hugh, who occurs as one of the bishop's tenants at Stepney (7), had possessed the whole of Fafiton's land here at some date between 1066 and 1086. The holdings of Robert Fafiton and Robert fitz Roscelin are not reckoned in the bishop's 32 hides at Stepney. In the survey of the Count of Mortain's fief Bedfont is said to belong to the count's manor of Feltham but there is no reason to suppose that Bedfont's 2 hides are included in the 12 hides at which Feltham is assessed.¹⁴

It may be assumed that Middlesex was originally assessed at a round number of hides, but there is no earlier estimate with which the Domesday figure can be compared, for this shire is not included in the *County Hidage*.¹⁵ The total assessment in Domesday is $880\frac{1}{4}$ hides,¹⁶ and the totals for the hundreds, discussed below,¹⁷ do not indicate whether this irregular sum represents an original assessment at 800, 850, or 900 hides. Although the shire and the hundred totals of Domesday obscure the artificiality of the ancient scheme of assessment in hides, the number of Domesday villages¹⁸ assessed at 5 hides or a multiple of 5 is very large and the Middlesex evidence is cited by Round in his well-known paper on the Five-hide Unit.¹⁹ Of the 61 places named in the Survey 32 have assessments which are exact multiples of 5 hides. Twenty-four of these villages were held as undivided units in 1086, but the eight others were divided into a number of holdings. Of these divided villages 'Ticheham' (58, 70, 86)²⁰ is perhaps the best illustration. In 1086 it was divided into three holdings which were held respectively by under-tenants of Earl Roger, $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides (58), Geoffrey de Mandeville, $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides (70), and by Robert Fafiton, 2 hides (86). Before the Conquest it was divided into seven parts.

As in other counties the hidages of neighbouring villages which may have been assessed together at some earlier date, form multiples of 5 when added together. Groupings of this kind may also be suggested in Middlesex. Sunbury, assessed at 7 hides (41), and Shepperton, 8 hides (42), form together a 15-hide unit.²¹ The three Bedfords, (61, 77,

¹² See p. 129.

¹³ See p. 128.

¹⁴ F. H. Baring, *Domesday Tables*, 80.

¹⁵ F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Bk. and Beyond*, 455-7.

¹⁶ This figure, although arrived at independently, agrees with Baring, *Dom. Tables*, 85. Maitland, *Dom. Bk.* 400, gives 868h, but this is incorrect.

¹⁷ See p. 83.

¹⁸ The word 'village' is here used to translate the Domesday *villa*, the precise meaning of which is doubtful. The use of the word 'village' is not intended to imply the existence of a separate settlement, nucleated or otherwise, or necessarily of any settlement at all. On the other hand, a Domesday *villa* might include a number of named settlements not included in the Survey, e.g. *Harrow* (4, 5): see p. 104. The question is discussed in R. W. Finn, *Domesday Inquest*, 56-59, and the Mdx. evidence examined in *Dom. Geography of S.E. Eng.*, ed. H. C. Darby, 98-103.

¹⁹ J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, 66-67.

²⁰ It has been generally assumed that the three Domesday fees of 'Ticheham' (58, 70, 86) formed the medieval manors of Ickenham and Swakeleys, both in Ickenham par., and that the forms 'Ticheham' and 'Ickenham' are synonymous. It seems almost certain, however, that part of one or more of the Domesday fees of 'Ticheham' lay in an area, later called Tickenham, located partly in Ickenham and partly in Hillingdon par. A full discussion of the evidence is reserved for treatment in *V.C.H. Mdx. iv, sub Hillingdon*. Since the location of the Domesday fees is therefore uncertain the form 'Ticheham' has been used throughout this article.

²¹ It must be admitted, however, that according to a 10th-cent. manuscript relating to the history of the estates of Sunbury and Send (Surr.) (*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, p. 90), Sunbury was in the reign of King Edgar assessed at 10h.

78) form a 20-hide unit, and Ashford, 1 hide (60), with Staines, 19 hides (40), form another 20-hide unit. Round assumes that Ashford and Staines together form one entity,²² and since Domesday specifically states that the soke of Ashford belonged to Staines there is no reason to doubt this.

The six Domesday Hundreds of Middlesex, Speletorne [Spelthorne], Helet(h)orne [Elthorne], Gara or Gare [Gore], Honeslauu [Hounslow], (A)delmetone [Edmonton], Osuluestan(e) [Ossulstone], agree to a remarkable extent with their modern counterparts. The careful rubrication of the text makes it possible to assign most holdings to their appropriate hundreds. Hayes (3) and Harmondsworth (48) are both entered without hundred rubrics; so also are *Draitone* (35) which follows entries assigned to Ossulstone Hundred, and Kingsbury (75) which follows an entry relating to Ruislip in Elthorne Hundred. These four manors may, however, be assigned to the hundreds in which they are found later. *Draitone* is proved by its connexion with St. Paul's to be West Drayton in Elthorne Hundred. Hayes and Harmondsworth may also be assigned to Elthorne and Kingsbury to Gore Hundred. The Harmondsworth and Kingsbury entries relate to parts of divided villages and other holdings in the same villages²³ are known from the rubrics to belong to the hundreds to which the unrubricated entries are here assigned. Confirmation is to be found in a 12th-century document called the *Hidagium Comitatus Totius Middlesexe*, printed by Round,²⁴ which, although corrupt and in part fragmentary, generally agrees with the Middlesex Domesday.²⁵ In this document a total assessment of 10 hides is given for Kingsbury in Gore Hundred, which corresponds to the total for the two Domesday holdings. The *Hidagium* lacks the part relating to Elthorne but the total number of hides in that hundred is given as 224 which is only $\frac{1}{2}$ hide short of the hundred's hidage in Domesday if the unrubricated entries for Hayes, Harmondsworth, and West Drayton are included.

Hounslow as a hundred name did not survive long after 1086, for in subsequent documents²⁶ the hundred is referred to as Isleworth, after the manor of that name. Towards the end of the 12th century or possibly the beginning of the 13th this hundred suffered the loss of Hampton (81) which became part of Spelthorne.²⁷ The name of Gore Hundred survived in Gore Farm, in Kingsbury, which was demolished in 1937 and it is probable that the hundred met nearby.²⁸ Although a 17th-century map²⁹ shows the two divisions, Finsbury and Wenlocksborn Hundred and Ossulstone Hundred within the earlier hundred, the boundaries of the original Ossulstone remained unaltered until the 19th century when parts of it were absorbed into the administrative county of London.³⁰

An analysis of the Domesday entries gives the following assessments for the hundreds:³¹

Spelthorne	112	hides
Elthorne	224 $\frac{1}{2}$	„
Gore	149	„
Hounslow	105	„
Edmonton	70	„
Ossulstone	219 $\frac{3}{4}$	„

A certain symmetry may be noticed in these figures. Spelthorne and Hounslow each

²² Round, *Feudal Eng.* 66 n.

²³ Harmondsworth (53) and Kingsbury (46).

²⁴ J. H. Round, *Commune of London*, 257–60.

²⁵ See App. III.

²⁶ *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 24.

²⁷ In a 12th-cent. charter printed by Salter, *Oxford Charters*, 28 n., Hampton is still referred to as Isleworth

Hundred. On the date of this charter see below p. 113, and n. 91.

²⁸ *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 50; *T.L.M.A.S.* x (2), 145–9.

²⁹ By Robert Morden, *Map of Mdx.* (? 1695).

³⁰ O. S. Anderson, *English Hundred Names*, pt. iii, 54.

³¹ For a list of the fees in each hundred see App. I.

have approximately 100 hides, while Elthorne and Ossulstone are also roughly equal and appear to be double hundreds. The hundreds of Gore and Edmonton together are almost equal in hidage to Ossulstone or Elthorne. In the later *Hidagium*³² Edmonton is described as the 'half Hundred of Mimms' and Gore is presumably to be regarded as 1½ hundred.

A reconstruction of pre-Conquest Middlesex from Domesday shows that there are relatively few examples of villages divided among several lords. What has been described as 'the free, the lordless, village'³³ may perhaps be traced in the two western hundreds of Elthorne and Spelthorne.³⁴ In 1066 Middlesex was already a county of large estates and no less than seven-eighths of the whole shire formed part of the estates of ten great landowners, ecclesiastical and lay, and their dependants. The three great ecclesiastical estates, those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and the Canons of St. Paul's, and the Abbot of Westminster, like the estates of other ancient ecclesiastical bodies, continued almost unchanged into the Norman period. The greatest of the lay estates are those of Earls Loefwine and Ælfgar and Ansgar the Staller. Lesser, although by no means negligible, estates were held by Earl Harold, Wlward 'White', Azor the housecarl, and Wigot (of Wallingford). To each of the great estates were attached men who were either free or not free to take themselves and their land to another lord. In some instances men had commended themselves to lords who did not hold estates in Middlesex. Manorialization had reached an advanced stage in Middlesex before 1066.³⁵

The Survey shows that the manorial arrangements had altered little since the coming of the Conqueror. In several instances a French lord had been given an Englishman's estate. For instance the two manors of Isleworth (80) and Hampton (81), recorded as held by Earl Ælfgar, passed to Walter of St. Valery; and the three manors of Northolt (71), Edmonton (72), and Enfield (73), formerly held by Ansgar the Staller, passed into the possession of Geoffrey de Mandeville. Consolidation of estates took place on the fief of Earl Roger where four west Middlesex holdings³⁶ became associated with Colham (55), which had been held by Wigot (of Wallingford).³⁷ An estate of 1 hide in Harmondsworth (53) and another of 3 hides at Dawley (57) were each said to pertain to Colham (*modo iacet in Coleham*). In both cases the previous holder had been a 'man of Wigot', and, although each had held his land freely and had been able to do with it as he pleased, this relationship may have been used as a reason for the consolidation of the estates with Colham in 1086. The other two estates which were bound to Colham were an estate of 9½ hides at 'Ticheham' (58) (*iacet modo in Coleham*) and one of 1½ hide at Hatton (51) (*modo apposita est in Coleham*). The consolidation of these estates probably took place in response to economic and managerial requirements. Signs of depression, particularly of sokemen into the class of *villani*, and signs of a general tightening up of the relationship between lord and man are not wanting,³⁸ but the pattern of landholding did not as yet show any radical change. 'Ticheham' supplies a good example of continuity in manorial arrangements.

There seems to be little doubt that the two Englishmen holding of Geoffrey de Mandeville were the two sokemen who held the land in 1066, and it is reasonable to assume

³² See p. 83 and App. III.

³³ Maitland, *Dom. Bk.* 141.

³⁴ At 'Ticheham' (58, 70, 86) in Elthorne Hundred 7 men who held between them 11½h were in 1066 commended to 5 different lords. All except one of them were free to dispose of their land as they wished. At Bedfont (77) in Spelthorne Hundred 3 sokemen who each held ½h in 1066 were commended to separate lords and were also free to dispose of their land as they wished.

³⁵ F. M. Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 114.

³⁶ Nos. 51, 53, 57, 58.

³⁷ See p. 110. For a note on the significance of *iacet in*, see Finn, *Dom. Inquest.* 72.

³⁸ There must be a strong presumption that the 2 *villani* who held 1½h at Hatton (51) in 1086 were the two sokemen who held it in 1066. Similarly 2 *villani* on 4h at West Bedfont (78) are probably identifiable with the 2 sokemen holding 4h there in 1066.

Hidagium comitatus totius indeelfere.			
In hundred de Ossulvestune.			
Villa de Stretche .l. ^a		hid.	
Terra de fahintune.	.iii.	hid.	
Hogotestune.	.ij.	hid.	Abis.
Bramblete.	.v.	hid.	
Fuleham.	.l. ^a	hid.	
Villa sa parr.	.xvi.	hid. 7 dimid	
hamstede.	.v.	hid.	iii. alb.
lya.	.x.	hid.	alb.
Tolendune.	.ij.	hid.	
Terra guba.	dim	hid.	
Albas colcestr.	dim	hid.	
Stelchre.	.ij.	hid.	alb.
kenfintune.	.x.	hid.	
Lillestune	.v.	hid.	
Tiburne	.v.	hid.	.v. f.
Willefdune	.xv.	hid.	
herlestune	.v.	hid.	
Tuferd u.a.	.xij. d	hid.	
Sum. c. 7 qare. x. hid. 7 xi. hid. 7 dimid.			
In hundred de plesw. i. hid. c. 7 v. hid.			

PAGE FROM THE MIDDLESEX *HIDAGIUM*
showing the entries for Ossulstone and part of Isleworth Hundred

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that of those holding of Earl Roger the Englishman at least was one of those who held this land in 1066. ‘Ticheham’ was divided among three tenants-in-chief in 1086 and to that extent was more consolidated, but the number of small estates was the same as before.

TABLE I
Continuity in ‘Ticheham’

Entry	<i>h v</i>	Holder in 1066	Holder in 1086
58	2 <i>h</i>	Tochi, the housecarl	This manor, <i>modo in Coleham ubi non fuit</i> , was held of Earl Roger by 3 knights (<i>milites</i>) and 1 Englishman (<i>anglicus</i>)
	2 <i>h</i> 1 <i>v</i>	2 sokemen, <i>homines</i> of Wulfweard	
	1 <i>h</i> 3 <i>v</i>	Alwin, <i>homo</i> of Ulsi son of Manni	
	3 <i>h</i> 2 <i>v</i>	Holder not named	
70	1 <i>h</i>	1 sokeman, <i>homo</i> of Ansgar the Staller	2 Englishmen (<i>anglici</i>) held this manor of Geoffrey de Mandeville
	2 <i>h</i> 2 <i>v</i>	1 sokeman, <i>homo</i> of Earl Leofwine	
86	2 <i>h</i>	Ælmer, <i>homo</i> of Wlward ‘White’	Robert Fafiton

One of the special points of interest is the detail which is given concerning the men’s holdings. Whereas in most counties Domesday gives only the hidage of the manor and the hides in demesne, in Middlesex the men are graded according to their relative importance and to the assessment of their holdings, which is given in hides, fractions of hides, virgates, or acres. There are four virgates to the hide and in entries where holdings are given in acres there are 120 acres to the hide. Although the Domesday hide did not everywhere comprise 120 acres, the details relating to Staines (40) strongly suggest that it did in Middlesex. On the basis of 120 acres to the hide the total holding of the men at Staines together with the eleven hides in demesne falls short of the total assessment of 19 hides by one acre, and, in view of the large number of men’s holdings involved, this can hardly be a coincidence.

TABLE 2
Difference between Assessment and the Demesne and Holdings in Staines (40)

	<i>h v a</i>
Assessment	19
Demesne	11
3 villani, each on ½ <i>h</i> [2 <i>v</i>]	1 2 ..
4 „ on 1 <i>h</i>	1
8 „ each on ½ <i>v</i>	1
36 bordars on 3 <i>h</i>	3
1 villanus on 1 <i>v</i>	.. 1 ..
4 borders on 40 <i>a</i> [30 <i>a</i> = 1 <i>v</i>]	.. 1 10
10 „ each on 5 <i>a</i>	.. 1 20
5 cottars, each on 4 <i>a</i>	.. .. 20
8 bordars on 1 <i>v</i>	.. .. 1
3 cottars on 9 <i>a</i>	.. .. 9
Total	18 3 29
Difference	1

The words *dominium* or *dominicum*, translated above as ‘demesne’, have two meanings in Domesday.³⁹ The first refers to that part of a fief which is retained by the lord and

³⁹ P. Vinogradoff, *English Society in the Eleventh Cent.* 353.

is not subject to subinfeudation. In Middlesex this usage occurs most frequently in connexion with the ecclesiastical fiefs. Thus William de Ver is recorded as holding one hide of the Bishop of London (10), and it is stated that William, Bishop of London, held this land *in dominio cum suo manerio Stibenhede T.R.E.*, and similarly a number of estates held by the Abbot of Westminster are stated to 'belong to' the demesne of St. Peter.⁴⁰ In 1086 most estates in Middlesex were held in demesne, and, where subinfeudation has taken place, it is usually found in the smaller holdings. Notable exceptions occur on the fiefs of Earl Roger who retained as demesne four estates totalling 14½ hides out of his 42-hide fief, and Walter fitz Other who retained a single manor of 15 hides out of an estate of nearly 35 hides. The whole of Robert Blund's 8-hide manor and William fitz Ansculf's manor of 5 hides were held by under-tenants. Geoffrey de Mandeville retained 90 out of 99 hides, Ernulf of Hesdin retained 30 out of 37½ hides, and Robert Gernon held 2 out of 4 hides. The remaining lay lands were all held in demesne. Among the ecclesiastical estates the Archbishop of Canterbury retained his two vast manors of Hayes and Harrow and his sole feudatory was Geoffrey de Mandeville with a small 2-hide tenement. The Abbot of Westminster held 93 hides in demesne leaving only 6½ hides in the hands of three under-tenants. Among the lands of St. Paul's there is a noticeable increase in the number of under-tenancies, but even so the Bishop of London retained 32 hides out of 52 in Stepney and 40 out of 50 hides in Fulham. Among the fees held by the canons a number were farmed out to *villani*, the largest of these being the 15-hide manor of Willesden (22). Despite this increased subinfeudation the amount of St. Paul's estates held in demesne, measured in terms of assessment, was two-thirds of the whole. The total proportion of all Middlesex estates held in demesne in 1086 was approximately four-fifths. It is possible that the scribe responsible for the Middlesex Survey intended to distinguish demesne holdings from others by a marginal M. The symbol is so used on the fiefs of Westminster Abbey and of Geoffrey de Mandeville but elsewhere the scribe's practice is not consistent.⁴¹

The second meaning of *dominium* is that part of the estate which is not held by dependent *villani* or other men but is reserved for the use of the lord whether he is a tenant-in-chief or an under-tenant. The word is much more commonly used in this sense as almost every entry in the Middlesex Survey shows. Although the Survey of this county supplies a wealth of detail concerning the hidage of the various holdings, the information as a whole is often incomplete. In a minority of entries, mostly relating to very small estates, the assessment alone is given and since no distinction is made between the lord's land and the men's it must be assumed that the lord was responsible for the whole of the geld. Sometimes here, as in other counties, the assessment on the estate and the hides in demesne are given, from which the hides among the men may be inferred. Surveys of the larger estates set out the individual holdings of the men in hides, virgates, or acres, generally after the demesne has been recorded. On some estates the aggregate of the demesne and the men's holdings agreed with the total assessment, in others there was disparity, and sometimes serious disparity between them. The manor of Staines, analysed above,⁴² is an example of a holding in which hides in demesne and among men agreed with the total assessment. The manor of Edmonton (72), analysed below, is one in which the totals do not agree; 16 of the total of 35 hides were demesne.

The disparity varies considerably. In some instances it is negligible, in others it is so

⁴⁰ e.g. nos. 36, 40.

⁴¹ On Earl Roger's fief four of the six estates distinguished by a marginal M are held by under-tenants. The

significance of the marginal M(*anerium*) cannot now be determined.

⁴² See Table 2.

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great as to raise the question whether the hides of the village assessment and those of the men's holdings are the same units. Shepperton (42) has a total assessment of 8 hides, but the demesne and the men's hides amount to 7 hides 3 virgates and 24 acres, a difference of only 6 acres. On the manor of Edmonton (Table 3) the difference is 6 hides and 20 acres. At Hendon (47) there is a difference of 4 hides. The difference is greatest on some of the largest estates, which appear to have suffered the least disruption at the time of the Conquest. Within the Archbishop of Canterbury's 100-hide manor of Harrow (4), for example, the demesne and the men's holdings account for only 60 hides 2 virgates 13 acres. On the 70-hide manor of Isleworth (80), there is, a deficiency of 40 hides 3 virgates. At Fulham (17), which is assessed at 40 hides there is, on the other hand, a surplus of 9 hides. A complete list of entries, hundred by hundred, is given

TABLE 3

Difference between Assessment and Demesne and Holdings in Edmonton (72)

Assessment	<i>h</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>a</i>
	35		
Demesne	16	..	..
1 villanus on 1 <i>h</i>	1	..	..
3 villani, each on $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>h</i> [2 <i>v</i>]	1	2	..
20 villani, each on 1 <i>v</i> [4 <i>v</i> = 1 <i>h</i>]	5	..	..
24 villani, „ $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>v</i>	3	..	..
9 bordars on 3 <i>v</i>	..	3	..
4 bordars, each on 5 <i>a</i>	..	..	20
4 „ „ 4 <i>a</i>			16
4 cottars on 4 <i>a</i>			4
4 villani on 1 <i>h</i> 1 <i>v</i>	1	1	
Total	28	3	10
Difference	6	..	20

in Appendix I.⁴³ In this analysis are shown separately instances in which the assessment on the whole estate agrees with the sum of hides distributed among demesne and men, instances in which the assessment and the sum of the details do not agree, and the estates for which the information given is incomplete. The tables seem to support Vinogradoff's view that 'the county was, as a rule, assessed in a much heavier manner than the occupation of the soil at the time of Domesday would have warranted'.⁴⁴ In order to explain the disparities Vinogradoff held that although the half-virgates, virgates, and acres at which the men's holdings were assessed 'were intended to be sub-divisions of the hides at which the manors are rated for the geld',⁴⁵ it is necessary 'to take the estimate of the tenants' land to refer not only to artificial units, but to field holdings, the hides, virgates and acres of agrarian occupation'.⁴⁶ This may be the correct explanation but if, as he suggests, 'a geld-hide may have corresponded to one hide and a half or two hides distributed among the rustics',⁴⁷ it is difficult to understand why Domesday should give estimates based on a unit which sometimes corresponded to and sometimes bore no relation to the geld hide. If the instances in which the sum of the demesne and the peasant holdings exceeds the total assessment were numerous it might be necessary to adopt Vinogradoff's theory, although the estimates of the peasant holdings would be

⁴³ Vinogradoff's very valuable tables (*Eng. Society*, App. IV, 490-1) provide similar information although based on a different principle.

⁴⁴ Vinogradoff, *Eng. Society*, 169.

⁴⁵ Ibid. 167.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 167-8. R. Lennard, *Rural England, 1086-1135*, 341, n. 3, also concludes that 'as the figures for the tenants'

holdings added to those of the demesne sometimes equal, sometimes exceed, and sometimes fall short of the geld assessment for the manor as a whole, and often differ considerably from the "teamland" figures, it is difficult to see what they can be except estimates of actual areas'.

⁴⁷ Vinogradoff, *Eng. Society*, 168.

deprived thereby of much of their value. These instances are, however, in a minority.⁴⁸ More frequently the total of the individual holdings falls short of the assessment on the whole estate and the deficiency may be accounted for by assuming that some of the tenements to which part of the geld assessment had been allotted had ceased to exist, or rather had reverted to the lord although they had not been incorporated in the demesne. It may be suggested that their omission in Domesday is connected with the exemption of the demesne from geld.

It is clear from the geld accounts or 'Geld Rolls' relating to the south-western counties and preserved in the *Exon Domesday*, that when geld was levied at 6s. on the hide in 1084 the demesnes of tenants-in-chief were exempt. How long such exemption was enjoyed is unknown, but presumably it was assumed in 1086 that such exemption would or might be enjoyed in the future and the information in Domesday ought to enable the collectors of geld to distinguish between exempt land and that which paid geld. The exempt land was the tenant-in-chief's demesne in the narrow sense⁴⁹ and on many estates there were two sorts of geld-paying land: that which had been subinfeudated and that which the men, *villani* and others, held. There is good reason to suppose that the demesne could vary in extent since in a variety of circumstances lands granted to knights might revert to the lord and be reunited with the demesne. It is not certain, however, whether the lord was free to add any part or all of the men's land to his demesne. There are passages in Domesday which suggest that the lord was encroaching on the land of the *villani* if he used it to endow knights and servants.⁵⁰ It is possible that *terra villanorum* of this kind could not be added to the exempt demesne but remained liable for geld even when taken into the lord's hands. If this were so, the deficiency mentioned above might be land of this kind. We should have to assume that at Harrow, although the archbishop paid no geld on the 30 hides of demesne, he had in his hands nearly 40 hides on which the geld was payable just as it was on the men's holdings, amounting to approximately 30 hides.

II

The statement 'there is land for *b* ploughs' is an attempt to indicate the extent of arable land in a manor, and may be regarded, in this county and a number of others, as an estimate of the number of plough-teams which the estate could support if it were fully exploited. The total estimated team-lands in Middlesex is 676 $\frac{1}{4}$. A plough-team, it is generally agreed, was, for the purposes of the Survey, considered to consist of eight oxen or other ploughing beasts. Fractions such as half a plough-team are often recorded in Domesday, and not infrequently these are expressed in terms of oxen. In the Middlesex statement of teams there are many references to half-teams; references to oxen occur only twice, although others are recorded in connexion with the estimate of meadowland. On Geoffrey de Mandeville's $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide estate at Greenford (69) there is land for two oxen, and on Alveve's estate in Spelthorne Hundred (98) there is land for four oxen. This last

⁴⁸ They are Fulham (17, 19), Colham (55), and Tottenham (96). At Tottenham the sum of the holdings exceeds the assessment of 5*h* by 2*h* 1*v*, but *in dominio sunt ii carucate terre praeter has v hidas*. On the Bp. of London's 40-hide manor of Fulham (17) the sum of the demesne and the men's tenements exceeds the assessment of the whole manor by 9*h*. The discrepancy may be connected in some way which cannot be determined with the occupation of no fewer than 23*h* of *terra villanorum* by certain Frenchmen and *burgenses* of London. Possibly part of the

demesne had been given to the peasantry by way of compensation and the assessment of the demesne had not been adjusted. Although the 13*h* at which the demesne was assessed would be exempt, the details in Domesday would enable the collectors of the tax to take geld from 36*h*, only 4*h* short of the assessment, an arrangement profitable alike to the bp. and the Crown.

⁴⁹ See above p. 86.

⁵⁰ *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 83.

statement and a reference to meadowland for six oxen on the manor of Dawley (57) may possibly be taken as confirmatory evidence that in this county the team was considered to consist of eight oxen.

In Middlesex the total of team-lands is less than the total of geld hides and in this respect the assessment may be regarded as 'high'. It is in fact considerably higher than in many of the neighbouring counties. Of these Berkshire is the only one in which, as in Middlesex, the team-lands are fewer than the hides, but Berkshire is also one of the counties which benefited by a wholesale writing down of the assessment after the Conquest.⁵¹ An analysis of the individual entries for Middlesex shows that the proportion of team-lands to hides is fairly consistent throughout the county. There are few cases in which the team-lands exceed the hides, whilst instances in which the team-lands and the hides are equal, with one or two notable exceptions, are confined to small estates.

The divisions of plough-teams between the demesne and the men is omitted only on some of the smallest Middlesex estates. With very few exceptions the total teams, existing and potential, agree with the team-lands. Although not infrequently the number of teams actually at work is less than the team-lands, a statement is often made concerning the number of additional teams which could be put to work on the estate. On the Archbishop of Canterbury's manor of Harrow (4) it is recorded that there are 4 teams in demesne and there can be 5 more, and among the *francigene et villani* there are 45 teams and there can be 16 more.⁵² Similarly at Stanmore (64) there are in demesne 2 teams and there can be one more, and among the *villani* there is $1\frac{1}{2}$ team and there can be $2\frac{1}{2}$ more. The consistency with which this information brings the total number of teams into agreement with the number of team-lands makes it apparent that in the eyes of the jurors the two were normally expected to agree. There are in this county only eleven entries in which there is a difference between the number of team-lands and the combined total of the teams at work and those which could be added.

Where the plough-teams are fewer than the team-lands an explanation is not readily forthcoming, but the entry for Isleworth at least calls for some comment. Here the teams at work, together with those which the manor could support in addition, fall short of the number of team-lands by ten teams. Although the general accuracy of the record is unquestioned, the possibility of error in this instance should not be disregarded. There is also a coincidence in the fact that Enfield shows a deficiency of four teams compared with team-lands, and Tottenham in the same hundred has a surplus of four. Feltham has a deficiency of three teams in demesne, and if these were added to the teams at work the total would exceed by two teams the number of team-lands. Here the 'over-stocking' of the men's land almost compensates for the teams by which the demesne is deficient. Altogether in Middlesex there are recorded $549\frac{3}{4}$ teams at work, and there could be 122 more, from which it must be inferred that in this county those who gave the information considered that the land was not being utilized to its full capacity. The total is $4\frac{1}{2}$ teams fewer than the number of team-lands.

A comparison of the teams (in demesne and among the men) with hides, where the information given is complete,⁵³ reveals that, whereas the hides are divided almost equally between the demesne and the men, the men held or could hold considerably more teams than could be supported by the demesne. This low proportion of teams in demesne may suggest a small 'home farm', sufficient to provide for the needs of the lord

⁵¹ The Berks. figures, taken from Baring, *Dom. Tables*, 51, are hides T.R.E. 2,502 (T.R.W., 1,213), team-lands 2,109.

⁵² *Ibi* (i.e. in demesne) *sunt iiii caruce et v potest fieri. Inter franc' et villanos xlv caruce et xvi plus possent esse.*

⁵³ See App. I. In the tables no attempt has been made to apportion the hides and teams between demesne and men where it is not clearly indicated in the text. There are obviously many instances where reasonable assumptions could be made.

and his household, but the teams of the peasantry were presumably used where necessary to help to cultivate the demesne. In Middlesex, however, the teams seem to indicate very approximately the proportion of arable held. This seems to be the natural explanation of entries such as Stanmore and Harrow,⁵⁴ in which are recorded the number of teams by which the demesne is deficient. The high proportion of the assessment borne by the demesne is probably to be explained by sources of income other than arable land: services and dues exacted from the peasants, and income from mills, fisheries, and other amenities where they existed.

In this county the holders of the men's teams are stated to be *villani* or *francigene et villani*. There are eight entries in which the *francigene*, possibly of superior economic status to the *villani*, shared with them the plough-teams.⁵⁵ At Greenford (43), Hillingdon (56), and Tottenham (96) the holders of the teams are stated to be *villani*, but there are on these manors *francigene* who share part of the assessment and it is reasonable to assume that they too held a proportion, if only a small one, of the teams.⁵⁶ The term *villani* in the phrase 'b *caruce villanorum*', normally refers to members of that class but in at least one instance, assuming the entry to be complete, the term must have been extended to cover *bordarii*, namely in Stepney (9) where the *villani* are said to hold three teams although the only men recorded are 14 bordars.

III

The social classes mentioned in the Middlesex Survey are *francigene*, *Anglici*, *milites*, *villani*, *bordarii*, *cotarii*, and *servi*. In addition there are recorded a number of *homines*, and a few *burgenses* appear as holders of arable land. There are no references to other classes such as the *liberi homines* and *sochemanni* of the eastern counties or the *radmen* of the west. There are no references to *servientes* or, at the other end of the scale, to *coliberti* (or *burs*). The structure of Middlesex rural society seems therefore to be free from the complexities met with in many other counties. The terminology of Domesday is often, however, deceptively simple and as Sir Frank Stenton has said: 'No line of research will ever give to Domesday Book the precision of a well drafted medieval survey. But the vagueness that baffles the modern enquirer is itself a significant fact, for it reflects a society on which historical forces had been playing for many generations to the blurring of class distinctions and the confusion of personal relationships.'⁵⁷

On five manors, Fulham (17), Hillingdon (56), Ruislip (74), Isleworth (80), and Tottenham (96), men styled *francig'* or *francigene* are listed among the tenants. As a class they defy definition. Round comments that, 'beyond the fact that they were Frenchmen by birth, it is not easy to say of whom this class was composed'.⁵⁸ In the same paragraph he noted, from the Worcester evidence, that probably many were 'serjeants' of various kinds whose services were rewarded by land. In Kent there is a reference to *francigene milites*,⁵⁹ and in Shropshire one of the complaints of the English burgesses related to tenures formerly held by them, and held in 1086 by *francigene burgenses*.⁶⁰ It is also of interest to note, as Freeman pointed out,⁶¹ that the words

⁵⁴ See above p. 89.

⁵⁵ Hayes (3), Harrow (4), Fulham (17), Harmondsworth (48), Ruislip (74), Stanwell (76), Bedfont (77), and Isleworth (80).

⁵⁶ At Hillingdon (56) 2 *francigene* held 1½h out of 2h 10a.

⁵⁷ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 470.

⁵⁸ *V.C.H. Worcs.* i. 273. Stenton, *Eng. Feudalism*, 144, considers the term to be a 'vague word' which will cover serjeants and household officers as well as knights and their squires.

⁵⁹ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 252.

⁶¹ E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, v. 766.

francigene or *franci*, used in the sense of Frenchmen, apply to all William's followers wherever they came from. There is nothing to be learnt from their position among the various classes enumerated in Middlesex. Usually they follow after the peasant classes, but at Tottenham (96) they are placed between the *cotarii* and the *servi* and at Greenford (43) a *francigena* is placed between the *bordarii* and the *cotarii*. At Hillingdon two of these men hold $1\frac{1}{2}$ hide, at Ruislip there are four on 3 hides 1 virgate, and at Tottenham there are two on 1 hide 3 virgates. Some have men under them. Thus at Fulham *francigene et quidam burgenses Lundon'* have under them *inter villanos et bordarios xxxi*, at Hillingdon *sub istis manent iii homines*, and at Isleworth *francigene et quidam Anglicus* have under them *inter villanos et bordarios xii*. In this last entry both the *francigene* and the *Anglicus* are said to be *milites probati*.

Milites, who were all probably trained knights, are entered on nine Middlesex estates. At Westminster (36) reference to 25 houses belonging to the abbot's knights and other men provides one of the clearest examples of household knights to be found in Domesday. In 'Ticheham' (58) three of Earl Roger's tenants were knights. There, as in other places, they had men under them. At Harrow (4) three knights and a priest had seven men and at Stanwell (76) there were two knights on $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides *et sub eis vi bordarii manent*. It can be seen from the Isleworth entry that not all knights were Frenchmen and this conclusion is borne out by other evidence. In Wiltshire the nephew of Bishop Harman is referred to as a '*miles* by command of the king',⁶² and Stenton has remarked on the king's command to Lanfranc to make knights of his '*drengs*'.⁶³ It is clear none the less that although not all *francigene* were *milites*, most *milites* were *francigene*.

The phrase *inter franc' et villanos* occurs in connexion with the ownership of the plough-teams in a number of places. The extension of *franc'* in these cases is of considerable importance. Maitland⁶⁴ and Vinogradoff⁶⁵ extended it to *francus* and used the phrase *inter francos et villanos* to support the view that the *villani* were not free. The phrase in this latter form is used in Shropshire⁶⁶ where the word *francos* has been rendered by its translator 'freemen'.⁶⁷ But the words *francus* and *francigene* occur elsewhere in the same county, and there is doubt concerning the correct rendering,⁶⁸ although it is highly probable that here as in Devon,⁶⁹ where it is contrasted with *Anglici*, *francus* means Frenchman. In Middlesex the phrase *inter franc' et villanos* occurs only on estates where there are either *milites* or *francigene* and *franc'* should therefore probably be extended to *francigene*. Whether the abbreviation stands for *francigene* or *franci* the word clearly means Frenchmen.

In Middlesex, as in other counties, the most numerous class of peasants is that of the *villani* and their description as 'the backbone of the rural community'⁷⁰ is well demonstrated here. The number recorded in Middlesex is 1,141,⁷¹ considerably fewer than in neighbouring counties⁷² but comparable both in proportion to the size and assessment of this county. It has long been recognized that the Domesday *villanus* cannot be equated with the villein of later times and that the word as used in Domesday

⁶² *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 82, 121 (no. 39).

⁶³ Stenton, *Eng. Feudalism*, 145-6.

⁶⁴ Maitland, *Dom. Bk.* 46, n. 1.

⁶⁵ Vinogradoff, *Eng. Society*, 452, n. 4.

⁶⁶ *Dom. Bk.* i. 252b (entry for Sudtone).

⁶⁷ *V.C.H. Salop.* i. 313.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 311 (*Dom. Bk.* i. 252): *lidberie francus* is translated 'Frenchman', with a note that more probably it should be translated 'a freeman'. On f. 254b in three succeeding entries, the first two, *Lestone* and *Arculum*, use *francigena* and the third, *Uptune*, *francus*, all obviously with the same meaning and translated in the *V.C.H.* text (pp. 320-1) as 'Frenchmen'.

⁶⁹ *Dom. Bk.* i. 114 (*Aisse*).

⁷⁰ *V.C.H. Worcs.* i. 274.

⁷¹ This figure excludes the entries for Fulham (17) and Isleworth (80) where *villani* and *bordarii* are lumped together. A figure of 1,163 is given in *Dom. Geog. S.E. Eng.*, ed. Darby, 118. This includes 22 *villani* obtained by the arbitrary division of 31 *villani et bordarii* (Fulham (17)) into 16 *villani* and 15 *bordars*, and 12 *villani et bordarii* (Isleworth (80)) into 6 *villani* and 6 *bordars*.

⁷² e.g. in Herts. there were 1,830, in Berks. 2,623, in Essex 4,087, and in Surr. 2,363. The figures are from H. Ellis, *Introd. to Domesday Bk.* vol. ii; they conflict with those given in *Dom. Geog. S.E. Eng.*, ed. Darby.

carries with it the vaguer connotation of the Old English word *tunesman*, the inhabitant of a village, and for which the term 'villager' would seem to be a more appropriate modern rendering.⁷³

The Middlesex Survey is notable for the information it records concerning the size of the peasant holdings.⁷⁴ In most entries the size of individual holdings is given and the compilers state the number of men with tenements of the same size, beginning with the largest. For instance at Enfield (73) the list is: *Ibi unus villanus de i hida et iii villani quisque de dimidia hida Presbyter i virgata, et vii villani quisque i virgata, xxxvi villani quisque dimidia virgata*. Some entries are less specific, recording only how much land a number of men held between them and leaving the size of the individual holdings in doubt. The entry for West Bedfont (78), for example, reads: *Ibi ii villani de iiii hidis et ii villani de ii virgatis et ii villani de i virgata* and does not state how the holdings were divided between each pair of men. The largest tenement held by a *villanus* in Middlesex is 2 hides; there are two who are specifically stated to have this large holding. Only 18 *villani* hold less than $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate.⁷⁵

Apart from the information about holdings the Middlesex Domesday does not throw much light on the social standing of the *villani* and it gives no information about their services. Payment of rents by them is not usual, two *villani* each holding $\frac{1}{2}$ hide on the wife of Brien's tenement at Stepney (8) pay respectively 4s. and 8s. *de domo sua*, but other payments are confined to the lower economic ranks of the peasantry. Willesden (22), a 15-hide manor belonging to the Canons of St. Paul's was farmed by the 25 *villani* there, and on this manor there was no demesne. On some other holdings belonging to St. Paul's there was no demesne and the land is said to be held under the canons (*sub canonicis*) by the *villani*.

In this county, as in others, the *bordarii* and *cotarii* form a considerable part of the peasant population. The number of bordars in Middlesex, exclusive of those at Fulham (17), Isleworth (80), and Stepney (85) where the numbers are not given in the text, is 342,⁷⁶ slightly less than one-third of the number of *villani* and slightly fewer than the number of cottars. Although there is little to be added to what has already been written about this class of peasants who derived their name from their *borda* or cottage, the references to bordars in the Middlesex Survey deserve close examination since the Middlesex Survey is the main source of information about the tenements of the men in this class in 1086 no less than those of the *villani*. The Middlesex evidence throws considerable light on the differences between the three classes, *villani*, *bordarii*, and *cotarii*. The bordars' holdings are given in Appendix II. There are only 9 who have no holdings; 54 have an average of fewer than 5 acres each;⁷⁷ 98 have 5 acres each; 48 have more than 5 but fewer than 10 acres; 55 have 10 acres each; 14 have between 10 and 15 acres; 34 have 15 acres (i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate) each; and 7 have an average of more than 15 acres each. Four bordars on the manor of Dawley (57) and 6 bordars at Stepney (13) are each recorded as holding 5 acres between them and it is not unlikely that the word '*quisque*' has been omitted in the text.⁷⁸ It is evident that 55 of the bordars in Middlesex were,

⁷³ V.C.H. Hunts. i. 324. See also Maitland, *Dom. Bk.* 59. V. H. Galbraith, *E.H.R.* lxx. 4, translating an entry relating to Halton Hundred (*Exon Domesday*, f. 19b) renders *terra villanorum* 'villager's land'. In the translation on pp. 119-29 the word *villanus*, following accepted usage, is translated 'villein'.

⁷⁴ The most recent discussion of peasant tenements is that of Lennard, *Rural Eng.* 339-92, where full use is made of the Mdx. evidence.

⁷⁵ These figures include those which are specifically stated and those which are inferred. For a complete analysis of *villani* holdings see App. II.

⁷⁶ This figure conflicts with that of 364 given in *Dom. Geog. S.E. Eng.*, ed. Darby, 118. See above, n. 71.

⁷⁷ Only average figures can be given for some bordar and cottar holdings since in many instances they are inferred.

⁷⁸ The text should probably be amended to '*ibi iiii villani quisque de i virgata et iiii bordarii quisque de v acris*' which would give the bordars tenements more in keeping with holdings of men in this class in estates in Harlington, Colham, Hillingdon, and 'Ticheham', which belonged to the fief of Earl Roger and were adjacent to Dawley. Since the text may be correct as it stands the four bordars are shown in the table as sharing the 5a between them.

economically, in substantially the same position as the half-virgate holders among the *villani*. The most common holding is 5 acres, but it is also clear that those with more than 5 acres are more numerous than those with fewer.⁷⁹ This helps to explain why the compilers of the Survey frequently associate the bordars with the *villani*, sometimes stating how many virgates the two classes together occupied,⁸⁰ and why it is stated that there are 3 ploughs among the *villani* on an estate where there are 14 bordars on 1½ hide (9) but no *villani*. Occasionally, however, the bordars seem to be classed with the cottars rather than the *villani*.⁸¹

The Middlesex Survey shows that in economic position the bordars as a class stood below the *villani* and above the cottars, although the classes overlap. The analysis of the cottars' holdings given in Appendix II shows that their holdings range from nothing to just over 5 acres.⁸² More than half can be regarded as landless men. Out of 464 cottars there are 243 with no holding and 49 with only their gardens or allotments attached to the cottages. There are 67 with approximately 1 acre or less; 8 who have an average of 2 acres; 93 who have from 2 to 5 acres each; and 4 only with 5 acres or more. The cottars recorded on the *Terra Regis*, it has been suggested,⁸³ are squatters or 'at any rate scattered tenants with infinitesimal holdings', and they are placed under the king because they have no other lord. Although a few cottars in Middlesex seem to be economically of the same standing as the bordars, the evidence suggests that most must have been living in much humbler circumstances. It suggests that they were in fact 'cottagers' in the modern sense of the word with even fewer acres than the bordars, or with no land apart from their cottages and the common land. Some cottars are required to make annual money payments. Thirty unattached cottars who are listed under the king's lands (2) pay 14s. 10½d. a year (*qui reddunt per annum xiiii solidos et x denarios et i obolum*) and two more at Holborn pay to the King's sheriff 20d. a year. Another ten at Bishopsgate (32) hold jointly 9 acres for which they are required to pay 18s. 6d. a year, and it is not quite clear whether the 46 cottars on 1 hide at Stepney (6) are responsible for the whole of the annual payment of 30s. or whether it is laid upon the whole of the peasant population on the manor. In all probability it was exacted only from the cottars.

Divergent answers have been given to the question whether the bordars and cottars are two different classes. The cottars and 'coscets' do not, like the *villani* and *bordarii*, occur in all counties. They are most numerous in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Middlesex, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Berkshire, Hertfordshire, and Cambridgeshire, and less numerous in Buckinghamshire, Devon, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire, and Yorkshire.⁸⁴ In some of these counties, of which Middlesex is one, bordars and cottars are recorded in the same entries, but in others they are not. For instance, in Berkshire bordars only are found on the estates of the king, Abingdon Abbey, Earl Hugh, and William fitz Ansculf; cottars only are found on the small estates of the Bishop of Durham and Bishop Osbern; and bordars and cottars are found on the estates of the Bishop of Winchester, Walter Giffard (*Gifard*), and Henry de Ferrers (*Ferieres*), but on none of these last three estates are the two classes of peasant mentioned together in the same entry. Sussex is another county in which bordars and cottars do not appear together. In Surrey 'a marked local distribution' has been noted.⁸⁵ It was once argued that the

⁷⁹ It may be noted that in the only entry (*Hailet*, f. 140) which records the size of the peasant holdings in Herts. one bordar has 10a.

⁸⁰ e.g. Haggerston (83): '*Ibi iiii villani et vii bordarii qui tenent hanc terram*'.

⁸¹ e.g. Islington (28): '*Ibi iiii villani qui tenent sub canonicis hanc terram, et iiii bordarii et xiii cotarii*'.

⁸² See above, n. 77.

⁸³ Vinogradoff, *Eng. Society*, 238.

⁸⁴ Maitland, *Dom. Bk.* 39.

⁸⁵ Round, *V.C.H. Surr.* i. 292, remarks that Mr. Malden, translator of the text, 'has also observed in the Survey "a marked local distribution" in the classes of bordars (*bordarii*) and cottars (*cotarii*) which he is unable to explain. In the hundreds of Godalming, Wallington, and Emleybridge "*cotarii*" he has found "are nearly universal to the exclusion of the *bordarii*", and on no estate in the county has he found both classes mentioned. "The only

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terms *bordarii* and *cotarii* are synonymous and interchangeable.⁸⁶ The study of the surveys of Shropshire, Wiltshire, Worcestershire, and Herefordshire has led commentators to the opposite conclusion.⁸⁷ The Middlesex evidence is here of fundamental importance for it contradicts decisively the view that the two classes are identical and shows that the bordars as a class were superior to the cottars and that some of them must have been almost indistinguishable from the less prosperous *villani*. The points of similarity between the bordars and the *villani* must not, however, be overstressed, for too little is known about the services rendered by these classes.⁸⁸

It has long been recognized that the *servi* of Domesday were comparatively few in the east and increased in number towards the west.⁸⁹ In Middlesex there were only 112. Some of the entries in the county support the view that the *servi* were associated with the demesne plough-teams. Instances in which there are two *servi* to each demesne plough-team occur at Shepperton (42), Feltham (62), Kempton (63), West Bedfont (78), Hanwell (44), Harmondsworth (48), Stanmore, (90), and Tottenham (96). With these may possibly be included Colham (55) where there were three demesne plough-teams and eight *servi*, and Dawley (57), which in the Survey is associated with Colham,⁹⁰ where there were no *servi* but one plough-team in demesne. Stanwell (76) contained three demesne plough-teams and eight *servi* and at Bedfont (77), the greater part of which had been (*fruit*) a berewick in Stanwell, there was one demesne plough-team but no *servi* are recorded. The remaining entries recording *servi* show a considerable variation in the proportion of them to plough-teams.⁹¹

On several estates priests were numbered among the tenants, while at Laleham (88) Estrild, described as a nun, held an 8-hide estate of Robert Blund.

TABLE 4
Classes of Tenants in Middlesex

Class	Hundreds						Totals
	Edmonton	Elthorne	Gore	Hounslow	Ossulstone	Spelthorne	
<i>francigene</i>	2	7	..	..	..	..	9
<i>anglici</i>	..	3	..	1	..	..	4
<i>milites</i>	..	7	3	..	..	4	14
<i>burgenses</i>	..	..	..	..	..	46	46
<i>homines</i>	..	3	7	..	24	..	34
<i>villani</i>	139	244	148	140	323	147	1,141
<i>bordarii</i>	49	82	15	4	107	85	342
<i>cotarii</i>	61	66	15	6	283	33	464
<i>servi</i>	14	42	5	..	16	35	112
Totals	265	454	193	151	753	350	2,166

Not included above:

Fulham (17) '*Inter francigen' et quosdam burgenses London*'.

Sub eis manent inter villanos et bordarios xxxi'.

Westminster (36) '*et xxv domus militum abbatis et aliorum hominum*'

Isleworth (80) '*Francig' et . . . Sub eis manent inter villanos et bordarios xii*'

Stepney (85) '*et bord' de dimidia hida et dimidia virgata*'.

rule", however, he considers, "seems to be that there should be no *cotarii* on the royal demesne".

⁸⁶ F. Seebohm, *English Village Community*, 77, 95-97; A. Ballard, *Domesday Inq.* 152.

⁸⁷ *V.C.H. Salop.* i. 301; *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 54; *V.C.H. Worcs.* i. 274, 276; *V.C.H. Herefs.* i. 288.

⁸⁸ The Herefs. peasants, who worked one day a week and so resembled the cottar of the '*Rectitudines*' (translated

in *Eng. Hist. Docs.*, ed. Harmer, ii. 813 sqq.) who had 5a and worked for his lord each Monday throughout the year, are entered not as *cotarii* but as *bordarii*.

⁸⁹ Maitland, *Dom. Bk.* 23; Vinogradoff, *Eng. Society*, 464.

⁹⁰ See p. 124.

⁹¹ In the translation on pp. 119-29 the word *servus*, following accepted usage, is translated 'serf'.

IV

Middlesex was well endowed with meadowland, a fact which is a reflection of a plentiful water supply. The meadow for the most part followed the line of the three main rivers, the Thames, the Lea, and the Colne. Meadow is recorded on the manors of Edmonton, Enfield, and Tottenham in the Lea valley, at Stepney between the Thames and the Lea, from Ebury to Staines along the banks of the Thames, and from Stanwell to Harefield along the Colne. In fact every estate along the banks of these rivers possessed some meadowland. It is to be found to a lesser extent in places not on the main rivers. 'Ticheham' had meadows which derived their moisture from the Pinn, a tributary of the Colne. Meadows at Hanworth and Feltham were watered by the Crane⁹² and those of Hanwell, Hendon, and Kingsbury by the Brent. It is noticeable that the amount of meadow at Hendon and Kingsbury was almost negligible, as was that on the great manor of Hayes, and it is absent further north on the rising ground towards the boundary between Middlesex and Hertfordshire. In Domesday meadowland is estimated in ploughs, a fact which is not difficult to understand when it is recalled that the importance of meadow lay chiefly in the provision of hay for the ploughing beasts. Hay is mentioned only once, at Ebury (65), where it follows meadowland and is stated to yield 60s. (*de feno lx solidi*). There are many entries in Middlesex in which the number of ploughs for which there was meadow is equal to the team-lands. Occasionally a manor had more meadow than it required and the surplus which could be sold was estimated in cash and was entered in the following way: *pratum a carucis et b solidi de super plus*. The manors of Edmonton (72), Enfield (73), and Tottenham (96), after supplying the needs of the ploughing beasts, had a surplus of meadow which it was estimated would bring in respectively the sums of 25s., 25s., and 20s. Tottenham was considerably smaller than either of the other two adjoining manors, and its meadow was therefore proportionately the greater. Even so the assessment of 5 hides seems unduly low for so valuable a manor as Tottenham, which was worth £25 15s. and 3 ounces of gold (*iii uncie auri*) at Domesday and £26 in the time of King Edward. About half the entries in Middlesex in which meadow is recorded relate to estates in which the team-lands and meadow are equal or in which there is a surplus; the remainder have less meadow than team-lands. In seven or eight entries the amount of meadow is the same as the number of ploughs on the demesne and in two instances, Stepney (9) and Hampton (81), there is a surplus.

The grazing land or pasture, as opposed to meadowland, in Middlesex is entered as *pastura ad pecuniam (ville)*, a formula which covers the rights of peasant as well as lord. Pasture was more extensive than meadowland but occasionally meadow is entered where there was no pasture.⁹³ In approximately two-thirds of the entries in Middlesex some pasture is recorded and altogether it was sufficient for the needs of at least five-sixths of the county as estimated by team-lands. In one entry only, Stepney (9), is it stated that there was no pasture (*pastura non est*). There were a number of other small holdings at Stepney which were without pasture although the bishop's own demesne manor was so well supplied that after meeting its own needs it had sufficient to provide a profit of 15s. Similarly his under-tenant, the wife of Brien, on her small 5-hide holding (8) had a surplus of pasture which brought in 5s. It would seem therefore that

⁹² The Old Eng. name was *Fiscesburna*: *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 2.

⁹³ It occurs in three small holdings at Stepney (7, 9, 87), at Hanwell (44), Hendon (47), where the meadow itself

was only of 2 oxen, an unnamed holding in Spelthorne Hundred (49), Hatton (51), Harlington (54), Hillingdon (56), Ashford (60), and Kingsbury (75).

the pasture in Stepney was very unevenly distributed. On a few estates in other places there was a surplus of pasture.⁹⁴

Two other important factors in manorial economy which depended on rivers and streams were the mills and fishponds. Mills, which are usually found in association with meadowland, are not numerous in Middlesex and with the exception of four are to be found on desmesne holdings. Three of these four were at Stepney and were some of the most valuable in the county. The most valuable of all is that which Hugh de Berneres held of the Bishop of London (7) and which was worth 66s. 8d., a very high valuation in any part of the country. The entry carefully notes that in pre-Conquest times a certain Doding held this mill together with one virgate of land and that it had been part of the bishop's own manor (*de proprio manerio episcopi*). Edmund fitz Algot held the second mill (15),⁹⁵ which was worth 32s. 6d., and the third was held by Alwin the son of Brihtmar (16) and was worth 20s. Both men held of the Bishop of London, but neither appears to have possessed land with the mill. Of Edmund's mill it is stated that *non fuit ibi T.R.E.* This is the only example in the Middlesex Domesday of a mill built between 1066 and 1086. A fourth mill which was not held by a tenant-in-chief occurs on the manor of Kingsbury (75). It was held by Albold of Ernulf of Hesdin and was worth 3s. The value of mills varied considerably. The four held by the Bishop of London on his own manor of Stepney (6) were, for example, worth £4 15s. 8d., while the value of some, such as one at Hanwell (44) worth 2s. 2d., was very low indeed. Occasionally a mill is stated to have rendered eels in addition to the money at which it was valued; four mills at Stanwell (76) were, for instance, worth 70s. and 375 eels and three mills at Harmondsworth (48) were worth 60s. and 500 eels. Round noted⁹⁶ that eels were reckoned by 'stitches', 25 going to the 'stitch'. It is not uncommon in Domesday to find recorded a fraction of a mill the remainder of which is in an adjoining manor which might form part of a different county. At Colham (55) there is recorded $\frac{1}{2}$ mill worth 5s. the other part of which cannot, however, be traced.

The values of weirs and fishponds are given either in eels or in shillings and pence. Eels were no doubt the main product of the fisheries. The weirs, referred to variously by the words *gurges*, *gort*, *guort*, or *gorz*, are presumably distinct from the fishponds which are styled *piscine*. There are eleven weirs in Middlesex distributed over nine manors.⁹⁷ The number of fishponds is uncertain. They are recorded on three manors: at Harefield (82) four *piscine* rendered 1,000 eels; an unspecified number at Harmondsworth (48) rendered 1,000 eels; and at Enfield (73) an unspecified number rendered 8s. A weir (*gurges*) at West Drayton (35) rendered 32d. and at Stanwell (76) three (*gorz*) rendered 1,000 eels. At Staines (40) there were two weirs (*guort*) one of which rendered 6s. 8d. and the other nothing (*quod nil reddit*). There is recorded at Fulham (17) half a weir (*gurges*) rendering 10s. and at Isleworth (80) $1\frac{1}{2}$ weir (*gort*) rendering 12s. 8d. Although Fulham and Isleworth were in different hundreds, it is possible that they included lands on opposite banks of the Brent. An interesting reference to fishing other than for eels is found in the entry for Hampton (81) where it is recorded that 'from the seines and drag-nets in the River Thames are rendered 3s. (*de saganis et tractis in aqua Temisie iiii solidi*)', a reference to what was probably a thriving local industry.

The extent of woodland, as noted above,⁹⁸ in the circuit to which Middlesex belonged

⁹⁴ At St. Pancras (26) it was worth 20d., at an unnamed place in Ossulstone Hundred (66) it was worth 13d., and at Stanmore (90) 2s. At Ebury it is only recorded that the pasture yielded 7s. (*de pastura vii solidi*).

⁹⁵ *Algodesmelle*, a fulling-mill on the Lea south of Hackney Wick and once held by the draper Sir John Pulteney (d. 1348-9), figures in an inquisition dated 1355:

Cal. Inq. Misc. 1348-77, pp. 70-72.

⁹⁶ *V.C.H. Herts.* i. 294.

⁹⁷ i.e. West Drayton (35), Hillingdon (56), Shepperton (42), Tottenham (96), Stanwell (76), three, Staines, (40), two, Fulham (17), half, and Isleworth (80), $1\frac{1}{2}$ weir.

⁹⁸ See p. 80.

is expressed by the formula '*silva a porcorum*' and this is generally accepted as referring to the number of swine which the woodland could support.⁹⁹ Sometimes a money payment is recorded in addition, as in two entries for Stepney (6, 7) where there was woodland for 500 pigs worth also 40 shillings and woodland for 150 pigs worth also 3½ shillings. On the manors of Edmonton (72) and Enfield (73) the money payment is yielded *de silva et pastura*. Payment of pannage in this county is referred to in a writ of King Edward in which he grants that 'St. Peter and the brethren at Westminster shall have for their sustenance the land at Chalkhill and everything lawfully belonging thereto, with land and with [stock?], with woodland and with open country, with meadow and with pasture, with mast and with pannage . . . and also with this land I likewise grant with full freedom the third tree and the third pig of the pannage of the nearest wood which belongs to Kingsbury, which is held in common as it was constituted in olden times.'¹

There are few entries in which no woodland is recorded. Its absence is most marked in Spelthorne Hundred in the south-west corner of the county where it occurs only in the manors of Staines (40) and Stanwell (76). In Ossulstone Hundred small areas of woodland are fairly well distributed, with what were possibly two large tracts consisting of Fulham (17-19) supporting a total of 1,450 swine and yielding 17*d.* and Stepney (6-8, 85) supporting 770 swine and yielding 47*s.* 6*d.* In the north and north-west of the county a densely wooded area is indicated, stretching almost continuously from the northern part of Elthorne Hundred across, and including the whole of Gore and Edmonton hundreds. Most of the manors in this area have woodland supporting more than 1,000 swine. At Hillingdon (56) it can support 1,000, at Ruislip (74) 1,500 and yields 20*d.*, and at Harrow (4) 2,000. In each of the two manors at Stanmore (64, 90) the wood supports 800 pigs, Enfield (73) and Edmonton (72) each have woodland supporting 2,000 pigs, and Tottenham (96) 500. It was no doubt this vast woodland area to which the hunting rights of the citizens of London, confirmed in Henry I's charter,² belonged. Later, in the 12th century, William fitz Stephen writes: 'On the north [of London] are pasture lands and a pleasant space of flat meadow, intersected by running waters, which turn revolving mill-wheels with a merry din. Hard by there stretches a great forest with wooded glades and lairs of wild beasts, deer both red and fallow, wild boars and bulls'.³ Earlier its popularity was such that William the Conqueror had found it necessary to issue a writ limiting the rights of hunting in the archbishop's manor of Harrow to those to whom special licence had been given by the archbishop.⁴ Hunting and the provision of mast for swine are not the only things for which this forest was known. The cover afforded by it seems to have been used to tactical advantage by Edmund Ironside in the campaign of 1016 against Cnut and the Danes in London,⁵ and a reminder of its dangers is given in the tradition preserved by Matthew Paris⁶ that Leofstan, Abbot of St. Albans c. 1048-66, caused trees to be cut down for the safety of travellers along Watling Street from the Chilterns as far as London.

Where wood which was used for fencing, *nemus ad sepes*, is recorded, there is no *silva*. With the exception of Cranford (91), all places where such wood is recorded are in Ossulstone Hundred: Stepney (9, 87), Rugmoor (24), St. Pancras (26), and an unnamed estate (66).

⁹⁹ *V.C.H. Berks.* i. 304; Vinogradoff, *Eng. Society*, 290; Ballard, *Domesday Inq.* 167.

¹ *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. Florence Harmer, 344-5, no. 77.

² *Laws of the Kings of Eng.*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 292.

³ F. M. Stenton, *Norman London*, 27.

⁴ *Ibid.* 6; *A. S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, p. 179, citing Dugdale, *Mon.* i. 111.

⁵ *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), pp. xv, xvi; Stenton, *A.S. Eng.* 386.

⁶ *Opera* (Lives of the Abbots of St. Albans), ed. W. Wats (1640), 45-46. This appears to be the source of Loftie's statement that Leofric, Abbot of St. Albans, caused the trees to be cut away for a distance of 30 ft. on either side of the road: W. J. Loftie, *Hist. of Lond.* (1884), ii. 3.

Entered after the woodland there is occasionally an area of rough pasture known as herbage (*herbagia*), usually associated with the feeding of swine⁷ and in this county valued in money. At Tottenham Court (25), where it seems to have been extensive, it was worth 20s.; at Tyburn (50) 40d.; at Stanmore (64) and Isleworth (80) it was worth only 12d. and at Lisson (97) 3d.

Vineyards, which may be considered as adjuncts to rather than essential elements of the manorial economy, generally occur in Middlesex on demesne manors. In Domesday Book the size of vineyards is commonly reckoned by the French measure the 'arpent'.⁸ The largest vineyard in the county was that of 8 arpents held by the Count of Mortain at Kempton (63), William Baniard held one of 4 arpents of Westminster Abbey (37). Both of these were described as *noviter plantata*. William the Chamberlain held one of the king for which he paid a rent of 6s. a year. Other vineyards were to be found at Staines (40), Harmondsworth (48), Colham (55), and Kensington (93).

V

The Survey contains no evidence of royal demesne in Middlesex either in 1066 or in 1086.⁹ Round suggested that in the neighbouring counties of Hertfordshire¹⁰ and Essex¹¹ the former royal lands may have been entered in Domesday among those of Earl Harold. In Middlesex Earl Harold held only the one manor of Harmondsworth (48), assessed at 30 hides, and a tenement of one hide in Spelthorne Hundred (49), and there is no reason to assume that either of these was formerly a royal possession. It may be suggested that the two manors which Earl Ælfgar had held were at an earlier date royal estates, for Isleworth (80) was valued at £80 in King Edward's time, and there is reason to believe that this was the figure at which the *firma unius noctis* or *diei* rendered by a considerable number of ancient royal manors was valued before the Norman Conquest.¹² Hampton (81) was valued at £40 T.R.E. which looks like half a night's farm, and the two manors together constituted a hundred. The name of one Middlesex manor, Kingsbury (46), indicates that it was at some date a royal possession.¹³ Although most of the documents emanating from Westminster Abbey are untrustworthy and the reliability of the traditions embodied in them is doubtful, it seems clear that the Confessor may have made generous benefactions from the royal demesne to the monastery which he rebuilt.¹⁴

William the Conqueror seems to have made no attempt to create a demesne for himself out of lands forfeited by their English occupiers. Middlesex, Staffordshire, and Cheshire are the only counties where there is no mention of royal demesne in 1086. Under the heading of 'King William'¹⁵ in Domesday are entered 12½ acres of *Nanesmaneslande*, thirty cottars who pay annually 14s. 10½d., two cottars at Holborn who pay annually 20d. to the sheriff, and an annual rent of 6s. paid by William the Chamberlain *pro terra ubi sedet vinea sua*.¹⁶ This is the only occasion in Domesday in which the word *Nanesmaneslande* occurs.¹⁷

The largest lay estate in 1066 was that entered as held by Earl Ælfgar. This consisted of the two large manors of Isleworth (80) and Hampton (81) which together made up

⁷ In Sussex there is stated the proportion of swine feeding upon the land which the lord claimed.

⁸ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 382.

⁹ A 13th-cent. source suggests that Uxbridge, which is not mentioned in the Survey, had at some time formed part of the royal demesne: *Cal. Close R.* 1253-4, 14.

¹⁰ *V.C.H. Herts.* i. 278.

¹¹ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 336.

¹² R. L. Poole, *Exchequer in the Twelfth Cent.* 28-29; Round, *Feudal Eng.* 109 sqq.

¹³ *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 61.

¹⁴ See below, pp. 107-9.

¹⁵ The heading appears only under the list of holders of land.

¹⁶ See above.

¹⁷ It was no doubt so entered because it had no other owner: Vinogradoff, *Eng. Society*, 238.

the hundred of Hounslow, later known as Isleworth,¹⁸ with a total assessment of 105 hides. Ælfgar died in or about the year 1062¹⁹ and it is uncertain who in 1066 possessed the estates entered as his in this and other counties.²⁰ They may have been in the hands of his son Edwin who succeeded to his earldom (although Domesday seems to imply the contrary) or they may have passed into the king's hands, which is on the whole more likely. In 1086 many of Ælfgar's former estates were held by William the Conqueror, and in Buckinghamshire and Essex at least they were bestowed in the first instance on Queen Maud.²¹ His vast Middlesex estate, however, was at this time possessed by Walter of St. Valery,²² a tenant-in-chief.

Earl Leofwine, of whose earldom Middlesex formed a part, was in 1066 in possession of the large manor of Harrow (4), assessed at 100 hides, together with a small tenement of 2 hides which belonged to it in Elthorne Hundred (5). There is proof that early in the 9th century Harrow formed part of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Middlesex estate,²³ and its transference to the Archbishop after the Conquest seems to be merely a restoration.²⁴ Owing to the lack of documentary evidence²⁵ it is impossible to determine how or when this manor came to be held by the house of Godwine, although Leofwine's possession of it may have dated only from 1057 when he received his earldom. The two hides in Elthorne were held by one of Earl Leofwine's *homines* named Turbert who, it is stated, could not take his land away from Harrow (*non potuit mittere vel vendere extra Herges*). Turbert held a further two hides (84) in Elthorne Hundred, but in this instance he was free to commend the land to the lord of his own choice. 'Men' who were able to commend themselves and their lands to anyone and sell their lands to whom they chose are more frequently met with in Middlesex than those who, presumably because they had received their land at the hands of their lord, were not free to do so. That the lands of the former were their own inheritances seems to be borne out by the fact that after 1066 their holdings were bestowed upon a variety of different 'successors' without reference to the disposition of their lords' estates. Other *homines* of Earl Leofwine are named and they were free to betake themselves to whom they wished with their lands. Alwin White (*albus*) held an unnamed tenement of 2½ virgates in Spelthorne Hundred (98) and Levric held two virgates at Greenford (99). Levric is probably indentifiable with Levric the housecarl of Earl Leofwine who held five hides one virgate at Willian (Herts.),²⁶ although the holdings passed to different landowners after the Conquest.²⁷ A king's thegn named Alwin Wit occurs in Hampshire²⁸ and a sokeman named Alwin *blondus* held a tenement in Cambridgeshire²⁹ but neither can be identified with Alwin White (*albus*) of Middlesex. Of the remaining *homines* of Earl Leofwine, one, a sokeman, held

¹⁸ See translation, entry no. 80.

¹⁹ Stenton, *A.S. Eng.* 567.

²⁰ He is named in 1066 as the holder of land in Oxon., Cambs., Northants., Warws., Staffs., Derb., Notts., Lincs., Mdx., Bucks., Hunts., Essex, Norf., and Suff.

²¹ She died in 1083. See also *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 337-8.

²² See below, pp. 112-13.

²³ *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, i, p. 530.

²⁴ Cf. the history of this estate with that of Halton (Bucks.): *Dom. Bk.* i. 143b; *V.C.H. Bucks.* i. 210; *A. S. Charters*, ed. Robertson, pp. 154, 174, 403.

²⁵ The tradition that Harrow formed part of the Canterbury estates was obviously strong at the time of the Conquest, and it is curious that there should be no record of its passing into other hands, or of a formal claim for its restoration. It is not among the properties named in the account of the Penenden Heath plea preserved in the two authentic 12th-cent. manuscripts (Rylands MS. 109 and the *Textus Roffensis*), or in the 13th-cent. copy of a 'formal Canterbury record'. Harrow is listed in the text printed

by Bigelow from a Rochester source and in the so-called *Canterbury Obituary* printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* i. 109, and is included by Gervase of Canterbury (ii. 64) among the estates recovered by Lanfranc. In all three, however, Hayes, which had not been lost by the church of Canterbury, is also included among the places recovered. On the documents connected with the Penenden Heath plea see J. Le Patourel, 'The Reports on the Trial on Penenden Heath', *Essays presented to F. M. Powicke*, ed. R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin, R. W. Southern, 15-26.

²⁶ *Dom. Bk.* i. 140.

²⁷ The holder in Herts. in 1086 was Geoffrey de Bech; for Alve, the Mdx. holder in 1086, see below.

²⁸ *Dom. Bk.* i. 50b.

²⁹ *Inq. El.*, f. 6, entry for Meldeburne, 5h 13v. In *Dom. Bk.* i. 200 this entry is placed under Melrede [Meldreth]. Alwin *blondus* is one of 8 sokemen, named in *Inq. El.* but not in *Dom. Bk.*, who held part of the land under the Abbot of Ely.

two hides two virgates in 'Ticheham' (70), another held two virgates at Bedfont (77), and a third, one of two brothers, shared the 5-hide manor of Charlton (89). This last entry seems to refer to a joint inheritance, but whereas one of the brothers had commended himself to Earl Leofwine, the other was commended to Archbishop Stigand. The whole of the manor of Charlton became part of the fief of Roger de Rames. Walter fitz Other was given the two virgates at Bedfont and Robert Gernon received Turbert's two hides in Elthorne Hundred. Geoffrey de Mandeville appears in Domesday as the under-tenant of the Archbishop of Canterbury holding Turbert's two hides which belonged to Harrow, and he also secured the holding in 'Ticheham' and the tenement belonging to Alwin White (*albus*).

Earl Harold's estate of 31 hides³⁰ ranks only fifth in size of the pre-conquest lay estates, and in 1086 was in the possession of the Church of the Holy Trinity, Rouen.³¹ Land held by his *homines* brought within his sphere of influence another 22 hides 2 virgates, making a total of 53 hides 2 virgates. On his own estate Harold had two *homines* who were unable to remove themselves from his lordship; these were Goldin who held the one hide in Spelthorne Hundred, and an unnamed sokeman who held two hides in the 30-hide manor of Harmondsworth. Those who were free to take their land elsewhere are named as Gouti, Brihtmar, and Algar. Gouti, *huscarle Heraldī comitis*, held two hides at Bedfont (61) and *hec terra iacuit et iacet in Felteham*. This last statement thus identifies Gouti with the unnamed *homo* of Earl Harold who held 7 hides at Feltham (62) *pro uno manerio*. The name Gouti is of Scandinavian origin³² and, although less common than some, is met with in a number of counties in Domesday, particularly in East Anglia. There is, however, only one man bearing this name with whom Gouti of Middlesex can reasonably be identified; he is the thegn of Earl Harold holding two hides at Cockhampstead (Herts.).³³ Even this identification cannot be regarded as certain since the Hertfordshire Gouti was succeeded by the Count of Mortain. Algar, described only as *homo*, held the 9½-hide manor of (Little) Stanmore (90) and Brihtmar held 4 hides at West Bedfont (78).

Other, smaller, estates were held by Harold, son of Earl Ralph, Earl Waltheof, and Countess Goda. Harold son of Earl Ralph,³⁴ held the 10-hide manor of Ebury (65). By 1086 he had lost this manor although he was at that date a tenant-in-chief in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire. Either he or his father is recorded as the holder of these lands (except the one hide which Harold held in Worcestershire)³⁵ in 1066. Harold's father died in 1057, and the fact that according to the Middlesex entry he was under the wardship of Queen Edith in 1066 suggests that he must have been very young at this time.³⁶ The charge that Queen Edith was not a faithful guardian seems to be unfounded for she did no injury to Harold by granting the manor to William the Chamberlain to be held at farm, but when she died Harold's rights appear to have been ignored and William held of the king as also did the holder in 1086, Geoffrey de Mandeville. Earl Waltheof held the 5-hide manor of Tottenham (96) which was in the hands of his wife Countess Judith in 1086. Countess Goda held the manor of Harefield (82), assessed at 5 hides, which in 1086 was in the possession of Richard fitz Gilbert.

Of the landowners who were not nobles the largest and most important in Middlesex was Ansgar the Staller.³⁷ His estate of 76½ hides ranks third in order of size of all the

³⁰ See above, p. 98.

³¹ See below, p. 109.

³² O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Bk.* (Uppsala, 1937), 258.

³³ *Dom. Bk.* i. 137b.

³⁴ Ralph, Earl of Hereford, was King Edward's nephew by his sister Goda.

³⁵ *Dom. Bk.* i. 177, entry for *Wich* [Droitwich]. Since

the earlier holder here is not stated, it is possible that this also was held by Harold before the Conquest.

³⁶ Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. 683.

³⁷ The word *Staller* comes from the Norse loan-word meaning 'placeman'. Used freely in the late Old Eng. period, it seems to mean 'anyone with a permanent and recognized position in the King's company': Stenton, *A.S. Eng.* 632.

lay estates in the county. His lands comprised Northolt (71), 15 hides, Edmonton, including the berewick of Mimms (72), 35 hides, and Enfield (73), 30 hides less 6 which were held by men in free commendation. In addition a further $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides were held by men who could not remove themselves from his lordship. Azor held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide at Greenford (69) and two unnamed *homines* held one hide each at Greenford (68) and 'Ticheham' (70) respectively. Among the men of this period Ansgar the Staller is a well-known figure. Three or possibly four generations of his family are known.³⁸ In the Domesday Survey he stands out as a man of substance for in addition to his Middlesex estate he held land in Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, Essex, and Suffolk. His influence, however, extended beyond these counties for there were in Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire, and Norfolk, counties in which he does not appear to have held personal estates, many *homines* who were under his lordship but were free to take their lands elsewhere if they wished. Ansgar's Middlesex estate was one of his largest. His importance is shown by the numerous documents in which his name appears either in the address or among the witnesses.³⁹ He is generally held to have been Sheriff of Middlesex, although this has been doubted.⁴⁰ Ansgar the Staller is one of the outstanding examples of an Englishman whose lands were taken over almost in their entirety by a single Norman lord.⁴¹ In Middlesex Geoffrey de Mandeville succeeded both to Ansgar's own estate and those of his *homines*, whether they were free or not free to betake themselves to another lord. Ansgar's fate after the Norman Conquest is not known but it can hardly be doubted that he is the *ansgardus* referred to by Guy d'Amiens,⁴² and that he led the contingent of Londoners at the Battle of Hastings where he was severely wounded. After the battle he may have headed a party which was opposed to the submission of the city to William. It is probable that he did not long survive the Conquest.⁴³ Wlward 'White', 'a Saxon thane of large and ubiquitous estate',⁴⁴ was able through his influence at Court to survive the Conquest and continue to hold land after 1066. In Middlesex he held in 1066 an estate totalling $42\frac{1}{2}$ hides made up of Kempton (63), 5 hides, Ruislip (74), 30 hides, and Kingsbury (75), $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Ælmer, his 'man', held a further 2 hides of him in 'Ticheham' (86) which he was free to take elsewhere. Wlward had lands in at least eleven counties.⁴⁵ In Somerset and Buckinghamshire his estates were extensive and his Middlesex estate was by no means negligible. Although he survived the Conquest, Wlward's losses must have been considerable. He seems to have lived almost up to the time of the Domesday Survey.⁴⁶ The extent, however, to which he retained his lands after 1066 is very uncertain, for Domesday, with few exceptions, records only the

³⁸ Ansgar was the son of Athelstan and grandson of Tofig or Tofi 'the Proud' at whose marriage feast King Harthacnut died suddenly in 1042. See *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 343, n. 1; *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, p. 560; but Miss Robertson's comments (*A.S. Charters*, p. 400) should also be noted. A Godwin, son of Esgar, is referred to in a document concerning the London lands of St. Paul's: *Essays to T. F. Tout*, 48, 57.

³⁹ *A.S. Charters*, ed. Robertson, pp. 212, 214, 464.

⁴⁰ He is considered to have been sheriff by Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 353, and Stenton, *A.S. Eng. index*, p. 717. Miss Harmer, however, does not consider the evidence conclusive: *A.S. Writs*, pp. 51-52.

⁴¹ The main exception seems to be Risborough, Bucks. (f. 143b), which Ansgar held as under-tenant of the Abp. of Canterbury, and land in various counties held by *homines* who were free or not free to take their land elsewhere.

⁴² Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iii. 427, 500, 545-7, 742, App. HH.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 501, n. 1. For the text of the *Carmen de Bello*

Hastingensi see *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, ed. H. Petrie (1848), 866 sqq. In *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), App. L, G. H. White argues that the *Carmen* cannot be the work of Guy, Bp. of Amiens, and suggests that it was written between 1128 and 1129. He mentions that a careful collation of the *Carmen* and the *Gesta* of William of Poitiers leaves no doubt that the author of the former copied from the latter. This theory has not yet been supported by a detailed comparison of the two works nor has the exclusion of the possibility that William of Poitiers drew upon the *Carmen* been explained. It is difficult to believe that the additional matter in the *Carmen*, such as that relating to Ansgar, is the invention of a 12th-cent. writer.

⁴⁴ R. W. Eyton, *Domesday Survey of Som.* i. 86.

⁴⁵ He can be identified as a landowner in Dors., Hants, Kent, Mdx., Som., Glos., Oxon., Bucks., Lincs., and Berks. Round notes that in Beds. he is disguised as Wulfweard 'lewet': *V.C.H. Berks.* i. 363, n. 8.

⁴⁶ Eyton, *op. cit.* 87; *V.C.H. Som.* i. 399-400.

holders of lands in 1066 and 1086. Wlward 'White's' lands had passed to several different landowners by 1086, but in five counties he was succeeded by Ernulf of Hesdin.⁴⁷ In Middlesex he was succeeded by Ernulf at Ruislip and Kingsbury, but Kempton had been secured by the Count of Mortain and Ælmer's two hides in 'Ticheham' passed to Robert Fafiton.

Two other thegns who may be classed among the larger landowners in Middlesex are Wigot and Azor the housecarl. Wigot held the manors of Colham (55) and Harlington (54), assessed respectively at 8 and 10 hides. At Harlington a sokeman held two of the ten hides which 'he could not sell' without Wigot's permission. Two *homines*, Alwin who held one hide at Harmondsworth (53) and Godwin Alfit who held three hides at Dawley (57), were both able to alienate their land. Wigot is not distinguished by a surname in Middlesex where his estates are entered as part of the the fief of Earl Roger. At no great time afterwards, however, these lands formed part of the honor of Wallingford,⁴⁸ and this strongly suggests that Wigot of the Middlesex Survey was Wigot of Wallingford. The estates of Wigot of Wallingford can be traced in eleven counties in 1066.⁴⁹ He was greeted by King Edward as 'my dear kinsman', and his son Tochi is recorded as having died at William's side in the battle of Gerberoi.⁵⁰ At the time of Domesday most of Wigot's lands were held by either Miles Crispin or Robert D'Oilli, and there is reason to believe that they had acquired them by marriage rather than as a result of confiscation.

Five or six of the pre-Conquest landowners in Middlesex were housecarls, the military retainers of the king and certain great magnates who had been provided with estates on which they resided in time of peace. Gouti, the housecarl of Earl Harold, has already been mentioned and it has been noted that Levric was probably a housecarl of Earl Leofwine. Azor, one of the Confessor's housecarls, held the 15-hide manor of Stanwell (76) and 8 hides 2 virgates at Bedfont (77), described as 'a berewick in Stanwell'. Five sokemen held of Azor. One, who was able to alienate his land, held two virgates at Bedfont (77). Two others held four hides at West Bedfont (78), but they could not take their land away from Azor's lordship, nor could the two sokemen who held '1 hide 3 virgates and a third part of 1 virgate' at Hatton (79). The whole of Azor's lands and those of his men passed into the hands of Walter fitz Other. A man who was a housecarl might also be described as a thegn. Ulf who held 9 hides in this county is described in one entry relating to 5 hides at Hanworth (52), as *huscarl Regis Eduuardi* and in another, relating to 4 hides at Hillingdon (56), as *teignus Regis Eduuardi*. His lands together with Wigot's formed the main part of Earl Roger's Middlesex fief.⁵¹ He is probably to be identified with Ulf—not described as a housecarl—who was the predecessor of Miles Crispin at Beddington⁵² (Surr.), from which estate it is recorded 21 houses which were held in 1066 by Earl Roger, '13 in London, 8 in Sudwerche' had been taken. Achi the housecarl was the predecessor of Robert Blund or Blount⁵³ not only at Laleham (88) but also in East Anglia where he had extensive estates and in Wiltshire.⁵⁴ Lastly, Tochi, another of King Edward's housecarls, held two hides in 'Ticheham' (58) which later formed part of Earl Roger's fief. All of these housecarls with the exception of Levric (Leofric), if he is rightly included, bore Scandinavian names.

The remaining holders of land are men who were mostly thegns of King Edward, and a few were *homines* of lords who are not identified as holding estates in Middlesex.

⁴⁷ Oxon., Glos., Berks., Beds., and Mdx.

⁴⁸ *Boarstall Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford Hist. Soc. lxxxviii), 323-4.

⁴⁹ Mdx., Suss., Surr., Hants, Berks., Herts., Bucks., Oxon., Wilts., Glos., and Warws.

⁵⁰ *Anglo-Saxon Chron.* (D), 1079.

⁵¹ See p. 110.

⁵² *Dom. Bk.* i. 36b.

⁵³ See p. 117.

⁵⁴ *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 105.

Edmer Atule (or Attile) who held the 9½-hide manor of Stanmore (64) held more extensive lands in other counties. In Buckinghamshire he held the important manor of Bledlow,⁵⁵ and in Hertfordshire he was the holder of Berkhamstead⁵⁶ together with the berewick of Gaddesden.⁵⁷ In each of these three counties he was the predecessor of the Count of Mortain. He is generally considered to be identical with the thegn Edmer Atre⁵⁸ who, under a number of names, can be identified as holding land in Devon and Somerset, and whose lands at the time of the Survey were held by the Count of Mortain. If the identifications are correct, Edmer Atule must certainly be classed as one of the greater thegns. Edwin the thegn of King Edward held 12 hides in Middlesex. He held the 10-hide manor of Kensington (93) in which he was succeeded by the Bishop of Coutances and 2 hides at Tollington (94) which by 1086 had passed to Ranulf brother of Ilger. He is probably to be identified with Edwin whose lands in Buckinghamshire⁵⁹ also passed to the bishop and Edwin the son of Borret (or Borred) who held in Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. The thegn Thurstan (*Turstinus tegnus Regis Eduuardi*) held the 5-hide manor of Cranford (91) which in 1086 was held by Hugh, under-tenant of William fitz Ansculf. He can be identified with Thurstan whose estates in Staffordshire, amounting to nine hides,⁶⁰ were also held by under-tenants of William fitz Ansculf. Dr. Harmer notes that the Middlesex thegn may be the same person as Thurstan the housecarl referred to in a writ of c. 1044–51,⁶¹ although no definite connexion between the two has been established.⁶² Edward the son of Suain who held the manor of Lisson (97), 5 hides, held a small tenement of ½ hide in the hundred of Chafford (*Ceffeurda*)⁶³ in Essex. From this entry it is learnt that the woman *Eideva* (*Edeva*) by whom he was succeeded was his widow (*uxor eius*).⁶⁴ Wlwen (*Uuluuene*) is one of the few examples of a wealthy Englishwoman recorded in Domesday as holding lands before 1066. She is described in Middlesex and in an entry relating to Aston (Bucks.)⁶⁵ as *homo Regis Eduuardi*, but in another Buckinghamshire entry⁶⁶ she is referred to as *quaedam femina*. As a Middlesex land-owner Wlwen is not important for she held only a 2-hide estate in Chelsea (92). In Hertfordshire she held 6 hides as under-tenant of the abbey of St. Albans and in Buckinghamshire her two estates totalled 25 hides. In each of these counties she was succeeded by Edward of Salisbury. There seems to be no doubt that she was the lady who in Somerset, Wiltshire, and Dorset held estates totalling 65 hides, in all of which she was succeeded by Edward of Salisbury.⁶⁷

Alwin Stichehare held a 3½-hide estate at Stepney which in 1086 was held by Robert fitz Roscelin, but was claimed by the Bishop of London. Alwin occurs as a witness to a charter dated 1054⁶⁸ which also places him within the setting of the city of London. It is suggested that he is the same 'Alwin a free man' who held 5 hides 15 acres at Heydon (Essex)⁶⁹ and who was succeeded by Robert fitz Roscelin. It has also been suggested⁷⁰ that he may be connected with Alwin Hor' who is referred to in Kent.⁷¹ No connexion can be established between this Kentish tenant and either Alwin Stichehare or Alwin Horne who held 2½ hides at Kingsbury (46). Alwin Horne held his Middlesex land in

⁵⁵ *Dom. Bk.* i. 146.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 136b.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *V.C.H. Som.* i. 418; *V.C.H. Herts.* i. 281; Feilitzen, *Pre-Conquest Personal Names*, 232, n. 3.

⁵⁹ *Dom. Bk.* i. 145.

⁶⁰ Wombourn [*Wamburne*]: *Dom. Bk.* i. 249b; Ettingshall [*Etinghal*]: *ibid.*, f. 250.

⁶¹ *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, pp. 344–5.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 574.

⁶³ *Dom. Bk.* ii. 98b.

⁶⁴ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 355.

⁶⁵ *Dom. Bk.* i. 150b.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, entry for Creslow.

⁶⁷ See also *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 99.

⁶⁸ *A.S. Charters*, ed. Robertson, pp. 216–17. The charter records a grant by Brihtmar of Gracechurch to Christchurch, Canterbury.

⁶⁹ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 563.

⁷⁰ *A.S. Charters*, ed. Robertson, p. 469.

⁷¹ *Dom. Bk.* i. 1b.

radimonio de quodam homine Sancti Petri. This land was held in 1086 by William the Chamberlain as tenant of the Abbot of Westminster. Alwin Horne is almost certainly identifiable with the Hertfordshire man of the same name who held estates totalling 15 hides 3 virgates 18 acres,⁷² and who was succeeded by Derman.⁷³ Round⁷⁴ also identifies him with Alwin 'Horim' who held the 5-hide manor of Flitton (Beds.)⁷⁵ which was later held by Robert Fafiton.

The apparent absence of royal demesne in Middlesex is more than counterbalanced by a preponderance of ecclesiastical estates which survived almost unchanged throughout the upheavals of the Norman Conquest. The post-Conquest fiefs were the three great estates of Canterbury, London, and Westminster Abbey, together with the smaller ones of Holy Trinity, Rouen, and Barking Abbey. Their combined assessment of 458 hides 3 virgates was more than half the total for the whole county.

The two vast manors of Hayes (3) and Harrow (4, 5) made up the Archbishop of Canterbury's Domesday estate, which, with the exception of the combined fief of the Bishop of London and the Canons of St. Paul's, was the largest of the Middlesex fiefs. With a total assessment of 161 hides it was valued at £86 12s., a reduction of slightly more than £14 on its value in King Edward's time.

Both of the manors were ancient possessions of the see and it is obvious that within their boundaries must have been included many settlements not named in Domesday Book. Hayes, with an assessment of 59 hides, appears to have remained part of the Canterbury estate from the time of its original donation. A charter, which on palaeographic evidence appears to be genuine, by which King Offa granted an estate of 90 hides to Archbishop Æthelheard,⁷⁶ probably in 795, refers to '*xc tributaria terrae bipertita in duobus locis, lx in loco qui dicitur on Linga Haese et Geddingas circa ribulum qui dicitur Fisches burna, et xxx in aquilonali ripa fluminis Tamis appellatur Tuican ham.*' Twickenham is referred to in a number of early charters as part of the Canterbury estate,⁷⁷ but it must have been lost at some date before 1066 for in 1086 it formed part of the manor of Isleworth (80) which had belonged to Earl Ælfgar.⁷⁸ Since Botwell (in Hayes) is not mentioned in Domesday it was presumably included in the manor of Hayes. It was reckoned as a 5-hide-estate when King Wiglaf of Mercia granted it to Archbishop Wulfred in 831.⁷⁹ In the early 14th century the manor of Hayes is referred to as *Hese cum Suthall*.⁸⁰

The history of Harrow as part of the Canterbury lands can be traced back to the early 9th century. It was granted to Archbishop Wulfred by the terms of the settlement in 825 of his suit against the Abbess Cwenthryth, heir of King Cenwulf of Mercia, with whom he had been engaged in a long and violent quarrel.⁸¹ The 100-hide estate is there described as lying at four places: '*Id est aet Haerge, Herefrething lond, aet Wemba lea [Wembley] et aet Geddingcgum*'. *Geddingcgum* must be Yeading⁸² which is associated with Hayes as early as c. 795 and was part of the manor of Hayes in later times. The Abbess Cwenthryth seems to have added 4 hides to Harrow and this probably explains why Harrow is reckoned as 104 hides in the document which purports to be a record of the disposal of certain estates by the priest Werhard, kinsman of Archbishop Wulfred.⁸³

⁷² *Dom. Bk.* i. 142.

⁷³ Except for part of Watton, held by Alward.

⁷⁴ *V.C.H. Herts.* i. 283. ⁷⁵ *Dom. Bk.* i.215b.

⁷⁶ *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, i, pp. 369-70. On this charter see *E.H.R.* xxxiii. 449. On the place-names see *P.N.Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.).

⁷⁷ *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, i, p. 559; ii, pp. 496-7; iii, p. 1. An earlier charter (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, i, p. 163) relates to the gift of this land by Swaefred, King of the East Saxons, to Wealdheri, Bp. of London, in 704.

⁷⁸ See p. 98.

⁷⁹ *Cart. Sav.*, ed. Birch, i, p. 556.

⁸⁰ *Feud. Aids.* iii. 373.

⁸¹ *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, i, p. 530.

⁸² *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 40.

⁸³ The abp. appears to have entrusted much property to his kinsman, the priest Werhard, with instructions that it should be restored to the *familia*. The reference to *monachi* in the document (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, i, p. 558)

DOMESDAY SURVEY

For a period prior to 1066 the estate appears to have been taken away from the archbishop and in Domesday it is entered as Earl Leofwine's in 1066, but by 1086 it had been restored to the church.⁸⁴

The largest of all the Middlesex fiefs is that comprised under the heading *Terra Episcopi Lundon' et Canonicorum* with a total assessment of 162 hides 1 virgate. The extent of these lands shows little variation from the period before the Conquest. It is clear from Domesday that the endowments of the see were divided between the bishop and the cathedral chapter by 1086. In Essex and Hertfordshire the lands of the bishop and those of the canons are entered as separate fiefs.⁸⁵ In the Middlesex Survey the lands of the bishop and those of the canons are entered under one heading but the bishop's two large manors of Stepney and Fulham are placed first and canons' manors follow. In 1086 the bishop held 32 hides at Stepney and 40 hides at Fulham as demesne manors. Twenty hides and one virgate at Stepney were distributed among eight episcopal tenants and two men held one mill apiece. One of these under-tenants, the wife of Brien, held 5 hides, and presumably it was members of her family who held small tenancies of the bishop in Essex.⁸⁶ Ranulf Flambard who held 3½ hides had a number of small tenancies in other counties of the King and other magnates.⁸⁷ Later Bishop of Durham and chief minister of William II, he was a comparatively obscure person at this date. According to a Durham writer Ranulf '*fuert . . . primo cum Mauricio Landoniensi episcopo*' but after a quarrel with him sought greater rewards in the royal service.⁸⁸ If this passage means that he was in the service of Maurice, who was the king's chancellor until his promotion to the see of London, the lands at Stepney would appear to have been the gift of that bishop and therefore very recently acquired. It is possible that the deanery which Bishop Maurice took from Ranulf, the cause of the quarrel, was the deanery of St. Paul's but the evidence is not satisfactory.⁸⁹ The Bishop of Lisieux (Gilbert Maminot) who held 1½ hide was chaplain and physician to King William and has been described as 'very learned but not very spiritual'.⁹⁰ He held small fiefs of the king in six counties⁹¹ and under-tenancies in others.⁹² William the Chamberlain held 1 hide 3 virgates and is referred to in a number of entries in Middlesex. He possessed a vineyard mentioned above;⁹³ at Kingsbury (46) he held 2½ hides of the Abbot of Westminster and for a period until 1082 he appears to have held the manor of Ebury (65). It is fairly certain that he is the man of the same name who occurs in a number of counties in Domesday either as tenant-in-chief or as under-tenant.⁹⁴ Of the estate of 5 hides 1 virgate held by Hugh de Berneres which also included a mill, the latter and 1 virgate only belonged to the bishop in the time of King Edward and, as recorded in the entry, were held by Doding *de proprio manerio episcopi*; the remaining 5 hides were formerly shared equally by the canons and a canon named Sired. Hugh de Berneres is referred to again in the entry relating to 4 hides at Stepney held by

is suspicious, and it is difficult to understand how 32h at Hayes could be Werhard's own patrimony. Yet the reason for the forgery, if such it is, is not obvious. Werhard seems to be the *presbyterabbas* who exchanged a small piece of property at Roxeth near Harrow in 845 (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, ii, p. 29), at which date he was clearly the head of the Canterbury familia.

⁸⁴ See p. 99.

⁸⁵ In Essex three fiefs are named: 'the [land of the] Bishop of London', 'the fief of the Bishop of London', and 'the Canons of St. Paul's'. In Herts. there are two: 'the Bishop of London' and 'the Canons of London'. In this county eight fiefs intervene between the former and the latter.

⁸⁶ Ralph son of Brien held two small holdings (*Dom. Bk.* ii, 9, 12b). William son of Brien had one small holding (f. 11).

⁸⁷ He held in Surr. (f. 30b), Oxon. (f. 157), and Hants (f. 51) *de rege* and of other tenants-in-chief in Mdx., Wilts. (f. 67), Som. (f. 89b), and Berks. (f. 58).

⁸⁸ *Simeon of Durham*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Ser. lxxv).

⁸⁹ If the Durham writer's story is accepted, it seems necessary to conclude that Ranulf held the deanery c. 1086-7, before Wulman, the first recorded dean, and not as late as c. 1100-7.

⁹⁰ *Ordericus Vitalis*, cited in *V.C.H. Oxon.* i. 382.

⁹¹ The counties were Wilts., Dors., Herts., Oxon., Bucks., and Glos.

⁹² Kent, Mdx., Bucks., Surr., Essex.

⁹³ See p. 98.

⁹⁴ *V.C.H. Beds.* i. 197. In addition to the holdings in the counties noted by Round he held 2h as under-tenant of William fitz Ansulf in Surr. (f. 35b).

Robert Fafiton and claimed by the bishop (85). He is said to have taken 53 acres of land from the canons and to have added them to his 4 hides. This is not the only occasion on which Hugh de Berneres held land to which his title was questionable for he was involved in two disputes in Essex⁹⁵ where he held as an under-tenant of Geoffrey de Mandeville. He also held one hide as tenant-in-chief in Cambridgeshire.⁹⁶

Little is known concerning the early history of most of the estates of the see of London but the circumstances of the acquisition of the manor of Fulham are known through the abstract of a charter by which Tyrhtel, Bishop of Hereford 688–c. 710, gave it to Wealdheri, Bishop of London 693–c. 705.⁹⁷ In 1086 five hides were held of the bishop by Fulchered who held in succession to two sokemen and 5 more were held by the canons *de victu eorum*. This 5-hide manor at Fulham was held by the canons not of the bishop but *de rege*. In the following entry (20) 2 hides at Twyford held by Durand, a canon of St. Paul's, are likewise described as held *de rege*. In the succeeding entries three small estates are entered as belonging to individual canons and the rest are entered as belonging to the canons or the church of St. Paul and all were presumably held of the king although this is not specifically stated. Seventeen estates were held by the cathedral chapter with a total assessment of 65 hides 9 acres. Sixteen of these were in Ossulstone Hundred and one, West Drayton (35), was in Elthorne Hundred.⁹⁸ The largest, Willesden (22), assessed at 15 hides, was farmed out to *villani* and contained no demesne land.⁹⁹ A group of eleven estates (24–34), assessed at 26 hides 9 acres, lay between Fulham and Stepney and of these 24 hides appear to be the subject of a writ of William I which freed from various dues and services '*xxiii hidas quas rex Athelbertus dedit sancto Paulo iuxta murum Lond*'.¹ Four estates of the cathedral chapter are not described as belonging to the canons or the church of St. Paul. One 2-hide estate at Twyford was held by Durand and another 2-hide estate in the same place by Gueri and both of these men are described as canons of St. Paul. Ralf, another canon, held a 2-hide estate at Rugmoor and Walter the canon had one hide at St. Pancras. In neither Essex nor Hertfordshire are individual canons named as holders of any of the estates of the chapter. References to tenure of small estates in Middlesex by individual canons show that the prebendal system, well established in the 12th century, had begun to develop before 1086.² The estates of Durand, Ralf, and Walter seem to be the origin of three of the prebends of later times, but Gueri's estate at Twyford did not become prebendal.³ There is reason to think that some sort of communal life in accordance with the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz, which was common among the secular canons of the late Old English period, survived under Bishop William and delayed the division of the canons' estates among prebendaries.⁴ Charters and an ancient list of the holders of prebends suggest that the 12th-century organization of the chapter was in the main the work of Maurice⁵ who became bishop in the year of the Domesday Survey. There is reference in Domesday to two canons of London besides the four mentioned above. Engelbric held a little estate of Bishop William in 1066 and 1086 on the episcopal

⁹⁵ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 386, 412.

⁹⁶ *Dom. Bk.* i. 199.

⁹⁷ *Early Charters of St. Paul's*, ed. Marion Gibbs (Camd. Soc. 3rd Ser. lviii), p. 3, dates the charter to c. 704–5.

⁹⁸ See p. 83.

⁹⁹ According to a charter attributed to King Athelstan (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, ii, pp. 451–2, described as a forgery by W. H. Stevenson in *E.H.R.* xxix. 703), Neasden and Willesden were reckoned as 10h. The occurrence of those places in a document of c. 1000 concerning the manning of a ship (*A.S. Charters*, ed. Robertson, p. 389, no. lxxii) is evidence that Neasden belonged to the bp. or canons at

that date. West Drayton, which also occurs in this document, is among the estates confirmed to St. Paul's by Athelstan. It is reckoned as 10h which agrees with Domesday and the reckoning of 1222.

¹ *Charts. of St. Paul's*, ed. Gibbs, p. 14, no. 11; see also p. xxiv.

² *Ibid.* p. xxiii; *Domesday of St. Paul's*, ed. W. H. Hale (Camd. Soc. lxix), p. iv.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Chapter of St. Paul's, *Cambs. Hist. Jnl.* x. 118–19.

⁵ *Ibid.* 114.

manor of Stepney (11). The statement that he was not free to sell it may indicate that it was held as a prebend, as has been suggested.⁶ The other canon mentioned by name, Sired, was dead by 1086. He had 2½ hides on the episcopal manor of Stepney (7) and was free to dispose of them without the bishop's permission. The entry might suggest that the canons had possessed a manor at Stepney (comparable with that at Fulham) and that it had come into the bishop's hands. Sired had also held 4 hides at Stepney which Robert Fafiton held of the King in 1086 (85). Since Bishop Maurice claimed them, these 4 hides, which the canon was free to sell, appear to have belonged to the bishop and not to the canons. It has been suggested that Sired was the father of Ailward son of Sired, first prebendary of Stoke Newington.⁷ Edmund son of Algot who held a new mill of the bishop at Stepney in 1086 is not described as a canon but later evidence suggests that he was a prebendary and that he was brother of the Canon Ralf who held Rugmoor.⁸ Ralf has been identified with Ralf son of Algod, an alderman and one of the leading members of the Cnihtengild of London as late as 1137,⁹ although it may seem unlikely that a canon holding a prebend in 1086 would be alive over 50 years later.

At the time of the Survey the property of Westminster Abbey lay in 15 counties. The great Pershore estate in Worcestershire was its most valuable possession and its 5 manors in Surrey were assessed at about 120 hides until reduced by 'beneficial hidation'. The estates in Gloucestershire, Essex, and Hertfordshire were extensive but the Abbey's fief in each of these counties was smaller than that in Middlesex. The 12 manors in Middlesex were assessed in all at 99½ hides. All (with one possible exception) had been acquired before the Confessor's death. The 'vill in which the church of St. Peter is situated' (i.e. Westminster) was originally called Thorney Island where according to the tradition of the abbey a religious house existed in the 8th century.¹⁰ The monastery which Edward the Confessor rebuilt and generously endowed was probably founded in the later 10th century and bequests to it suggest that 'the abbey's fame was not merely local' in the late 10th and early 11th centuries.¹¹ The extent of the Westminster estate is probably indicated by the boundaries attached to a charter attributed to King Edgar.¹² The 3 hides belonging to it which were held in 1086 by Baniard have been identified with the '*berwicum de villa Westm' nomine Totenhala*' which Abbot Gilbert granted to William Baynard for his lifetime for the service of one knight shortly before the making of the Domesday Survey. This early charter of enfeoffment has survived and has been printed by J. A. Robinson¹³ who identified *Totenhala* with the 3-hide berewick *quod Tottenheale appellatur* mentioned in the 'Telligraphus' of Edward the Confessor, one of the forged charters which, although spurious, 'represent current opinion in the abbey at the time of their composition'. By the same charter King Edward confirms, among other donations, 1 hide at *Tatewelle* (unidentified), 4 hides at *Cnihtebricge* (Knightsbridge) and 2 hides in *Paddington*¹⁴ (Paddington). These places are not mentioned in Domesday. Another estate not mentioned in the Survey is Chalkhill, given to the monks by

⁶ *Charts. of St. Paul's*, ed. Gibbs, p. xxiii.

⁷ Brooke, op. cit. 114, n. 24.

⁸ Ibid. 123, n. 66.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ The charter by which King Offa grants Aldenham (Herts.) *sancto Petro et plebi Dei degenti in Torneia in loco terribili quod dicitur aet Westmunster* (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, i, p. 339) can hardly be genuine. The regnal style and the appearance of the phrase *in loco terribili* which occurs in the forged charter of Edgar dated 969 (*Crawford Charters*, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 12, no. vi; *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, p. 549) are against it. For a discussion of the traditions relating to the early history of the abbey see J. A. Robinson, *Flete's History of Westminster Abbey*, 2-18; *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, pp. 286 sqq.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 287.

¹² *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 222-3. The shorter version of Edgar's charter of 951 (for c. 971: *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, p. 261) 'reads like a genuine charter' (*Crawford Charters*, p. 90, n. 1), although the reference to Abp. Wulfred raises doubts. The longer version (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, p. 693) is spurious but may be regarded as evidence for the late 11th cent. On these charters see also Robinson, *Flete's Hist.* 12.

¹³ J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 38.

¹⁴ Paddington is among the possessions confirmed in Ethelred's spurious 'Telligraphus': B. Thorpe, *Diplomatium*, 296-8.

Thurstan the housecarl, a gift which was confirmed with privileges by Edward the Confessor's writ of 1044-6.¹⁵

The same spurious charter of Edward the Confessor includes among the estates confirmed by that king 20 hides in Hendon with its appendages called *Bleccenham*, *Coden-hlaewe*, and *Lothereslege* (names which have now vanished) which are not mentioned in Domesday but probably formed part of the manor in 1086.¹⁶ An estate of 9 hides at *Loceresleage* and *Tuneveorthe* was granted by King Edwy to one of his thegns in 957¹⁷ and seems to be identical with the 9 hides at *Lohtheresleage* which Archbishop Dunstan acquired for the abbey.¹⁸ Part only of this estate can have been included in Hendon if *Tuneveorthe* is the old name of the 2½-hide manor of Kingsbury.¹⁹ According to the spurious 'Telligraphus' of William I three hides at Kingsbury were given to the monks by William his chamberlain at some date unknown between 1066 and 1086.²⁰ The monks claimed that King Ethelred (Unraed) had given them Hampstead²¹ and this is not unlikely since they possessed a charter of King Edgar granting it to one of his thegns.²² Likewise it is probable that Archbishop Dunstan gave Sunbury to them since they possessed a document recording the circumstances in which the archbishop acquired 10 hides at Sunbury together with 20 hides at Send (Surr.).²³ On the other hand the existence of a writ of Edward the Confessor making known his grant of Shepperton to his 'churchwright' Teinfrith²⁴ possibly raises the presumption that the writ by which the king gives the estate to the monks 'as fully and as completely as St. Dunstan bought it and granted it by charter' to the monks²⁵ is not genuine. It was perhaps intended that he should hold the land as a tenant for life but the grant may never have become effective, or he may have held the land for only a short period and the reference to Dunstan may be an interpolation.²⁶ A charter attributed to Dunstan as Bishop of London and the 'Telligraphus' of King Ethelred profess to tell how Dunstan acquired 8 hides at Hanwell and gave them to the monks.²⁷ Both documents mention Cowley which Dunstan is also reputed to have secured for them. It is impossible to determine how much genuine history is incorporated in these fabrications.

According to the tradition incorporated in the spurious First Charter of Edward the Confessor, dated 28 December 1065, and another equally spurious charter of that King,²⁸ he himself added to the endowments of the abbey at the time of or after its dedication certain estates of which Staines was one. Neither the Confessor's writ announcing his gift of Windsor and Staines,²⁹ which does not give the hidage, nor the writ in which he states 'I inform you that I will and I grant that St. Peter, and the brethren at Westminster shall have for their sustenance the estate of Staines with the land *Staeningahaga* within London and with it soke over 35 hides, with all the berewicks that I have given to the holy foundation'³⁰ indicates when the grant was made. The

¹⁵ *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, p. 344, no. 77 (probably an enlarged version of an authentic writ). William I's writ confirming the grant is spurious: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, p. 23, no. 89; *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, p. 497.

¹⁶ These three estates are mentioned in the spurious charter of Dunstan as Bp. of London (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, p. 264) and *Logeresden* and *Codanhlaw* occur along with Hanwell, Hampstead, and other estates in the spurious 'Telligraphus' of King Ethelred (Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, 296-8). The boundaries attached to a spurious charter attributed to Edgar (*Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, p. 693) shows that *Bleccenham* 'included much of the south part of the present parish of Hendon': *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 220-1.

¹⁷ *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, pp. 188-9.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* iii, pp. 604-5, the boundaries of which are discussed in *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 220.

¹⁹ *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 63.

²⁰ Robinson, *Crispin*, 130.

²¹ *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, p. 693, the boundaries of which are discussed in *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 221.

²² *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, p. 634.

²³ *A.S. Charters*, ed. Robertson, p. 336, no. xlv. Sunbury is mentioned in Ethelred's spurious 'Telligraphus'.

²⁴ *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, pp. 353-4, no. 87.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 354, no. 86. Shepperton is another of the estates mentioned in Ethelred's spurious 'Telligraphus'.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 320.

²⁷ *Cart. Sax.*, ed. Birch, iii, pp. 264-5; Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, 296-8.

²⁸ *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, p. 291, draws attention to this charter, known only from the work of the 18th-cent. historian Widmore.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 361, no. 97.

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 362, no. 98. These two documents seem to represent genuine writs of the Confessor.

compilers of Domesday clearly regarded Staines as a manor which belonged to the demesne of the abbey in 1066.³¹ Domesday records that 4 berewicks belonged to this manor but does not name them. Probably they were Laleham (59) which the Abbot of Fécamp held of the Count of Mortain, for the reeve of Staines had held these 2 hides under the abbot in 1066; the hide at Ashford (60) which also formed part of the Count of Mortain's fief but the soke of which had belonged to Staines; Robert Blund's 8 hides at Laleham (88) of which the soke belonged to Staines; and Roger de Rames's 5-hide estate at Charlton (89) of which the soke had likewise belonged to Staines. These 16 hides together with the 19 hides at which Staines itself was assessed appear to be the 35 hides mentioned in the Confessor's writ quoted above. The figure 35 hides agrees with that in the *Hidagium*.³² One of the spurious charters attributed to Edward the Confessor³³ mentions, among the berewicks and appendages of Staines, Yeoveney, Halliford, and Teddington in addition to Laleham and Ashford. Yeoveney is described as *pastura de manerio de Stanes* in a writ of William II which shows that Abbot Vitalis had in the Conqueror's time proved his right to it against Walter fitz Other.³⁴ *Staeningahaga* of the Confessor's writ seems to be Staining Lane in the city of London and it is probable that, as suggested by Maitland, the 46 burgesses listed in the Domesday entry relating to Staines lived there.³⁵

Neither of the writs of Edward the Confessor³⁶ notifying that with his assent a certain Ailric, of whom nothing more is known, had given Greenford to the monks of Westminster (probably 1057–66) states the hidage. In the spurious First Charter of the Confessor³⁷ the hidage is given as 12 hides and 1 virgate whereas in Domesday Westminster's manor is assessed at 11½ hides, and there is nothing in the entry relating to the 3-hide estate which Ernulf held of Geoffrey de Mandeville (68) to suggest that any part of it had ever belonged to the abbey.

The 31-hide fief in Middlesex belonging to the Benedictine abbey of the Holy Trinity, Rouen, represents all the territorial possessions of this abbey in England. It is one of the few instances in this county in which the circumstances of a post-Conquest grant are known.³⁸ It was granted in 1069 at the suggestion of William fitz Osbern, by William, Duke of the Normans and King of the English, who 'gave to the Holy Trinity of the mount in perpetual hereditage the land which in England is called *Hermodesodes* with the church and all its appurtenances'.³⁹ The author of the record adds a brief account of the ceremony which accompanied the gift: 'This gift was made by the presentation of a dagger, and when the king gave it to the abbot he pretended to stab the abbot's hand, "Thus," he jestingly exclaimed, "ought land to be bestowed".' The abbey, later known as St. Catharine from the hill on which it stood, held Harmondsworth until 1391.⁴⁰

The 5-hide manor of Tyburn⁴¹ (50) is the smallest holding of Barking Abbey in any county. This abbey had a little land in Surrey, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire,⁴² but its endowment lay mainly in Essex where it held an estate of approximately 80 hides.

³¹ Miss Harmer's view (*ibid.*, pp. 327, 518) that Staines 'had come to the Abbey only after King Edward's death' is erroneous for the phrase *quando recepit* (not *recepunt* here as in other entries refers to the abbot (Gilbert Crispin). The words '*Hoc manerium iacuit* [1066] *et iacet* [1086] *in dominio ecclesiae Sancti Petri*' are decisive. The error arises from Davis's note attached to his summary of William I's confirmation of the Confessor's grant of Staines (*Regesta*, i, p. 62, no. 233) the authenticity of which is doubtful.

³² But cf. the argument in App. III.

³³ The 'Telligraphus' cited above. See *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, pp. 290, 519.

³⁴ Robinson, *Crispin*, 138, no. 12.

³⁵ *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, p. 518; E. Ekwall, *Street Names of the City of Lond.* 123–4.

³⁶ *A.S. Writs*, ed. Harmer, pp. 354–5, nos. 88, 89, discussed pp. 320–1. The shorter (no. 88) is probably a late copy of an authentic document.

³⁷ *Cod. Dip.*, ed. Kemble, iv, p. 173, no. 29.

³⁸ The record in the cartulary of Holy Trinity, ed. A. Deville, 455, is translated in *Eng. Hist. Docs.* ii. 918. The Latin text is most easily accessible in L. W. V. Harcourt, *His Grace the Steward and the Trial of Peers*, 13.

³⁹ *Feud. Aids.* iii. 373. ⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, 378, 434.

⁴¹ Later known as Marylebone; see translation n. 35.

⁴² *Dom. Bk.* i. 34: 9h modo 4h 1v; f. 146: 6h; and f. 211: 10h, respectively.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

Roger de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury,⁴³ who is entered first of the lay tenants-in-chief in Middlesex, was a cousin of William the Conqueror and one of his closest supporters.⁴⁴ He received the rapes of Arundel and Chichester and was later invested with the earldom and nearly the whole of the Crown rights in Shropshire.⁴⁵ He held a large estate in Hampshire⁴⁶ and smaller ones in eight other counties. His Middlesex fief of 42 hides was valued at £24 15s. At the time of the Survey the Middlesex estates of Wigot of Wallingford,⁴⁷ together with those of Ulf the housecarl formed the nucleus of his fief. The remainder was made up of two hides formerly held by Tochi⁴⁸ and a number of small tenements held by various unimportant men. All of his manors were within the two hundreds of Elthorne and Spelthorne and formed an almost continuous line running north to south along the western borders of Middlesex, broken only by the manors of Cranford (91), held by William fitz Ansculf, and Feltham (62), held by the Count of Mortain.

On the forfeiture of Earl Roger's fief by his son Robert of Bellême, the whole of his Middlesex estate appears to have been given to Miles Crispin and from an early date it formed part of the honor of Wallingford which consisted in the main of lands which had belonged to the Domesday barons, Miles Crispin and Robert de Oilli. In the list of fees contributing to the aid of 1235 Colham, Harlington, Hanworth, Dawley, Ickenham, and Hatton constitute that part of the honor of Wallingford which lay in Middlesex.⁴⁹ Of Earl Roger's Domesday fief only Hillingdon and the one-hide estate at Harmondsworth (53) escape mention here. The latter may be included in Colham with which it was associated (*iacet in*) in 1086. Hillingdon is not certainly known to have formed part of the honor of Wallingford until some time after 1293 when it apparently still owed suit to the hundred court.⁵⁰ In the early 12th century the honor was held by Brian fitz Count by right of his wife Maud who is said to have been the daughter of Robert de Oilli and widow of Miles Crispin.⁵¹ The Middlesex manors mentioned in the list of fees pertaining to the honor of Wallingford *c.* 1300⁵² are Harlington, Ickenham,⁵³ Colham, and Uxbridge. At this date Harlington and Ickenham were held with Harpsden in Oxfordshire and Eaton in Appleton (Berks.) as three knight's fees by William de Harpeden whose ancestor Ralph de Harpenden held 3 fees, presumably identical, in the late 12th century. The association of these manors virtually proves that Alvred who (with Olaf) held Harlington of Earl Roger in 1086 is identical with Miles Crispin's tenant Alvred at Harpsden and Eaton. Alvred's son Roger is known to have held Eaton *c.* 1108⁵⁴ and the three fees held of the honor of Wallingford in 1166 by Roger

⁴³ He is sometimes considered to have been Earl of Arundel as well. For a discussion on this point see *Complete Peerage*, xi. 685, n.

⁴⁴ It is fairly certain, however, that he was not present at the Battle of Hastings but, as stated by Ordericus Vitalis, *Historica Ecclesiastica*, ed. le Prévost (Paris, 1838-55), ii. 178, he was left behind as co-regent of the Duchy of Normandy in William's absence. See D. C. Douglas, 'Companions of the Conqueror', *History*, xxviii. 135.

⁴⁵ *V.C.H. Salop.* i. 288.

⁴⁶ In 1086 he held ten manors assessed at *c.* 55*h* which represented an original assessment of *c.* 100*h*.

⁴⁷ See p. 102.

⁴⁸ See p. 102.

⁴⁹ *Bk. of Fees*, 473-4. For Ickenham see p. 82 n. 20.

⁵⁰ *J.I.* 1/544, m. 51v.

⁵¹ *Chron. Abbatiae de Evesham* (Rolls Ser.), 75. Brian's charter, of which there is a copy in each of the Evesham cartularies (B.M. Cott. MS. Vesp. B xxiv, f. 17; Harl. MS. 3763, f. 87), is dated 1143 by Kennett and by Salter 'about 1141'. The bp. may be Robert de Sigillo who became Bp. of Lond. in 1141, but if, as seems likely, Hugh de Bocheland was Sheriff of Mdx. when he was addressed

along with R., Bp. of Lond., it would seem to follow that the charter was issued between 1107 when Miles Crispin died and *c.* 1115, the date of Hugh's death. The bp. would be Richard de Belmeis who held the see from 1108 to 1127. The witnesses R[alf] and G[ilbert] Basset are presumably the two tenants of Robert de Oilli whose fees are said to have been given in marriage with Maud when she married Miles Crispin (according to statements in a case in *Bracton's Note-Book*). Gilbert occurs early in the reign of Henry I and died before 1158. Ralf Basset may be Henry I's minister. Roger son of Alvred was the son of the Domesday under-tenant. On the honor of Wallingford see *Boarstall Cart.*, ed. Salter, app. ii, pp. 295 sqq. It is further stated in the Evesham Chronicle (p. 97) that Miles Crispin also gave $\frac{1}{2}$ *h* in Hillingdon to the abbey *temp.* Abbot Walter (d. 1086), but this is hardly possible since Earl Roger himself lived until 1094 and there is no reason to suppose that any part of his fief came into the hands of the Crown until Robert de Bellême's forfeiture in 1102.

⁵² *Boarstall Cart.*, ed. Salter, 296 sqq.

⁵³ See p. 82, n. 20.

⁵⁴ *Chron. Mon. de Abingdon* (Rolls Ser.), ii. 144.

son of Alvred,⁵⁵ who it has been suggested may have been the grandson of the above Roger, since he was living in 1184,⁵⁶ were probably identical with the fees of the list of c. 1300. In this list is entered a knight's fee at Dawley '*quod Robertus Corbett et Iohanna de Barantyn tenent*'.⁵⁷ This must be the fee which William Corbet held in 1166.⁵⁸ Dawley must have been granted to 'the Shropshire family of Corbet' between 1086 when it was held of Earl Roger by an Englishman Alnod (probably representing Ælfnoth) and 1102.

After Earl Roger is entered Robert, Count of Mortain, half-brother of the Conqueror and one of the wealthiest of the Domesday magnates. His greatest estates lay in distant counties but his Middlesex manors were near to his possessions in Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire which, with some other lands, came to be called the honor of Berkhamstead, of which Berkhamstead castle was the head. His Middlesex estate was insignificant, consisting of six holdings, all except Stanmore (64) in Spelthorne Hundred, with a total assessment of 32 hides 2 virgates and valued at £15 19s. The first two holdings entered under his name suggest that in Middlesex no less than elsewhere Robert had made some attempt to appropriate church lands. His two hides at Laleham (59) had, in 1066, belonged to Westminster Abbey's manor of Staines, and the soke of Ashford, assessed at a single hide, is also stated to have belonged to that manor. (These holdings were possibly two of the four berewicks, referred to but not named, in the entry for Staines.) In 1066 Robert had made Ashford part of the manor of Kempton *ubi non fuit T.R.E.* In the manor of Stanmore (64)⁵⁹ on the Hertfordshire border the Count of Mortain was the successor to Edmer Atule, whom he also succeeded in the neighbouring manor of Berkhamstead (Herts.) and elsewhere.⁶⁰ This is the obvious explanation of his tenure of a manor which was isolated from the rest of his estates in Middlesex. His Middlesex holdings had belonged to several Englishmen including Gouti the house-carl and Wlward 'White'. With one exception he had kept all his Middlesex estates in his own hands. The exception was the small holding of Laleham which was held by the abbey of Fécamp as his under-tenant. No indication is given why or how this abbey came to hold land in Laleham.

The succession of Geoffrey de Mandeville⁶¹ to the estates of Ansgar the Staller explains his position as one of the largest landowners in Middlesex. Out of a total of 99 hides valued at £112 5s. he held in succession to Ansgar and his men 82 hides 2 virgates. His 10-hide manor of Ebury (65) he seems to have acquired from William the Chamberlain, and the balance was made up of a number of small estates held in some instances by unknown predecessors. He also held as under-tenant of the Archbishop of Canterbury 2 hides in Elthorne Hundred (5). His estates were spread over eleven counties⁶² but Surrey is the only county where none of his lands had belonged to Ansgar or his men.⁶³ In Northamptonshire his entire estate and in Warwickshire 30 out of 31 hides had been held by Ansgar; in Cambridgeshire the whole had belonged to Ansgar's *homines*; while in Essex about half of Geoffrey's estate had been taken over from Ansgar.⁶⁴ Although Geoffrey de Mandeville is particularly associated with Essex,⁶⁵ in which county his fief was larger than that of any layman except Count Eustace, his

⁵⁵ *Liber Niger Scaccarii*, ed. Hearne, 185; *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 309.

⁵⁶ *Boarstall Cart.*, ed. Salter, 323.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 299, no. 35; see p. 314 for Salter's comments.

⁵⁸ *Carta* of 1166: *Red. Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 309.

⁵⁹ i.e. 'Great' Stanmore. See notes to translation below for entries nos. 64, 90.

⁶⁰ See p. 103.

⁶¹ Manneville (Seine Inf.): L. C. Loyd, *Origins of Some Anglo-Norman Families*, 57.

⁶² These were Berks., Bucks., Surre., Essex, Mdx., Herts., Oxon., Northants., Warws., and Suff. He is also recorded as holding 6 *mansiones* in *terra regis* in Glos.

⁶³ In Surre. it was made a source of complaint that Geoffrey held the land unjustly because it had not belonged to Ansgar the Staller: *Dom. Bk.* i. 36; *V.C.H. Surre.* i. 284. In Essex it was complained that Geoffrey held land which had only belonged to the 'men' of Ansgar: *Dom. Bk.* ii. 57b (entries for Shelley and Abbess Roding).

⁶⁴ See *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 343, n. 2 for Round's comments.

⁶⁵ His chief estates were High Easter (with Pleshy) and Great Waltham. Pleshy seems to have been the *caput honoris* in the 13th cent.: *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 343; Stenton, *Eng. Feudalism*, 61, n. 1.

connexion with Middlesex was hardly less close. He seems quite early (c. 1067) to have been given the office of Sheriff of London and Middlesex,⁶⁶ to which was later added the sheriffdoms of Hertfordshire and Essex. He is a good example of the post-Conquest baronial sheriff who was usually a magnate and obtained, by virtue of his office, the dominant influence within the shire. That Geoffrey de Mandeville could claim to rank among the greater magnates is demonstrated by the fact that his daughter was considered a fit match for Geoffrey the son of Count Eustace.⁶⁷ His wealth and office made him one of the most influential barons of the south-east and explain why his grandson and more famous namesake was created Earl of Essex by King Stephen. The first Geoffrey de Mandeville was generous in his gifts to religious houses.⁶⁸ According to Westminster traditions he gave the manor of *Eye* [*Ebury*] to that abbey in memory of his first wife Athelais whose death occurred before 1086.⁶⁹ Apart from these alienations, his Domesday fief seems to have passed intact to his son William and his grandson Geoffrey the first earl. On the death of William the third earl in 1189 there was no male heir and since his next of kin, his aunt Beatrice, sister of the first earl and widow of William de Say, was about 90 years of age she appears to have made over her claim to her younger son Geoffrey de Say. He, however, failed to pay the fine or relief which he had promised and was deprived of the fief which was secured by Geoffrey fitz Peter, husband of another Beatrice de Say, daughter of Geoffrey de Say's elder brother. Geoffrey fitz Peter who was made Earl of Essex is said to have secured the whole of Earl William's fief.⁷⁰ In a return of 1235-6⁷¹ Enfield, Northolt, Greenford, and Mimms (included in Edmonton in Domesday) constitute that part of the honor of Mandeville which lay in Middlesex, but the largest of the Domesday manors, Edmonton (with Mimms detached), formed part of the 'barony of William de Say'. In the return of 1242-3⁷² Northolt, Enfield, and Mimms are in the hands of the Earl of Hereford, for the honor of Mandeville had, on the death of Geoffrey fitz Peter's grandson William passed to his sister Maud, wife of Humphrey de Bohun. Edmonton is again entered as belonging to the barony of Say. In the accounts of the earldom of Essex and the barony of Say in the *Complete Peerage*⁷³ no reference is made to a partition of the Mandeville estates after Earl William's death in 1189 but it is clear that some unrecorded arrangement must have been made. When in 1214 Geoffrey de Say, son of the man who had secured the Mandeville honor for a time in 1190, claimed the lands of Earl William from Geoffrey fitz Peter's son, the latter stated among other things that he did not hold the whole of Earl William's honor. He said that Aubrey de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was holding Digswell (Herts.) and Geoffrey de Say the claimant was in possession of the manors of Sawbridgeworth (Herts.), and Edmonton, all of which rightly belonged to the honor.⁷⁴ It would appear, therefore, that the elder Geoffrey de Say was able to retain at least two valuable manors when he was deprived of most of Earl William's lands and that Geoffrey fitz Peter did not secure the whole honor.

The largest fief of a lay tenant-in-chief in Middlesex is that of Walter of St. Valery⁷⁵ who had acquired the manors of Isleworth and Hampton, formerly held by Earl Aelfgar.

⁶⁶ Gosfreth the portreeve is addressed along with William, Bp. of Lond., in William I's writ of c. 1067 for the Londoners: *Laws of Kings of Eng.*, ed. Robertson, 230, calendared by Davis, *Regesta*, p. 4, no. 15. On this and also the whole question of Geoffrey de Mandeville holding the sheriffdom of Mdx. see Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 439; W. A. Morris, *Medieval English Sheriff*, ch. iii.

⁶⁷ Geoffrey de Mandeville is recorded as giving him 6h from the manor of Carshalton (Surr.) on his daughter's betrothal: *Dom. Bk.* i. 36.

⁶⁸ His donations included land at Tilbury (Essex) and

the foundation of the priory at Hurley (Berks.): Robinson, *Crispin*, 32.

⁶⁹ The document which purports to be the foundation charter of Hurley is printed in Robinson, *Crispin*, 139, no. 15.

⁷⁰ *Complete Peerage*, v. 122.

⁷¹ *Bk. of Fees*, 474.

⁷² *Ibid.* 898.

⁷³ *Complete Peerage*, xi. 466.

⁷⁴ *Rot. Cur. Reg.* (Rec. Com.), vii. 110-11.

⁷⁵ On the family of St. Valery or St. Walery see G. H. Fowler, 'De St. Walery', *The Genealogist*, xxx. 1-17.

This great estate, assessed at 105 hides, was valued at £111, which is £9 less than its value in 1066. Although his successors later acquired important interests in other parts of the country, Walter had in 1086 no land outside Middlesex except a small estate in Suffolk.⁷⁶ The descendants of Walter have sometimes been wrongly connected with another Domesday tenant-in-chief, Ranulf of St. Valery, who held land in Lincolnshire⁷⁷ and almost certainly came from St. Valery near Fécamp.⁷⁸ Walter derived his name from St. Valery-sur-Somme. According to Orderic⁷⁹ *Gulbertus cognomento Advocatus de Sancto Gualerico* married Papia daughter of Richard II, Duke of the Normans, and their son Bernard was the father of Walter of St. Valery. In 1095 both Walter and his son Bernard accompanied their kinsmen Duke Robert on the First Crusade.⁸⁰ An entry in the Pipe Roll of 1130 shows that at that date Walter's 105 hides in Middlesex were held by Reynold of St. Valery.⁸¹ It is known that Reynold forfeited his English lands,⁸² which lay in several counties, in Stephen's reign, but recovered most if not all of them after Henry II's accession. There appears to be no proof that he held in this period the 105 hides in Middlesex, but it may be assumed that he did. Unfortunately no return of his is preserved among the *Cartae Baronum* of 1166, although he occurs as an under-tenant in the *Cartae* of the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester and the Abbot of Abingdon.⁸³ Reynold died in September⁸⁴ and the year must be 1166 since his son Bernard of St. Valery was in possession of land in Berkshire and Oxfordshire in 1167.⁸⁵ Bernard was certainly holding the Middlesex lands belonging to the honor in 1183.⁸⁶ These valuable manors formed part of the honor of St. Valery when it was held by his son Thomas who seems to have succeeded in 1191⁸⁷ and by the Count of Dreux who married the daughter and heir of Thomas,⁸⁸ and likewise when in 1227 the forfeited honor was given by Henry III to his brother Richard of Cornwall.⁸⁹ The two manors of Isleworth and Hampton comprised the villages of Heston, Twickenham, Isleworth, and Hampton, all of which are mentioned in an ill-preserved charter of Guy of St. Valery confirming to the monks of St. Valery the rights in the hundred of Isleworth which they had enjoyed since the time of his grandfather Walter, the Domesday baron. This charter has been assigned to the period 1170–80⁹⁰ but there is reason to think that it may have been issued much earlier in that century.⁹¹

⁷⁶ *Dom. Bk.* ii. 432b.

⁷⁷ For example, Lipscombe, *Hist. of Bucks.* i. 367, apparently misled by Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 454, who opens his account of the barony of St. Valery with Ranulf and speaks next of Reynold.

⁷⁸ Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 92.

⁷⁹ Ed. le Prévost, iii. 41, 42, 283. See also Robert of Torigni *s.a.* 1026.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* iii. 483, 507.

⁸¹ Ed. Hunter, 152 (he pays £10 10s. and geld was levied at 2s. on the hide).

⁸² *Cal. Doc. France*, ed. Round, 374 (nos. 1057, 1058).

⁸³ *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 204, 305, 376.

⁸⁴ According to the calendar of Oseney cited by Salter, *Oxford Charters*, 80, notes.

⁸⁵ *Pipe R.* 1167 (P.R.S. xi), 14, 15.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 1183 (P.R.S. xxxii), 164.

⁸⁷ Bernard was living 1189–90: *Ibid.* 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 143. His fief was in the hands of the Crown and Thomas paid the first instalment of his relief of 250 marks in 1192: *ibid.* 1191 and 1192 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 274, 278, 279.

⁸⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 387.

⁸⁹ N. Denholm-Young, *Richard of Cornwall*, 14.

⁹⁰ E 315/52/190; *Oxford Charters*, ed. Salter, 28 n.

⁹¹ Salter seems to have identified the grantor of the charter with Guy of St. Valery who occurs in the later 12th cent. and was thought by Fowler to be the son of Bernard (d. 1191) and half-brother of Thomas, 'or he

may have been a cousin'. He and his son Reynold appear to have held part of the family estate as tenants of the head of the house and neither can have been the holder of the honor. The grantor of the charter, however, clearly held the honor. In 1170–80 Bernard was holding the honor and the confirmation can hardly have been issued in that decade. Fowler (*Genealogist*, xxx. 6), regarded the grantor as 'probably brother of Reynold (II) and son of either Bernard (III) or Reynold I'. There is no satisfactory evidence for the existence of Reynold I of this passage and for Fowler's genealogical table. Fowler was inclined to identify him with Ranulf of Domesday who did not belong to this family (see above). The view that Guy was probably the son of Bernard III, son of Walter the Domesday baron, seems to be sound. Bernard is said to have died in 1117 (Fowler, *op. cit.* 3, but no evidence is adduced) and if Guy was Reynold's elder brother he probably had the honor during part of the period 1117–30. If he was Reynold's younger brother he may perhaps have held the honor during part of the period between Reynold's forfeiture and recovery of the family estates in England, but this is less probable. The original grant of Guy would therefore seem to belong to c. 1117–30. The writing of the charter printed by Salter belongs to the later 12th cent.; it has been split for a tag, but both tag and seal are missing. It must be regarded as either a forgery or a later copy of a genuine document issued about half a century earlier. It must be admitted that there is no proof that Reynold's father was Bernard. Dugdale,

Ernulf or Arnulf of Hesdin, who was of Flemish extraction,⁹² appears in Domesday as a wealthy man whose chief holdings are to be found in Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. He held lands, however, in at least nine other counties including Middlesex.⁹³ In Middlesex he had secured the two manors of Ruislip and Kingsbury (74, 75) formerly held by Wlward 'White' whom he had succeeded in several counties.⁹⁴ Assessed at a total of 37½ hides, they were valued in 1086 at £24, that is two-thirds of their pre-Conquest value. Ernulf is known to have been a benefactor of churches⁹⁵ and he seems to have given his manor of Ruislip to the abbey of Bec. This gift must have been made between 1086 and 1095, for he was accused of complicity in the revolt of 1095 and is said to have voluntarily surrendered his English lands and to have died participating in the First Crusade.⁹⁶

Walter fitz Other, ancestor of the well-known family surnamed 'of Windsor', was custodian of Windsor Forest and the first recorded Keeper of Windsor Castle. His descendants played an important part in the Norman conquest of South Wales and of Ireland. The most famous of them were the Fitz Gerald or Geraldines.⁹⁷ Walter's barony, later known as the 'barony of Windsor', comprised land in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey, Hampshire, and Middlesex. As an under-tenant he held land of the Abbot of Chertsey⁹⁸ in Hampshire and he held two smaller tenements in Berkshire⁹⁹ and Surrey *de terra regis*.¹ His Middlesex estate comprised four holdings in East Bedfont West Bedfont, Stanwell, and Hatton, assessed in all at 34 hides 39 virgates and valued at £12. All but 5 hides had previously been held by Azor the housecarl. In later centuries one branch of Walter fitz Other's descendants holding half of his barony had its chief residence at Stanwell and in Henry VIII's reign its head was created Baron Windsor of Stanwell. Round showed that at some date between 1100 and 1116 Walter was succeeded by his son William who was living in 1142 and may have survived into the reign of Henry II. Between 1154 and 1164 King Henry confirmed his lands to his son also named William. The whole barony, from which the service of 20 knights was due, was in the hands of this second William of Windsor in 1166, and Bedfont, 'the other Bedfont', and Stanwell are mentioned in his *Carta* of that year.² That his death occurred in 1175 or 1176 may be inferred from the Pipe Roll of 22 Henry II.³ Hawise his widow was in the king's gift in 1185 as also was his only son and heir William, then aged 18.⁴ By the terms of a final concord of 1198 the whole barony of William of Windsor was divided between Walter of Windsor and William of Windsor who are described as grandsons of William of Windsor.⁵ In Round's opinion Walter and William were the sons of William of Windsor who died 1175–6, William being the son of Hawise and Walter an elder son by a previous wife.⁶ To Walter were assigned Burnham (Bucks.) and other

Baronage, i. 454, describes Reynold as son of Guy, citing a charter in *Monasticon* (old edn.) wrongly attributed to Henry I. This charter, attributed to Henry II in *Monasticon* (1819), ii. 17, no. xiv, was issued by Henry III in 1228 and the complete text is printed in *Cartulary of St. Frideswide*, ed. Wigram, ii. 76, no. 765. As Fowler observed, the charters of Guy and his son Reynold in this cartulary are wrongly dated by the editor and belong to the late 12th and early 13th cents. This Reynold cannot be the man who held the honor c. 1130–66. The successive holders of the honor would appear to be Walter (of Domesday), Bernard (son of Walter), Guy (probably son of Bernard), Reynold (probably son of Bernard), Bernard (son of Reynold), and Thomas (son of Bernard).

⁹² From Hesdin (Pas de Calais): Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 51.

⁹³ As tenant-in-chief he held land in Mdx., Hants, Wilts., Dors., Som., Oxon., Glos., Hunts., Beds., and Berks. In Bucks. he had one burgess who paid 2s. annually (f. 143) and held also in this county and Kent as under-

tenant of the Bp. of Bayeux. In Staffs. he held as under-tenant of Robert of Stafford.

⁹⁴ See p. 101.

⁹⁵ An entry in Domesday for Hants records a gift to the church of Glouc. (f. 43). Other gifts are recorded in *Cal. Doc. France*, ed. Round, 481, 507 (nos. 1326, 1386). See also *V.C.H. Bucks.* i. 313; *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 101.

⁹⁶ E. A. Freeman, *William Rufus*, ii. 66–67.

⁹⁷ J. H. Round, 'The Origin of the Fitz Gerald's', *Ancestor*, i. 119–26; ii. 91–97.

⁹⁸ *Dom. Bk.* i. 43b.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 56b.

¹ *Ibid.* 30.

² *Red Bk. Exch.* (Rolls Ser.), 315.

³ *Pipe R.* 1176 (P.R.S. xxv), 18.

⁴ *Rot. de Dominabus* (P.R.S. xxxv), 35, 88.

⁵ *Fines*, 9 Ric. I (P.R.S. xxiii), 110, no. 151.

⁶ The division of the barony between two sons would be contrary to English feudal custom of this age (Pollock and Maitland, *Hist. of Eng. Law*, ii. 268) and the natural interpretation of the fine seems to be that the two men who

lands while Stanwell in Middlesex is among the manors assigned to William. The knights of the barony were equally divided between the two men but it was agreed that of Walter's part 4 knight's fees should remain to William to hold of Walter, among them a knight's fee at Bedfont. Entries relating to scutage in the Pipe Rolls for the regnal years 2 to 10 Richard I⁷ (1190–8) show that the barony was in fact equally divided between Walter and William from 1190. In 1191 Walter offered 100 marks to have right concerning his inheritance of which William deforced him⁸ and paid part of this large sum in the following years. An entry relating to scutage in the Pipe Roll of 1199 shows that the barony was then reckoned as equally divided between Walter and William,⁹ each of whom pays scutage on 9½ fees, and the service which Christine, heir of Walter, claimed from William¹⁰ was probably that due from the 4 fees which he held of Walter. In the return of 1235–6 William of Windsor, presumably the successor of the above William, held in Middlesex '*Estbedefont*', '*alterius Bedesfont*', Stanwell, and *Puella* (Poyle in Stanwell).¹¹ At this date all the Middlesex lands were reckoned as part of this William's 'honor of Windsor', including the knight's fee at Bedfont which belonged to Walter's half of the barony. William did not, however, owe more service to the Crown than before, for in 1230 he paid scutage on 9½ fees.¹² West Bedfont, Stanwell, and 'the other Bedfont' are again entered as fees of William of Windsor in the feudal return of 1242–3.¹³ There is, however, evidence that in the 14th and 15th centuries William of Windsor's descendants residing at Stanwell held part of their Middlesex lands as the tenants of Walter's descendants whose residence was Huntercombe manor in Burnham.¹⁴

Edward of Salisbury, also referred to as Edward the Sheriff,¹⁵ who held the largest lay estate in Wiltshire¹⁶ and estates in a number of other counties,¹⁷ held in Middlesex only the small 2-hide manor of Chelsea, valued at £9. The sole interest attaching to this estate is that Edward held it as successor to Wlwen, *homo regis Eduuardi*, whom he succeeded elsewhere.¹⁸ He is not regarded as one of the greatest of the Norman tenants-in-chief, but his grandson Patrick became later the first Earl of Salisbury. Countess Judith, the widow of Earl Waltheof and niece of William the Conqueror, appears as a Middlesex tenant-in-chief with only a small estate, the 5-hide manor of Tottenham valued at £25, which her late husband had held.

Richard fitz Gilbert, son of Count Gilbert of Brionne, referred to in Domesday as Richard of Tonbridge and, in one instance,¹⁹ Richard of Clare, was the ancestor of the Clare earls of Hertford and Gloucester. He was the largest landowner in Surrey, one

claimed through their grandfather in 1198 were grandsons of William of Windsor who died 1175–6, sons of two of his daughters (of whom there were six or seven). What is known of Walter, however, supports Round's view that Walter and William were half-brothers. The entry on the Pipe Roll of 1191 (see n. 7) suggests that he was claiming the whole barony, and he would seem to be identical with that Walter of Windsor who occurs on the Pipe Rolls of 1184–90 when some of his lands were in the hands of the Crown. These included Swilland (Suff.) which was part of the barony of Windsor in 1242–3 (*Bk. of Fees*, 916), although it did not belong to the Domesday barony of Walter fitz Other, and if he is identical with Walter of Windsor who gave the church of Swilland to Wix priory (Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 515) before 1174 (the date of the death of W(illiam), Bp. of Norwich, to whom the charter is addressed), he must have been the son and not the grandson of William of Windsor who died in 1175–6. His lands also included Wormingford and Maplestead which were held of the barony of Montfichet and it is probable that, as Round argued, he acquired them through an heiress Christine, although it is not clear whether she was his wife or his mother.

⁷ *Pipe R.* 1190 (P.R.S. N.S. i), 143; 1191 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 108, show that Walter and William were in possession of the barony since they owed scutage for it, while *Pipe R.* 1192 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 201, shows that the division was into two equal portions.

⁸ *Pipe R.* 1191 (P.R.S. N.S. ii), 109.

⁹ *Ibid.* 1199 (P.R.S. N.S. x), 118.

¹⁰ *Rot. Cur. Reg.* (Rec. Com.), iv. 226.

¹¹ *Bk. of Fees*, 473, 475.

¹² *Pipe R.* 1230 (P.R.S. N.S. iv), 131.

¹³ *Bk. of Fees*, 897–9.

¹⁴ *Feud. Aids*, iii. 374, 380.

¹⁵ Hants (f. 43b), Herts. (f. 139), Oxon. (f. 154). He had obtained the office of Sheriff of Wilts. by 1081: *V.C.H. Wilts.* ii. 100.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 99–100.

¹⁷ He held estates in Surr., Som., Hants, Dors., Wilts., Mdx., Bucks., Oxon., and Herts.

¹⁸ He succeeded this lady in Som., Dors., Wilts., Mdx., Bucks., and Herts.

¹⁹ *Dom. Bk.* ii. 448; *V.C.H. Suff.* i. 397–9.

of the most noteworthy magnates of Suffolk, and the possessor of a considerable fief in Essex and smaller ones in three other counties. In Middlesex he had but one small estate, the 5-hide manor of Harefield (82), valued at £12. 'Herefeud' (Harefield) is entered as part of the 'barony of Clare' in a return of 1235-6.²⁰

Robert Gernon or Grenon, who had only a few hides in Middlesex, held a considerable estate in Essex. His holdings in six other counties²¹ were comparatively small. Nigel, his under-tenant in Elthorne, is probably identical with the man who held three small estates of him in Essex.²² It was stated by Nicholas, Bishop of Llandaff (1148-83), that Robert Gernon died leaving no heir and that his inheritance was given by Henry I to William de Montfichet (c. 1118-21),²³ while Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, asserted²⁴ that Gilbert de Montfichet, William's son, was the nephew of Earl Gilbert (Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Hertford) who was his guardian during part of Stephen's reign. The Middlesex fee cannot be identified in William de Montfichet's *carta* of 1166, but Haggerston is entered as part of the barony of Richard de Montfichet in the feudal return of 1242-3 when it was held by an under-tenant, Nicholas de Bassingeburn.²⁵

Not a few Middlesex tenants-in-chief had predominant interests in the eastern counties and Essex in particular. To Geoffrey de Mandeville, Robert Gernon, and Richard fitz Gilbert may be added others, most of whom were of lesser standing. Roger de Rames²⁶ held a fief which lay in the three eastern counties and Middlesex.²⁷ In Essex and Suffolk he had many small and scattered estates. In Middlesex his two widely separated manors of Charlton (89) in Spelthorne Hundred and (Little) Stanmore (90) in Gore Hundred were assessed in all at 14½ hides and valued at the small sum of 90 shillings, in contrast to its 1066 value of £15. Little Stanmore is mentioned as part of the Barony of William de Rames (*Reymes*) in 1235-6.²⁸ Robert fitz Roscelin held as successor to Alwin Stichehare a 3½-hide manor at Stepney (87) valued at 53 shillings.²⁹ He also held a manor of 5 hides 15 acres at Heydon (Essex)³⁰ as successor to a freeman named Alwin who is probably to be identified with Alwin Stichehare.³¹ Robert also held as the under-tenant of Count Eustace in Hertfordshire³² and Bedfordshire.³³

Aubrey de Ver³⁴ is another man who is closely associated with Essex. Although he is named among the Middlesex tenants-in-chief, in fact, as the entry states, he held his 10-hide manor of Kensington (93), valued at its 1066 figure of £10, as the under-tenant of the Bishop of Coutances. Aubrey was the ancestor of the earls of Oxford and held as tenant-in-chief in Cambridge, Essex, Huntingdonshire, and Suffolk. As under-tenant of the Bishop of Coutances he also held in Northamptonshire, and held other under-tenancies in Essex, Huntingdonshire, and Suffolk. Since Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, was a wealthy tenant-in-chief with lands in many counties it is not clear why Kensington is entered under Ver instead of the bishop. Ver presumably held the manor as tenant-in-chief after the forfeiture of the bishop's nephew Robert de Mowbray in 1095. It is not mentioned among the fees of the Earl of Oxford in the feudal return of

²⁰ *Bk. of Fees*, 474.

²¹ i.e. Cambs., Bucks., Herts., Herefs., Norf., and Suff.

²² *Dom. Bk.* ii. 66, 66b, 67b.

²³ *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc.*, ed. Hart, ii. 173-4; see also *Regesta*, ii, ed. Johnson and Cronne, 187-8 (no. 1402 n.). William de Montfichet witnesses Henry I's charters from c. 1121. Bp. Nicholas's statements disprove the view of Ellis (*Introd. to Dom. Bk.* i. 423), based on Morant (*Hist. of Essex*), that Robert Gernon 'had two sons, William and Robert. William was of Stansted and dropping the surname of Gernon took that of Montfichet from the raised mount on which his castle was built. Robert the second son retained the name Gernon.' The account in Dugdale (*Baronage*, i. 438) is based on the late (fictitious) narrative printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 77.

²⁴ *Hist. et Cart. Mon. Glouc.* ii. 168.

²⁵ *Bk. of Fees*, 897, 899.

²⁶ Derived from Rames (Seine-Inf.): Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 84. Round discusses his origin in *Geoffrey de Mandeville*, 399-404, App. X.

²⁷ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 349.

²⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, 474.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 897-900.

³⁰ *Dom. Bk.* ii. 97.

³¹ *V.C.H. Essex*, i. 563, n. 9.

³² *Dom. Bk.* i. 137.

³³ *Ibid.* 211.

³⁴ Derived from dép. Manche: Loyd, *Anglo-Norman Families*, 110.

1235–6 nor in that of 1242–3 but there is evidence that Earl Hugh possessed it at the time of his death in 1263 and it was held by the earls in the 14th and 15th or later centuries.³⁵

William fitz Ansculf, de Picquiny, a Picard, no doubt obtained the small manor of Cranford (91), valued at 60 shillings, because it had been held by Thurstan the thegn whose Staffordshire estate was given to him. William was one of the greater magnates of the Midlands with lands in many shires and his castle at Dudley. Cranford is entered as a knight's fee belonging to the barony of Dudley in 1235–6.³⁶ There is no immediate explanation why Ranulf brother of Ilger should have succeeded to Edwin the man of King Edward in an estate at Tollington (94), assessed at 2 hides and valued at 40 shillings. Ranulf, described as an early example of the class of *ministeriales*,³⁷ occupied a position of some importance in Huntingdonshire at the time of the Survey as custodian of the greater part of the king's land, although he held only a small estate as tenant-in-chief in that shire. He held land in several other counties.³⁸

Robert Fafiton, also referred to as Robert son of Fafiton,³⁹ one of the lesser post-Conquest landholders, held small estates in four counties. In Middlesex he held an estate of 6 hides 53 acres. This was composed of 4 hides in Stepney valued at 70 shillings, which were formerly held by Sired, a canon of St. Paul's, and now claimed by the Bishop of London, and 2 hides in 'Ticheham' valued at 5 shillings; the 53 acres at Stepney were alleged to have been usurped from the Canons of St. Pauls by Hugh de Berneres. Robert Blund (*blundus*), another of the lesser tenants-in-chief, held land in a number of counties. He had secured the lands of Achi the housecarl,⁴⁰ and it is for this reason that he possessed the 8-hide manor of Laleham in Middlesex. The manor was still part of the barony in the 13th century for in 1242–3 there were two fractions of a knight's fee belonging to 'the barony of William Blund of Norfolk' at Littleton which must represent Laleham.⁴¹

Derman of London is given a section to himself and thereby occupies a position in the Middlesex part of the Survey which his $\frac{1}{2}$ -hide holding in Islington scarcely warrants. Round suggested that this Middlesex tenant may be the same Derman who succeeded Alwin Horne in Hertfordshire⁴² and there is also a Derman recorded as holding a house in Oxford.⁴³ Derman was a prominent citizen of London in the time of William and his family is known through a number of 12th-century charters.⁴⁴ In his own lifetime he appears to have made a gift of part of his Domesday holding in Middlesex to St. Paul's when his son became a prebendary⁴⁵ and references to his descendants occurs in the cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell, in connexion with an estate of 80 acres at Stoke Newington.⁴⁶

The Middlesex Survey terminates with a group of three little estates held in alms of the king by two women. It has been noted that many of the estates of the king's thegns which are listed at the end of a considerable number of shires can be traced later as serjeanties. The first of the Middlesex estates held in alms, Lisson (97), likewise occurs

³⁵ Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 191 sqq.

³⁶ *Bk. of Fees*, 474.

³⁷ *V.C.H. Hunts.* i. 326–7.

³⁸ In Norf., Suff., and Essex, and others in Cambs., Beds., and Herts. In Hunts. he also held 2½h (f. 207) as under-tenant of William fitz Ansculf and in Beds. 5h (f. 217b) as under-tenant of Countess Judith.

³⁹ He is also so described in an entry for Babraham in *Inq. Com. Cantab.*, f. 96. See *V.C.H. Cambs.* i. 409–10.

⁴⁰ See p. 102.

⁴¹ *Bk. of Fees*, 899.

⁴² *V.C.H. Herts.* i. 285; 'An early reference to Domesday', *Domesday Studies*, ii. 558, cited in *Charts. of St. Paul's*, ed. Gibbs, p. xxii, no. 2.

⁴³ *Dom. Bk.* i. 154.

⁴⁴ On his descendants who took the name 'de Barwe' from the manor of Barrow (Suff.) which they acquired, and were lords of 'the manor of Newington Barrow better known to the Londoners of today as Highbury', see J. H. Round, 'An Early Citizen Squire', *Ancestor*, ii. 58–62. See also *The Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury*, ed. D. C. Douglas, 62, 63.

⁴⁵ *Charts. of St. Paul's*, ed. Gibbs, p. xxii, n. 2.

⁴⁶ *Clerkenwell Cartulary*, ed. A. Hassall (Camd. Soc. 3rd Ser. lxxi), nos. 2, 6, 9, 160–2; Robinson, *Crispin*, p. 147, no. 29.

as a serjeanty in the 13th century. It was held by William '*filius Ote*' in 1198 '*per servitium servandi signa regis monete*'⁴⁷ and by Otto son of William in 1244 as a serjeanty⁴⁸ defined in an entry relating to 1235⁴⁹ as *inveniendi le Coing Londonie*. Eideva's predecessor Edward son of Suain was her husband. She is described as Eideva widow of Edward son of Suain in the survey of Essex where she held $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in the hundred of Chafford as her husband's successor. She is known to have taken as her second husband Otto the goldsmith who held a small manor in Essex and farmed certain royal manors in that county and Suffolk. The later holders of the serjeanty were the descendants of Otto the goldsmith who held both the *ministerium cuneorum* and the manor of Lisson Green.⁵⁰ Lisson may have become a serjeanty when Otto acquired it by marriage, but since so many of the small landowners listed under various headings in Domesday were royal servants or their kinsmen, it is not unlikely that Edward son of Suain had held an office connected with the London Mint.

⁴⁷ *Bk. of Fees*, II.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 1152.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* 1362.

⁵⁰ *Charts. of St. Paul's*, ed. Gibbs, p. 136.

NOTE

IN the following translation¹ identifications of Domesday place-names have been put in square brackets. Quotations from the Latin text, where given, have been placed in brackets and italic type. The items in the Survey have been numbered by the editor and are identified thus in the introduction. The numbering of fiefs is that of the manuscript. The phrase *T(empore) R(egis) E(duuardi)* is rendered throughout as T.R.E.

(f. 126b)

(1) HERE ARE NOTED THE LANDHOLDERS IN MIDDELSEXE

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>I. KING WILLIAM
 II. THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
 III. THE BISHOP OF LONDON AND HIS
 CANONS
 IIII. THE ABBEY OF WESTMINSTER
 V. THE ABBEY OF HOLY TRINITY,
 ROUEN
 VI. THE ABBEY OF BARKING
 VII. EARL ROGER
 VIII. THE COUNT OF MORTAIN
 IX. GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE
 X. ERNULF OF HESDIN (<i>de Hesding</i>)
 XI. WALTER FITZ OTHER (<i>filius Other</i>)
 XII. WALTER OF SAINT VALERY
 XIII. RICHARD FITZ GILBERT (<i>filius Gille-
 berti comitis</i>)</p> | <p>XIIII. ROBERT GERNON
 XV. ROBERT FAFITON
 XVI. ROBERT FITZ ROSCELIN (<i>filius
 Rozelini</i>)
 XVII. ROBERT BLUND (<i>blundus</i>)
 XVIII. ROGER DE RAMES
 XIX. WILLIAM FITZ ANSCULF (<i>filius
 Ansculf</i>)
 XX. EDWARD OF SALISBURY
 XXI. AUBREY DE VER
 XXII. RANULF BROTHER OF ILGER
 XXIII. DERMAN
 XXIIII. COUNTESS² JUDITH
 THE KING'S ALMSMEN (<i>Elemo-
 sinar' regis</i>)</p> |
|---|--|

(f. 127)

MIDELSEXE

[I. KING WILLIAM]³

(2) In OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED King William holds 12½ acres of NANESMANESLANDE.⁴ This land was and is worth 5s. King Edward had it⁵ in the same way. In the same hundred the king has 30 cottars⁶ who render yearly 14s. 10½d.

At HOLEBURNE [Holborn] the king has 2 cottars who render yearly 20d. to the king's sheriff. T.R.E. the Sheriff of Middlesex always had the custody of these cottars.

William the Chamberlain renders yearly 6s. to the king's sheriff for the land on which his vineyard is situated.

¹ Of the text printed in *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 126b-130b. Translations of the Mdx. Survey were also published in W. Bawdwen, *Dom Boc* (Doncaster, 1812); *Literal Extension of the Latin text, and an Eng. Translation of Dom. Bk. in relation to the county of Mdx.* (1862); G. H. de S. N. Plantagenet-Harrison, *Facsimile of Dom. Bk.* pt. i, Mdx. (1876), accompanied by a translation prepared by the editor.

² *Comitissa* is interlined.

II. LAND OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

(3) Archbishop Lanfranc holds HESA⁷ [Hayes] for 59 hides. There is land for 40 ploughs. To the demesne belong 12 hides and there are 2 ploughs. Among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and villeins there are 26 ploughs, and there can be 12 more. A priest there has 1 hide, and 3 knights (*milites*) 6½ hides, and 2 villeins 2 hides, and 12 villeins each ½ hide, and 20 villeins each 1 virgate of land, and 40 villeins each ½ virgate, and [there are] 16 bordars on (*de*) 2 hides. There are 12 cottars and 2 serfs. There [is] 1 mill [rendering] 4s., and meadow for 1 plough.⁸ [There is] pasture for the cattle of the

³ There is no heading in the MS. although 'King William' is the first entry in the index.

⁴ It is not known where this 'No man's land' lay. For other (later) examples of the use of this name see *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 102.

⁵ The *n* of *hanc* is inserted above and between *a* and *c*.

⁶ Space in MS. for about 3 letters.

⁷ In Elthorne Hundred. Space in MS. at end of line.

⁸ Space in MS. for about 7 letters.

vill; wood[land] for 400 pigs and [yielding] 3s. The whole is worth £30; and when he received it [it was worth] £12; T.R.E. £40. Archbishop Stigand held this manor.

(4) In the HUNDRED OF GARA [GORE] Archbishop Lanfranc holds HERGES [Harrow]. It was assessed at 100 hides T.R.E. and is [so assessed] now. There is land for 70 ploughs. To the demesne belong 30 hides and there are 4 ploughs and there can be 5 more. Among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and the villeins there are 45 ploughs, and there can be 16 more. A priest there [has] 1 hide, and 3 knights 6 hides, and under them dwell 7 men. There [are] 13 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 28 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 48 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 13 villeins on 4 hides, and 2 cottars on 13 acres, and 2 serfs. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 2,000 pigs. The whole is worth £56; and when he received it [it was worth] £20; T.R.E. £60. Earl⁹ Leofwine held this manor on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead.

(5) In the HUNDRED OF HELETORNE [ELTHORNE] Geoffrey de Mandeville holds 2 hides of Archbishop Lanfranc. [There is] land for 1 plough and there is 1 villein with 1 plough who holds the land, and 4 cottars. [There is] wood[land] for 20 pigs. This land is worth 12s.; and when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 14s. Turbert the man of Earl Leofwine held it. He could not place or sell¹⁰ [it] outside Harrow, the archbishop's manor.

III. LAND OF THE BISHOP OF LONDON

(6) In OSULUESTAN' [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED the Bishop of London holds STIBENHEDE¹¹ [Stepney] for 32 hides. There is land for 25 ploughs. To the demesne belong 14 hides and there are 3 ploughs, and among the villeins 22 ploughs. There [are] 44 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 7¹² villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 9 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate; and 46 cottars on 1 hide render yearly 30s. There [are] 4 mills rendering (*de*) £4 16s. less 4d. [There is] meadow for 25 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill and [yielding] 15s.; wood[land] for 500 pigs and yielding 40s. The whole is worth £48; and when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £50. This manor belonged and belongs (*fuit et est*) to the bishopric.

(7) In the same vill Hugh de Berneres holds under the bishop 5 hides and 1 virgate of land. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne [there is] 1 plough, and the villeins [have] 3 ploughs. There [is] 1 villein on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 6 villeins on 3 virgates, and 2 bordars on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 3 cottars on 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and 1 mill rendering 66s. 8d. [There is] meadow for 4 ploughs; wood[land] for 150 pigs and yielding 3s. 6d. In all it is worth £6; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £7. Sired held 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides of this manor. He was a canon of St. Paul's. He could give and sell [it] to whom he pleased without the bishop's permission. T.R.E. the Canons of St. Paul's held 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides for their demesne support (*de dominico victu suo*) and Doding held 1 virgate and 1 mill from

the bishop's own manor. He could not give or sell [it] except by his permission.

(8) In the same vill the wife of Brien holds 5 hides of the bishop. There is land for 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. In the demesne there is 1 plough, and there can be 1 plough among the villagers. There 1 villein on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide renders yearly 4s. for his house (*de domo sua*), and another villein on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide renders 8s. Roger the sheriff¹³ holds $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 15 bordars on 10 acres render 9s. [There is] wood[land] for 60 pigs; pasture for the cattle of the vill and [yielding] 5s. In all it is worth 60s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 100s. Bishop William held this land in demesne, in the manor of Stepney, on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead.

(9) In the same vill Ranulf Flambard¹⁴ holds of the bishop 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides. (*f. 127b*). There is land for 5 ploughs. There [are] in demesne 2 ploughs, and 3 ploughs among the villeins. There [are] 14 bordars on 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. [There is] meadow for 2 ploughs and [yielding] 2s. There is no pasture (*pastura non est*). [There is] a wood for making fences (*nemus ad sepes faciendas*). In all it is worth £4; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 100s. Godwin held this land under Bishop William. He could not give or sell [it] without the bishop's permission T.R.E.

(10) In the same vill William de Ver holds of the bishop 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough, and it is there in demesne. This land is worth 16s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; in the time of King Edward 20s. Bishop¹⁵ William held this land in demesne with his manor of Stepney T.R.E.

(11) In the same vill Engelbric the canon holds of the bishop 1 hide and 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough and it is there in demesne. There [is] 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 4 bordars each on 7 acres, and 1 cottar. In all it is worth 40s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 50s. The same canon held of Bishop William T.R.E. He could not sell [it].

(12) In the same vill the Bishop of Lisieux holds of the Bishop of London 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. There is land for 1 plough, and there is $\frac{1}{2}$ plough there and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ more. There [are] 2 bordars each on 5 acres, and 2 cottars on 4 acres, and 1 cottar. In all it is worth 40s., when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 50s. Bishop William held this land in demesne on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead.

(13) In the same vill William the Chamberlain¹⁶ holds of the bishop 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and 1 virgate. There is land for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. There [is] in demesne 1 plough, and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ more. There [is] 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 6 bordars on 5 acres. In all it is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 40s. Bishop William held this land in demesne on the day on which King Edward died.

⁹ *com'* interlined.

¹⁰ *vel vendere* interlined.

¹¹ For an indication of the extent of this vill see *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.) 148, n. 1.

¹² *vii* interlined.

¹³ *vicecom'* interlined.

¹⁴ *Flambard* interlined.

¹⁵ *episcopus* interlined.

¹⁶ *camer'* interlined.

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

(14) In the same [vill] Alvríc Chacepul¹⁷ holds 1 hide of the bishop. There is land for 1 plough, but the plough is wanting. This land is worth 10s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 13s. 4d. Bishop William held this land in demesne T.R.E.

(15) In the same vill Edmund fitz Algot (*filius Algot'*)¹⁸ holds of the bishop 1 mill which is worth 32s. 6d.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; but it was not there T.R.E.

(16) In the same vill Alwin, Brihtmar's son,¹⁹ holds 1 mill which is worth 20s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. the same. He himself held [it] of Bishop William.

(17) *M.*²⁰ In FULHAM [Fulham] the Bishop of London holds 40 hides. There is land for 40 ploughs. To the demesne belong 13 hides and there are²¹ 4 ploughs. Among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and the villeins there are 26 ploughs and there can be 10 more. There 5 villeins each [have] 1 hide, and [there are] 13 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 34 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 22 cottars on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 8 cottars with their gardens (*de suis hortis*). Among the Frenchmen (*francigen'*) and certain burgesses of London [there are] 23 hides belonging to the land of the villagers (*de terra villanorum*). Under them dwell 31 villeins and bordars. [There is] meadow for 40 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill. From half a weir (*gurges*) [is rendered] 10s. [There is] wood[land] for 1,000 pigs and [yielding] 17d. The whole is worth £40; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £50. This manor belonged and belongs to the bishopric.

(18) In the same vill Fulchered holds of the Bishop of London 5 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne [there is] 1 plough and [there is] 1 plough among the villeins, and there can be a third. There [are] 6 villeins on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 4 cottars on 8 acres, and 3 cottars. [There is] meadow for 1 ox; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 300 pigs. The whole is worth 60s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 100s. Two sokemen, who were the men of the Bishop of London, held this land. They could not give or sell [it] without the bishop's permission T.R.E.

(19) *M.* In the same vill the Canons of St. Paul's hold 5 hides of the king as 1 manor.²² There is land for 5 ploughs. To the demesne belong 3 hides and there are 2 ploughs. The villeins [have] 2 ploughs, and there can be a third. There [are] 8 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 7 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 7 bordars each on 5 acres, and 16 cottars and 2 serfs. [There is] meadow for 5 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 150 pigs. In all it is worth £8; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £10. The same Canons

of St. Paul's held this manor in demesne T.R.E., and it is for their demesne support (*de victu eorum*).

IN OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(20) Durand, Canon of St. Paul's, holds of the king 2 hides of land in TUEUERDE [Twyford].²³ There is land for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. There are 3 villeins on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 100 pigs. This land is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20s.

(21) In the same vill Gueri, Canon of St. Paul's, holds 2 hides of land. There is land for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. In demesne there is 1 plough, and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ more. There [are] 2 villeins on 1 virgate, and 1 bordar on 6 acres, and 3 cottars. [There is] wood[land] for 50 pigs. This land is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20s. This manor belonged and belongs to St. Paul's Church in the demesne of the canons.

(22) The Canons of St. Paul's hold WELLEDONE [Willesden]. It was assessed then as now at (*se defendebat semper pro*) 15 hides. There is land for 15 ploughs. There the villeins [have] 8 ploughs, and there can be 7 more. There [are] 25 villeins and 5 bordars. [There is] wood[land] for 500 pigs. The whole is worth £6 6s. 6d.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £12. The villeins hold this manor at farm (*ad firmam*) of the canons. There is nothing in demesne. This manor belonged to [their] demesne support (*fuit de dominico victu*) T.R.E.

(23) The canons hold HERULUESTUNE [Harlesden] as 1 manor. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 2 ploughs and the villeins [have] $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. There can be 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ plough more. There [are] 12 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 10 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate. [There is] wood[land] for 100 pigs. In all it is worth 35s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £4. T.R.E. this manor belonged, and now belongs, to the demesne of the Canons of St. Paul's.

(24) Ralf, a canon, holds RUGEMERE²⁴ [Rugmoor (lost) in St. Pancras]. It is assessed²⁵ at 2 hides. There is land for 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. There [is] in demesne 1 plough, and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ plough [more]. [There is] a wood for fences and [yielding] 4s. This land is worth 35s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 40s. T.R.E. it belonged, and now it belongs, to the demesne of the canons.

(f. 128)

(25) *M.* The Canons of St. Paul's hold TOTEHELE [Tottenham Court].²⁶ It was assessed then as now at 5 hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. There are 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ more. There [are] 4 villeins and 4 bordars. [There is] wood[land] for

parts East and West Twyford. Durand most probably held East Twyford since this holding became the '*solanda*' of Twyford in Willesden, and East Twyford was a hamlet of Willesden: see above p. 106; *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 160.

²⁴ The name is recorded down to the 16th cent., and as a field name in the 18th cent.: *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 142.

²⁵ *Se defend'* interlined.

²⁶ This place was called 'Tottenham Court' from the 15th cent. and the name survives in Tottenham Court Rd.: *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 143 and n. 1.

¹⁷ *chacepul* interlined.

¹⁸ *f. Algot'* interlined.

¹⁹ *f. Britmar'* interlined.

²⁰ See p. 86.

²¹ *ibi sunt* inserted above *iiii car.'*

²² It has been shown that this 5-hide manor corresponds to the 12th-cent. manor of Sutton (3*h*) with the prebend of Chiswick (2*h*): *Charts. of St. Paul's*, ed. Gibbs, p. xxiii; *Domesday of St. Paul's*, ed. Hale, 93, 145.

²³ This and the following entry probably refer to the two

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

150 pigs, and 20s. are rendered from the herbage (*de herbagia*). The whole is worth £4; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 100s. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's.

(26) *M. Ad Sanctum Pancratium* [At St. Pancras] the Canons of St. Paul's hold 4 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. The villeins have 1 plough and there can be another plough. There [is] wood for fences; pasture for the cattle and [yielding] 20*d*. There [are] 4 villeins who hold this land under the canons, and 7 cottars. The whole is worth 40s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 60s. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's.

(27) In ISENDONE [Islington] the Canons of St. Paul's have 2 hides. There is land for 1½ plough. There is 1 plough, and there can be ½ more. There [are] 3 villeins on 1 virgate. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill. This land is and was worth 40s. This belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's Church.

(28) In the same vill the canons themselves have 2 hides of land. There is land for 2½ ploughs and they are there now. There [are] 4 villeins who hold this land under the canons, and 4 bordars and 13 cottars. This land is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 40s. This belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's Church.

(29) In NEUTONE [Stoke Newington] the Canons of St. Paul's have 2 hides. There is land for 2½ ploughs, and they are there now. There [are] 4 villeins, and 37 cottars on 10 acres. This land is worth 41s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 40s. This [land] belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's.

(30) In HOHESTONE [Hoxton] the Canons of St. Paul's have 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough and it is there now, and 3 villeins hold this land under the canons. [There is] pasture for the cattle. This land was and is worth 20s. This [land] belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's Church.

(31) *M.* The canons hold HOHESTONE [Hoxton] for 3 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs and they are there, and [there are] 7 villeins who hold this land and 16 cottars. In all it is worth 55s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 60s. This manor belonged and belongs to St. Paul's Church.

(32) The Canons of St. Paul's have at the bishop's gate (*ad portam episcopi*) [Bishopsgate] 10 cottars on 9 acres who render yearly 18s. 6*d*. T.R.E. they held it in the same way and had as much.

(33) In STANESTAPLE [unidentified]²⁷ the canons have 4 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs and they are there now, and [there are] 7 villeins who hold this land under the canons, and 2 cottars. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 150 pigs and [yielding] 10s. The whole is worth 50s.;

when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 60s. This land belonged and belongs to St. Paul's Church.

(34) *Ad Sanctum Pancratium* [At St. Pancras] Walter, Canon of St. Paul's holds 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough. The plough is there, and [there are] 24 men (*homines*) who render yearly 30s.²⁸ This land belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's Church.

(35) *M.* The Canons of St. Paul's hold DRAITONE [West Drayton].²⁹ It was assessed then as now at 10 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. To the demesne belong 5 hides, and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 5 ploughs. There [are] 8 villeins on 2 hides, and 6 bordars on 30 acres, and 2 cottars on 4 acres, and 1 bordar on 5 acres. [There is] 1 mill rendering 13s. 5*d*.; meadow for 1 plough; pasture for the cattle of the vill. From 1 weir (*gurgis*) are rendered 32*d*. The whole is worth £6; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £8. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's Church.

IIII. LAND OF ST. PETER OF WESTMINSTER

IN OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(36) *M.* In the vill in which St. Peter's Church is situated [Westminster] the abbot of this same place holds 13½ hides. There is land for 11 ploughs. To the demesne belong 9 hides and 1 virgate, and there are 4 ploughs. The villeins have 6 ploughs and there can be 1 plough more. There [are] 9 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 1 villein on 1 hide, and 9 villeins each on ½ virgate, and 1 cottar on 5 acres, and 41 cottars who render yearly 40s. for their gardens. [There is] meadow for 11 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 100 pigs; and 25 houses of the abbot's knights and other men (*militum abbatibus et aliorum hominum*) who render yearly 8s. The whole is worth £10; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £12. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Peter's Church, Westminster.

(37) In the same vill Bainiard holds 3 hides of the abbot. There is land for 2 ploughs and they are in demesne, and 1 cottar. [There is] wood[land] for 100 pigs; pasture for the cattle. There [are] 4 arpents of newly planted vineyard. The whole is worth 60s.; when he received it [it was worth] 20s.; T.R.E. £6. This land belonged and belongs to St. Peter's Church.

(38) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds HAMESTEDE [Hampstead] [for] 4 hides. [There is] land for 3 ploughs. To the demesne belong 3½ hides, and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 1 plough, and there can be another. There [is] 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 5 bordars on 1 virgate, and 1 serf. [There is] wood[land] for 100 pigs. In all it is worth 50s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 100s.

(39) In the same vill Ranulf Peverell (*Pevrel*) holds under the abbot 1 hide of the land of the villeins (*de terra villanorum*). [There is] land for ½ plough and

²⁷ It has been suggested that 'Stanestaple' was near Willesden or Hampstead (Baring, *Dom. Tables*, 82), or adjoined St. Pancras (S. J. Madge, *Early Records of*

Harringay (Hornsey, 1938), 55).

²⁸ There is a slight gap in the MS. after xxx.

²⁹ In Elthorne Hundred. (See p. 83).

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it is there. This land was and is worth 5s. The whole of this manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Peter's Church.

IN SPELETORNE [SPELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(40) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds STANES [Staines] for 19 hides. There is land for 24 ploughs. To the demesne belong 11 hides, and there are 13 ploughs. The villeins have 11 ploughs. There [are] 3 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 4 villeins on 1 hide, and 8 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 36 bordars on 3 hides, and 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 4 bordars on 40 acres, and 10 bordars each on 5 acres, and 5 cottars each on 4 acres, (f. 128b) and 8 bordars on 1 virgate, and 3 cottars³⁰ on 9 acres, and 12 serfs, and 46 burgesses who render yearly 40s. There [are] 6 mills rendering (*de*) 64s., and 1 weir (*guort*) rendering 6s. 8d., and 1 weir (*guort*) which renders nothing. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; meadow for 24 ploughs and 20s. are yielded from the surplus (*de super plus*). [There is] wood[land] for 30 pigs, and 2 arpents of vineyard. To this manor belong 4 berewicks, and they were there T.R.E. The whole is worth £35, when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £40. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Peter's Church.

(41) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds SUNEBERIE [Sunbury] for 7 hides. There is land for 6 ploughs. To the demesne belong 4 hides, and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 4 ploughs. There a priest has $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 8 villeins each [have] 1 virgate, and [there are] 2 villeins on 1 virgate, and 5 bordars on 1 virgate, and 5 cottars and a serf. [There is] meadow for 6 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill. The whole is worth £6; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £7. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Peter's Church.

(42) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds SCEPERTONE [Shepperton] for 8 hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. To the demesne belong 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 6 ploughs. There [are] 17 villeins each on 1 virgate, a priest on 15 acres, and 3 cottars on 9 acres, and 2 cottars and 2 serfs. [There is] meadow for 7 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill, and 1 weir (*guort*) rendering (*de*) 6s. 8d. In all it is worth £6. (16s. 6d.);³¹ when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £7. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Peter's Church.

IN HELETORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(43) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds GRENEFORDE [Greenford] for 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. To the demesne belong 5 hides and there is 1 plough, and there can be another. The villeins have 5 ploughs. A villein has 1 hide and 1 virgate, and [there are] 4 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 4 villeins on 1 hide, and 7 bordars on 1 hide. A certain Frenchman (*franc'*) [has] 1 hide and 1 virgate, and [there are] 3 cottars and 6 serfs. [There is] wood[land] for 300 pigs; pasture for the cattle of the vill. The whole is worth £7; when he received it [it was

worth] the same; T.R.E. £10. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Peter's Church.

(44) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds HANEWELLE [Hanwell]. It is assessed at 8 hides. [There is] land for 5 ploughs. To the demesne belong 4 hides and 1 virgate, and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 4 ploughs. There [is] 1 villein on 2 hides, and 4 villeins on 1 hide, and 6 bordars on 3 virgates, and 4 cottars and 2 serfs. There [is] one mill rendering (*de*) 2s. 2d.; meadow for 1 plough; wood[land] for 50 pigs. The whole is worth 110s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £7. This manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Peter's.

(45) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds COUELIE [Cowley]. It is assessed at 2 hides. There is land for 1 plough. To the demesne belongs 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and there is 1 plough. There [are] 2 villeins on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and 1 cottar. [There is] meadow for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 40 pigs and a mill rendering (*de*) 5s. This land is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 40s. St. Peter of Westminster held and holds this land in demesne.

(46) In the HUNDRED OF GARE [GORE] William the Chamberlain holds under the Abbot of St. Peter's 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides in CHINGESBERIE [Kingsbury]. There is, land for 2 ploughs. [There is] 1 plough in demesne, and the villeins have 1 plough. There [are] 5 villeins each on 1 virgate and 1 cottar. [There is] wood[land] for 200 pigs. This land is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 60s. Alwin Horne, a thegn of King Edward, held this land in pledge from (*in vadimonio de*) a certain man of St. Peter's.

(47) *M.* The Abbot of St. Peter's holds HANDONE [Hendon]. It is assessed at 20 hides. There is land for 16 ploughs. To the demesne belong 10 hides, and there are 3 ploughs. The villeins have 8 ploughs, and there can be 5 more. There a priest has 1 virgate, and 3 villeins each [have] $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 7 villeins each [have] 1 virgate, and 16 villeins each have $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and [there are] 12 bordars who hold $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 6 cottars and 1 serf. [There is] meadow for 2 oxen; wood[land] for 1,000 pigs and [yielding] 10s. The whole is worth £8; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £12. This manor belonged and belongs to St. Peter's Church.

V. LAND OF THE HOLY TRINITY OF THE MOUNT AT ROUEN

(48) *M.* The Abbot of Holy Trinity, Rouen,³² holds HERMODESWORDE [Harmondsworth]³³ of the king. It is assessed at 30 hides. There is land for 20 ploughs. To the demesne belong 8 hides, and there are 3 ploughs. Among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and the villeins there are 10 ploughs, and there can be 7 more. There a certain knight (*miles*) has 2 hides, and 2 villeins each [have] 1 hide, and [there are] 2 villeins on (*de*) 1 hide, and 14 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 6 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 6 bordars each on 5 acres, and 7 cottars and 6 serfs. There are 3 mills worth 60s. and 500 eels, and from the fishponds (*de piscinis*) [are rendered] 1,000 eels.

³⁰ There is a space in the MS. for about 3 letters.

³¹ 16s. 6d. is added in the margin.

³² *Rotomag'* interlined.

³³ In Elthorne Hundred (see p. 83).

[There is] meadow for 20 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 500 pigs; and 1 arpent of vineyard. The whole is worth £20; when he received it [it was worth] £12; T.R.E. £25. Earl Harold held this manor, and in the manor was a certain sokeman holding 2 of these 30 hides. He could not give or sell [them] outside Harmonds-worth T.R.E.

(49) In SPELETORNE [SPELTHORNE] HUNDRED Hertald of Holy Trinity³⁴ now holds of the king 1 hide. There is land for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. There is 1 villein who holds it. There is meadow for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. This land is worth 10s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. the same. Goldin the man of Earl Harold held this land. He could not sell or give [it] without his permission.

VI. LAND OF THE CHURCH OF BARKING

IN OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(50) M. The Abbess of Barking holds TIBURNE [Tyburn]³⁵ of the king. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 2 hides, and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 2 ploughs. There are 2 villeins on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 1 villein on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 2 bordars on 10 acres and 3 cottars. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 50 pigs. From the herbage is rendered 40d. In all it is worth 52s.; when she received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 100s. This manor belonged always³⁶ and belongs to the Church of Barking.

(f. 129)

VII. LAND OF EARL ROGER

SPELETORNE [SPELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(51) Earl Roger holds $1\frac{1}{2}$ hide in HATONE [Hatton]. There is land for 1 plough and it is there. Two villeins hold this land. [There is] meadow for 1 plough. This land is worth 15s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20s.; two sokemen held it, they were the men of Albert of Lorraine (*Lothariensis*). They could sell and give [it]. Now it belongs to Colham (*apposita est in Coleham*), to which it did not belong T.R.E.

(52) M. HANEWORDE [Hanworth] is assessed at 5 hides. Robert holds [it] of Earl³⁷ Roger. [There is] land for 3 ploughs. In demesne [there is] $1\frac{1}{2}$ plough. The villeins [have] $2\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There [is] 1 villein on 1 hide, and 5 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 2 villeins on 1 virgate, and 2 cottars. [There is] meadow for 1 plough; pasture for the cattle of the vill. In all it is worth 40s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 60s. Ulf, a housecarl of King Edward, held this manor.

HELETHORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(53) Earl Roger holds 1 hide in HERMODESWORDE [Harmondsworth]. [There is] land for 1 plough.

³⁴ S. *Trinitatis* interlined.

³⁵ Now Marylebone, a corruption of Marybourne which replaced the older name from the 15th cent.: P.N. Mdx. (E.P.N.S.), 137.

³⁶ *Semper* is inserted above *et*.

³⁷ *com*. interlined.

There is $\frac{1}{2}$ plough and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ more. Two villeins hold this land. It was and is worth 10s. Alwin, the man of Wigot, held this land and he could do with it³⁸ what he pleased. Now it belongs to (*iacet in*) Colham to which it did not belong T.R.E.

(54) M. HERDINTONE [Harlington] is assessed at 10 hides. Alvred and Olaf hold [it] of Earl Roger. There is land for 6 ploughs. In demesne [there are] now 2 ploughs, and the villeins have 3 ploughs and there can be a fourth. There a priest [has] $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 12 villeins each [have] 1 virgate, and 4 villeins each [have] $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and there are 2 bordars on 11 acres and 8 cottars and 1 serf. [There is] meadow for 2 ploughs. The whole is worth 100s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £8. Wigot held this manor, and 1 sokeman held 2 hides of the land. He was not able to sell [it] without his permission.

(55) M. COLEHAM [Colham] is assessed at 8 hides. Earl Roger holds [it]. [There is] land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 6 hides and there are 3 ploughs, and the villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 6 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 4 others on 2 virgates. [There is] a priest on 1 hide, and 10 bordars each on 5 acres, and 4 cottars and 8 serfs. There are 2 mills rendering (*de*) 4rs., and half a mill rendering 5s. [There is] meadow for 3 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 400 pigs and 1 arpent of vineyard. The whole is worth £8; when he received it [it was worth] £6; T.R.E. £10. Wigot held this manor of King Edward.

(56) M. HILLENDONE [Hillingdon] is assessed³⁹ at 4 hides. Earl Roger holds [it]. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne there are 2 hides, and there can be 1 plough. The villeins have 1 plough. There [are] 2 villeins on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 2 bordars on 10 acres and 1 cottar. [There are] 2 Frenchmen (*francig'*) on $1\frac{1}{2}$ hide and under them dwell 3 men. [There is] meadow for 4 oxen; wood[land] for 1,000 pigs. From 1 weir (*guort*) is rendered 5 shillings. The whole is worth £3; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £4. Ulf, a thegn of King Edward, held this manor and he could do with it what he pleased.

(57) M. Alnod holds DALLEGA [Dawley] of Earl⁴⁰ Roger. It is assessed at 3 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne [there is] 1 plough, and the villeins have 1 plough. There [are] 4 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 4 bordars on 5 acres. [There is] meadow for 6 oxen; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 15 pigs. In all it is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; in the time of King Edward 60s. This manor belongs to Colham to which it did not belong T.R.E. Godwin Alfit,⁴¹ the man of Wigot, held [it] and he could do with it what he pleased.

(58) M. TICHEHAM⁴² is assessed at $9\frac{1}{2}$ hides. Three knights (*milites*) and 1 Englishman (*Anglicus*) hold [it] of Earl⁴³ Roger. There is land for 6 ploughs.

³⁸ *de ea* is inserted above *potuit facere*.

³⁹ *se defend'* inserted above Roger.

⁴⁰ *comite* interlined.

⁴¹ *Alfit* interlined.

⁴² See p. 82 n. 20.

⁴³ *com'* interlined.

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There are 4 ploughs and there can be 2 more. There are 6 villeins on 1 hide, and 2 others on 1 hide and 1 virgate, and 2 others on 2 virgates, and 4 bordars on 20 acres, and 3 cottars. [There is] meadow for 4 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 200 pigs. The whole is worth £4; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £6. Tochi held 2 hides⁴⁴ of this manor; he was a housecarl of King Edward; and 2 sokemen [held] 2 hides and 1 virgate; they were the men of Wulfward; and Alwin [held] 1 hide and 3 virgates; he was the man of Ulsi the son of Manni.⁴⁵ They could sell to whom they pleased T.R.E. The whole of this land now belongs (*iacet in*) to Colham, to which it did not belong in the time of King Edward.

VIII. LAND OF THE COUNT OF MORTAIN

IN SPELETORNE [SPELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(59) The Count of Mortain holds 2 hides in LELEHAM [Laleham], and the Abbot of Fécamp holds [them] of him. There [is] land for 1½ plough, and they are there. [There are] 6 villeins on ½ hide, and 7 cottars. [There is] meadow for 1½ plough; pasture for the cattle of the vill. This land is worth 40s.; when he received it and T.R.E. [it was worth] 50s. The reeve of Staines held this land under the Abbot of Westminster. He could not give or sell [it] outside of Staines except by permission of the abbot.

(60) In EXEFORDE [Ashford] the same count holds 1 hide. There is land for 1 plough and it is there. [There is] meadow for 1 plough. This land is worth 14s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20s. Alvríc, the man of the Abbot of Chertsey, held this [land] and he could do with it what he pleased. Now it is placed (*modo apposita est*) in the count's manor of Kempton to which it did not belong T.R.E. The soke, however, belonged to Staines.

(61) In BEDEFUNT [Bedfont] the same count holds 2 hides. There is land for 1 plough. There is now ½ plough and there can be ½ more. There is 1 villein on 8 acres, and a certain knight (*miles*) on ½ hide. [There is] meadow for 1 ox; pasture for the cattle. This land is worth 5s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20s. Gouti, the housecarl of Earl⁴⁶ Harold, held this land and he could do with it what he pleased. This belonged and belongs to Feltham.

(62) *M.* The same count holds FELTEHAM [Feltham]. It is assessed at 12 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 6 hides, and there is 1 plough and there can be 3 more. The villeins have 8 ploughs. There [are] 14 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 5 others on ½ virgate, and 2 serfs. [There is] meadow for 10 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill. In all it is worth £6; when he received it [it was worth] £4; T.R.E. £8. Two thegns held this manor. One of these, the man of King Edward, held (*habuit*) 5 hides as one manor,⁴⁷ and the other, the man of Earl⁴⁸ Harold [held] 7 hides as one

manor, and they could do with them what they pleased.

(63) *M.* The same count holds CHENETONE [Kempton]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 2 hides and ½ virgate, and there is 1 plough and there can be another. The villeins have 3 ploughs. There are 6 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 8 others each on ½ virgate, and 3 bordars on 1 virgate, and 2 serfs. [There is] meadow for 5 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill and 8 arpents of newly-planted vineyard (*viii arpenn' vinee noviter plantate*). In all it is worth £4; when he received it [it was worth] £3; T.R.E. £6. Wlward 'White',⁴⁹ a thegn of King Edward, held this manor and he could do [with it] what he pleased.

IN GARE [GORE] HUNDRED

(f. 129b)

(64) *M.* The same count holds STANMERE⁵⁰ [Stanmore]. It is assessed at 9½ hides. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne there are 6½ hides, and there are 2 ploughs and there can be another. The villeins have 1½ plough and there can be 2½ ploughs more. A priest has there ½ hide, and [there are] 4 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 2 others on 1 virgate, and 3 cottars on 10 acres, and 3 others on 1 acre. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 800 pigs, and from the herbage is rendered 12d. The whole is worth 60s.; when he received it [it was worth] 10s.; T.R.E. £10. Edmer Atule,⁵¹ a thegn of King Edward, held this manor.

IX. LAND OF GEOFFREY DE MANDEVILLE

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(65) *M.* Geoffrey de Mandeville holds EIA [Ebury]. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 8 ploughs. In demesne there are 5 hides and there are 2 ploughs. The villeins have 5 ploughs and there can be a sixth. There is 1 villein on ½ hide, and 4 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 14 others each on ½ virgate, and 4 bordars on 1 virgate, and 1 cottar. [There is] meadow for 8 ploughs, and from the hay (*de feno*) [is rendered] 60s. From the pasture [is rendered] 7s. The whole is worth £8; when he received it [it was worth] £6; T.R.E. £12. Harold, the son of Earl Ralf, of whom Queen Edith had the custody together with the manor on the day on which King Edward was alive and dead, held this manor. Afterwards William the Chamberlain held [it] of the queen in fee at a rent of £3 a year (*in feudo pro iii libris per annum de firma*), and after the queen's death he held it in the same way of the king. It is now 4 years since William lost the manor, and from that time the king's farm, namely £12, has not been paid.

(66) In the same hundred Ralf holds of Geoffrey 1½ hide. [There is] land for 1 plough and it is there, and [there are] 4 bordars on 14 acres, and 1 serf. [There is] meadow for 1 plough; pasture for the cattle and [yielding] 13d. [There is] a wood for fences (*nemus ad sepes*). This land is worth 20s.;

⁴⁴ *ii h.* is continued into the margin.

⁴⁵ *f. manni* interlined.

⁴⁶ *com.* interlined.

⁴⁷ *pro uno manerio* is extended into the margin.

⁴⁸ *com* interlined.

⁴⁹ *uuit* interlined.

⁵⁰ This is Great Stanmore: cf. entry no. 90.

⁵¹ *Atule* interlined.

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when he received it and T.R.E. [it was worth] 30s. Two sokemen held this land T.R.E. and they could sell [it] to whom they pleased.

(67) In ISENDONE [Islington] Gilbert holds of Geoffrey $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. There is land for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough and it is there, and [there is] 1 villein and 1 bordar. This land is worth 12s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20s. Grim, the man of King Edward, held this [land] and he could sell [it].

IN HELETHORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(68) In GRENEFORDE [Greenford] Ernulf holds of Geoffrey 3 hides. There is land for $1\frac{1}{2}$ plough. There is 1 plough and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ plough more. There [are] 2 villeins on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 2 cottars and 1 serf. [There is] wood[land] for 40 pigs. This land is worth 20s.; when he received it [it was worth] 10s.; T.R.E. 40s. Two sokemen held this land. One of them was a canon of St. Paul's. He had 2 hides. He could do what he pleased with them. The other was the man of Ansgar the Staller. He could not give [it] except with his permission.

(69) In the same vill Ansgot holds of Geoffrey $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. [There is] land for 2 oxen. This land is worth 3s.; and when he received it and T.R.E. [it was worth] the same. Azor held this land. He was the man of Ansgar the Staller. He could not sell [it] without his permission.

(70) In TICHEHAM⁵² 2 Englishmen (*Angli*) hold of Geoffrey $3\frac{1}{2}$ hides. There is land for 2 ploughs and they are there. [There are] 3 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 5 bordars. [There is] meadow for 2 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 40 pigs. This land is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 60s. Two sokemen held this land. One was the man of Ansgar the Staller and he had 1 hide. He could not sell [it] except with his permission, and the other was the man of Earl⁵³ Leofwine. He had $2\frac{1}{2}$ hides and he could sell [them] T.R.E.

(71) M. Geoffrey de Mandeville holds NORTHALA [Northolt]. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 8 hides, and there are 2 ploughs. The villeins have 6 ploughs and there can be 2 ploughs more. There is a priest on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 1 villein on 1 hide, and 5 others each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 8 others each on 1 virgate, and 8 others each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 3 cottars and 6 serfs. [There is] pasture for the cattle; wood[land] for 200 pigs. The whole is worth £10; when he received it [it was worth] £5; T.R.E. £12. Ansgar the Staller held this manor.

DELMETONE [EDMONTON] HUNDRED

(72) M. Geoffrey de Mandeville holds ADELMETONE [Edmonton]. It is assessed at 35 hides. There is land for 26 ploughs. In demesne there are 16 hides and 4 ploughs. The villeins have 22 ploughs. There is 1 villein on 1 hide, and 3 others each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 20 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 24 others each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 9 bordars on 3 virgates, and 4 bordars each on 5 acres, and 4 bordars each on 4 acres, and 4 cottars on 4 acres, 10 cottars, and

4 villeins on 1 hide and 1 virgate, and 4 serfs. There is 1 mill [rendering] 10s. [There is] meadow for 26 ploughs and 25s. are yielded from the surplus (*de super plus*). [There is] pasture for the cattle. [There is] wood[land] for 2,000 pigs, and 12s. [are rendered] from the payments of the wood⁵⁴ and of the pasture. The whole is worth £40; when he received it [it was worth] £20; T.R.E. £40. Ansgar the Staller held this manor of King Edward. To this manor belonged and belongs one berewick which is called MIMES [(South) Mimms] and it is assessed with (*appreciata cum*) the manor.

(73) M. Geoffrey de Mandeville holds ENEFELDE [Enfield]. It is assessed at 30 hides. There is land for 24 ploughs. In demesne there are 14 hides and there are 4 ploughs. The villeins have 16 ploughs. There is 1 villein on 1 hide, and 3 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. [There is] a priest on 1 virgate, and 17 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 36 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 20 bordars on 1 hide and 1 virgate, and 7 cottars on 23 acres, and 5 cottars on 7 acres, and 18 cottars and 6 serfs. There is 1 mill [rendering] 10s. From the fishponds (*de piscinis*) are rendered 8s. [There is] meadow for 24 ploughs and 25s. are yielded from the surplus (*se super plus*). [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 2,000 pigs. From the wood[land] and pasture are rendered 43s.; and there is a park (*parcus est ibi*). The whole is worth £50; when he received it [it was worth] £20; T.R.E. £50. Ansgar the Staller held this manor of King Edward. There were on this land 5 sokemen on 6 hides which they could give or sell without their lord's permission.

X. LAND OF ERNULF OF HESDIN

HELETORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(74) M. Ernulf of Hedin holds RISLEPE [Ruislip]. It is assessed at 30 hides. There is land for 20 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 11 hides, and there are 3 ploughs. Among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and the villeins there are 12 ploughs, and there can be 5 more. There [is] a priest on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 2 villeins on 1 hide, and 17 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 10 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 7 bordars each on 4 acres, and 8 cottars and 4 serfs, and 4 Frenchmen (*francig'*) on 3 hides and 1 virgate. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill. There is a park for wild beasts (*parcus ferrarum*); a beech-grove (*silva ticularum*); wood[land] for 1,500 pigs and [yielding] 20d. The whole is worth £20; when he received it [it was worth] £12; T.R.E. £30. Wlward 'White'⁵⁵ a thegn of King Edward, held this manor. He could sell [it] to whom he pleased.

(75) M. in CHINGESBERIE⁵⁶ [Kingsbury] Albold holds of Ernulf $7\frac{1}{2}$ hides. (f. 130). There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 2 ploughs and the villeins [have] 5 ploughs. There [are] 8 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 3 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate. [There is] a priest on 1 virgate, and 5 bordars each on 5 acres. There is 1 mill [rendering] 3s.; meadow for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough; wood[land] for 1,000 pigs and [yielding] 20s. The whole is worth £4; when he received it [it was worth] 20s.; T.R.E. £6. Wlward 'White'⁵⁷ a thegn of King Edward, held this manor.

⁵² See p. 82, n. 20.

⁵³ *com* interlined.

⁵⁴ There is a space in the MS. for about 7 letters.

⁵⁵ *uuit* interlined.

⁵⁶ In Gore Hundred (see p. 83).

⁵⁷ *uuit* interlined.

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XI. LAND OF WALTER SON OF OTHER

SPELETORNE [SPELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(76) Walter fitz Other holds STANWELLE [Stanwell] of the king. It is assessed at 15 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 3 hides, and 3 ploughs. Among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and villeins [there are] 10 ploughs. There [is] 1 villein on 1 hide, and 8 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 10 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 8 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 4 bordars on 28 acres, and 2 cottars and 8 serfs, and 2 knights (*milites*) on 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides and under them dwell 6 bordars. There [are] 4 mills rendering 70s. and 400 eels less 25. From 3 weirs (*gorz*) [are rendered] 1,000 eels. [There is] meadow for 12 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 100 pigs. The whole is worth £14; when he received it [it was worth] £6; T.R.E. £14. Azor, a housecarl of King Edward, held this manor and he could do with it what he pleased.

(77) In BEDEFUNDE⁵⁸ [Bedfont] Richard holds of Walter fitz Other 10 hides as 1 manor. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne [there is] 1 plough, and [there are] 4 ploughs among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and villeins. There [are] 4 villeins on 1 hide, and 4 others each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 3 bordars on 13 acres, and a certain knight (*miles*) on 2 hides. [There is] meadow for 2 oxen; pasture for the cattle of the vill. In all it is worth £4; when he received it [it was worth] 20s.; T.R.E. £6. Azor held 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides of this manor and it was a berewick in Stanwell, and 3 sokemen had 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. One of these was the man of King Edward, another was the man of Leofwine, and the third was the man of Azor. Each had $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and they could sell or give [them]; and they did not belong to the manor T.R.E.

(78) In WESTBEDEFUND [West Bedfont] Walter de Mucedent holds of Walter fitz Other⁵⁹ 8 hides as 1 manor. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne [there is] 1 plough and the villeins have 3 ploughs. There [are] 2 villeins on 4 hides, and 2 villeins on 2 virgates, and 2 villeins on 1 virgate, and 1 bordar on 5 acres. [There is] a priest on 1 virgate, and 1 cottar on 5 acres, and 2 serfs. [There is] meadow for 2 oxen; pasture for the cattle of the vill. In all it is worth £3; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £6. Brihtmar held 4 hides of this manor. He was the man of Earl Harold. He could sell [them] to whom he pleased; and 2 sokemen held 4 hides. They were the men of Azor. They could not sell or give [them] without his permission.

(79) In HAITONE [Hatton] Walter de Mucedent holds of Walter fitz Other 1 hide and 3 virgates and a third part of 1 virgate. There is land for 1 plough. There is $\frac{1}{2}$ plough and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ plough more. There [is] 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 2 villeins⁶⁰ on 1 virgate, and 1 bordar on 5 acres. [There is] meadow for 1 plough; pasture for the cattle. This land is worth 20s.; when he received it [it was worth]

the same; T.R.E. 30s. Two sokemen held this land. They were the men of Azor. They could not sell [it] except with his permission.

XII. LAND OF WALTER DE ST. VALERY

HONESLAU⁶¹ [HOUNSLOW] HUNDRED

(80) Walter de St. Valery holds GISTELESWORDE [Isleworth]. It was assessed then as now (*se defendebat semper*) at 70 hides. There is land for 55 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and there are 6 ploughs. Among the Frenchmen (*franc'*) and the villeins there are 28 ploughs and there can be 11 more. There a priest has 3 virgates, and [there are] 51 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 24 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 18 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 6 cottars. The Frenchmen⁶² (*francig'*) and a certain Englishman (*Anglicus*) [have] 4 hides, and they are approved knights (*milites probati*). Under them dwell 12 villeins and bordars and 6 of the lord's villeins (*villani domini*) who hold 2 hides and $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate. There are 2 mills rendering 10s. [There is] meadow for 20 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ weir (*gort*) rendering 12s. 8d.; wood[land] for 500 pigs. From the herbage [is rendered] 12d. The whole is worth £72; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £80. Earl⁶³ Ælfgar held this manor.

(81) *M.* The same Walter holds HAMNTONE [Hampton].⁶⁴ It is assessed at 35 hides. There is land for 25 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 18 hides, and 3 ploughs. The villeins have 17 ploughs and there can be 5 ploughs more. There are 30 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 11 villeins on 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and 4 bordars each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate. [There is] meadow for 3 ploughs and [yielding] 10s.; pasture for the cattle of the vill. From the seines and drag-nets (*de saganis et tractis*) in the River Thames [are rendered] 3s. The whole is worth £39; when he received it [it was worth] £20; T.R.E. £40. Earl⁶⁵ Ælfgar held this manor.

XIII. LAND OF RICHARD SON OF GILBERT

HELETORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(82) *M.* Richard fitz Gilbert holds HEREFELLE [Harefield]. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 2 hides, and there are 2 ploughs. The villeins have 3 ploughs. There a priest has 1 virgate, and [there are] 5 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 5 others each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 7 bordars each on 5 acres, and 1 bordar on 3 acres, and 3 cottars and 3 serfs. There [are] 2 mills rendering 15s. From 4 fishponds (*piscinis*) are rendered 1,000 eels. [There is] meadow for 1 plough; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 1,200 pigs. The whole is worth £12; when he received it [it was worth] £8; T.R.E. £14. Countess Goda held this manor T.R.E.

⁵⁸ This has been called East Bedfont from the 13th cent. and is thus distinguished from West Bedfont (see p. 115).

⁵⁹ *f. Other* interlined.

⁶⁰ The MS. reads *virg'*, i.e. *virgate*, in error for *villani*.

⁶¹ This is the only occasion on which it is referred to as Hounslow Hundred. It is otherwise known as Isleworth Hundred: *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 24.

⁶² It is uncertain from the MS. whether this should be singular or plural.

⁶³ *comes* interlined.

⁶⁴ Hampton later became part of Spelthorne Hundred (see p. 83).

⁶⁵ *comes* interlined.

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XIII. LAND OF ROBERT GERON

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(83) *M.* Robert Geron holds of the king 2 hides in HERGOTESTANE [Haggerston]. There is land for 2 ploughs, and there are 3 ploughs. There are 3 villeins and 7 bordars who hold this land, and it is worth 45s.; when he received it [it was worth] 40s.; T.R.E. 50s. Alwin, the man of King Edward, held this manor. He could sell [it] to whom he pleased.

(84) In HELETHORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED Nigel holds of Robert Geron 2 hides. There is land for 1 plough. There is $\frac{1}{2}$ plough there now, and there can be $\frac{1}{2}$ plough more. There [is] 1 cottar. [There is] wood[land] for 30 pigs. This land is worth 14s.; When he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20s. Turbert, the man of Earl⁶⁶ Leofwine, held this land and he could sell [it] to whom he pleased.

XV. LAND OF ROBERT FAFITON

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(85) *M.* Robert Fafiton holds of the king 4 hides in STIBENHED [Stepney]. There is land for 3 ploughs and they are there now. There [is] 1 villein on 14 acres, and another on 12 acres, and Roger the sheriff on 1 hide, and the bordars⁶⁷ on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and 1 virgate. [There is] wood[land] for 60 pigs and [yielding] 4s. In all it is worth 70s.; when he received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. £8. Sired, Canon of St. Paul's, held this manor. He could sell [it] to whom he pleased T.R.E. The Bishop of London claims that he ought to have it (*reclamat se habere debere*). With these 4 hides there are now 53 acres of land which were not there T.R.E., [and] which Hugh de Berneres usurped from (*occupavit super*) the Canons of St. Paul's and placed (*apposuit*) in this manor, as the hundred testify (*testante hund*).

(86) In HELETHORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED Robert Fafiton holds of the king 2 hides in TICHEHAM.⁶⁸ There is land for 1 plough but it is not there now. (f. 130b) [There is] meadow for 1 plough; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 30 pigs. This land is worth 5s.; when he received it [it was worth] 40s.; T.R.E. 40s.⁶⁹ Ælmer, the man of Wlward 'White',⁷⁰ held this land, and he could sell [it].

XVI. LAND OF ROBERT SON OF ROSCELIN

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(87) Robert fitz Roscelin holds of the king 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides in STIBENHED [Stepney]. [There is] land for 2 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 2 hides, and there is 1 plough. The villeins [have] 1 plough. There [is] 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 8 bordars each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate and 4 cottars on 19 acres. [There is] meadow for 2 ploughs, and a wood for fences (*nemus ad sepes*). In all it is worth 53s.; when he received it [it was worth] 10s.; T.R.E. £4. Alwin Stichehare, the man of King Edward, held this land as 1 manor. He

⁶⁶ *comitis* interlined.

⁶⁷ It is uncertain from the MS. whether this should be singular or plural.

⁶⁸ See p. 82, n. 20.

⁶⁹ *soil* in MS.

⁷⁰ *uuit* interlined.

could sell [it] to whom he pleased. The Bishop of London claims it.

XVII. LAND OF ROBERT BLUND

SPELETORNE [SPELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(88) *M.* Robert Blund holds in LELEHAM [Laleham] 8 hides of the king. Estrild, a nun, holds of him. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 4 hides, and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 4 ploughs. There [is] 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 7 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 3 bordars on 1 virgate, and 3 cottars. [There is] meadow for 5 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill. The whole is worth 60s.; when he received it [it was worth] 40s.; T.R.E. £6. Achi, a housecarl of King Edward, held this manor. He could sell [it] to whom he pleased, and the soke belonged to Staines.

XVIII. LAND OF ROGER DE RAMES

SPELETHORNE [SPELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(89) *M.* Roger de Rames holds CERDENTONE [Charlton] of the king. It is assessed at 5⁷¹ hides. There is land for 4 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ⁷² hides, and there is 1 plough. The villeins [have] $\frac{1}{2}$ plough and there can be 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ploughs. There [is] 1 villein on $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and 1 bordar on 8 acres, and 6 serfs. [There is] meadow for 4 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill. This land is worth 30s.; when he received it [it was worth] 60s.; T.R.E. 100s. Two brothers held this manor. One was the man of Archbishop Stigand, the other was the man of Earl⁷³ Leofwine. They could sell [it] to whom they pleased, but the soke belonged to (*pertinebat in*) Staines.

(90) *M.* In the hundred of GARA [GORE] the same Roger holds 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides in STANMERA⁷⁴ [Little Stanmore]. There is land for 7 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 4 hides, and there is 1 plough and there can be 2 more. The villeins have 3 ploughs and there can be 1 more. There [is] 1 villein on 1 virgate, and 8 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 3 bordars each on 5 acres, and 2 serfs. [There is] wood[land] for 800 pigs; pasture for the cattle of the vill and [yielding] 2s. The whole is worth 60s.; when he received it [it was worth] 20s.; T.R.E. £10. Algar, the man of Earl⁷⁵ Harold, held this manor and he could sell [it].

XIX. LAND OF WILLIAM SON OF ANSCULF

HELETHORNE [ELTHORNE] HUNDRED

(91) *M.* William fitz Ansculf holds CRANFORDE [Cranford] of the king, and Hugh holds it of him. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 3 ploughs. There [is] 1 plough in demesne and the villeins [have] 2 ploughs. There a priest has 1 virgate, and [there are] 8 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 2 cottars on 2 acres, and 3 serfs. [There is] a wood for fences (*nemus ad sepes*). In all it is worth 60s.; when he received it [it was worth] 40s.; T.R.E. 100s. Turstin,

⁷¹ The reading is uncertain since the MS. is blotted here.

⁷² *et dim* interlined.

⁷³ *comitis* interlined.

⁷⁴ See p. 116; and cf. also entry no. 64.

⁷⁵ *comit'* interlined.

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a thegn of King Edward, held this manor and he could sell [it] to whom he pleased.

XX. LAND OF EDWARD OF SALISBURY

OSULUESTAN [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(92) *M.* Edward of Salisbury holds CERCEHEDE⁷⁶ [Chelsea] for 2 hides. There is land for 5 ploughs. In demesne [there is] 1 hide, and there are 2 ploughs now. The villeins [have] 1 plough and there can be 2 ploughs more. There [are] 2 villeins on 2 virgates, and 4 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 3 bordars each on 5 acres, and 3 serfs. [There is] meadow for 2 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 60 pigs and [yielding] 52*d.* The whole is worth £9; when he received it and always [it was worth] the same. Wlwen, the man (*homo*)⁷⁷ of King Edward, held this manor. She could sell [it] to whom she pleased.

XXI. LAND OF AUBREY DE VER

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(93) *M.* Aubrey de Ver holds CHENESIT' [Kensington] of the Bishop of Coutances. It is assessed at 10 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. There are in demesne 4 ploughs, and the villeins have 5 ploughs, and there can be 6. There [are] 12 villeins each on 1 virgate, and 6 villeins on 3 virgates. [There is] a priest on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate and 7 serfs. [There is] meadow for 2 ploughs; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 200 pigs; and 3 arpents of vineyard (*iii arpenn' vinee*). The whole is worth £10; when he received it [it was worth] £6; T.R.E. £10. Edwin, a thegn of King Edward, held this manor and he could sell [it].

XXII. LAND OF RANULF BROTHER OF ILGER

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(94) Ranulf brother of Ilger holds TOLENTONE [Tollington] of the king, for 2 hides. There is land for 2 ploughs. In demesne [there is] 1 hide, and there is 1 plough. The villeins have 2 ploughs. There [are] 5 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate; and 2 bordars on 9 acres, and 1 cottar and 1 serf. [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 60 pigs and [yielding] 5*s.* This land is worth 40*s.*; when he received it [it was worth] 60*s.*; T.R.E. 40*s.* Edwin, the man of King Edward, held this [land] and he could sell [it].

XXIII. LAND OF DERMAN OF LONDON

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(95) Derman holds of the king $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in ISEL DONE [Islington]. There is land for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough. There is 1

villein. This land is and was worth 10*s.* Algar, the man of King Edward, held this land and he could sell and give [it].

XXIII. LAND OF COUNTESS JUDITH

DELMETONE [EDMONTON] HUNDRED

(96) *M.* Countess Judith holds TOTEHAM [Tottenham] of the king. It is assessed at 5 hides. There is land for 10 ploughs. In demesne there are 2⁷⁸ carucates⁷⁹ of land in addition to these 5 hides, and there are 2 ploughs. The villeins have 12 ploughs. A priest has $\frac{1}{2}$ hide, and [there are] 6 villeins on 6 virgates, and 24 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 12 bordars each on 5 acres, and 17 cottars. There [are] 2 Frenchmen (*francig'*) on 1 hide and 3 virgates, and 4 serfs. [There is] meadow for 10 ploughs, and 20*s.* [are rendered] from the remainder (*de super plus*). [There is] pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 500 pigs. From 1 weir (*gort*) [is rendered] 3*s.* The whole is worth £25 15*s.* and 3 ounces of gold (*iii unc' auri*); when she received it [it was worth] £10; T.R.E. £26. Earl Waltheof held this manor.

XXV. LAND GIVEN IN ALMS

OSULUESTANE [OSSULSTONE] HUNDRED

(97) *M.* LILESTONE [Lisson]⁸⁰ is assessed at 5 hides. Eideva holds it of the king. There is land for 3 ploughs. In demesne [there are] 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ hides, and there are 2 ploughs. The villeins have 1 plough. There [are] 4 villeins each on $\frac{1}{2}$ virgate, and 3 cottars on 2 acres, and 1 serf. [There is] meadow for 1 plough; pasture for the cattle of the vill; wood[land] for 100 pigs. From the herbage [is rendered] 3*d.* The whole is worth 60*s.*; when she received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 40*s.* Edward the son of Suain,⁸¹ the man of King Edward, held this manor and he could sell [it].

(98) In the hundred of SPELETHORNE [SPELTHORNE] Elveve, the wife of Wateman of London,⁸² holds of the king $\frac{1}{2}$ hide and a third part of $\frac{1}{2}$ hide. [There is] land for 4 oxen but they are not there. [There is] meadow for 4 oxen; pasture for the cattle of the vill. In all it is and was worth 4*s.* Alwin White (*albus*),⁸³ the man of Earl⁸⁴ Leofwine, held this land, and he could sell [it]. Geoffrey de Mandeville was seised of this land when he crossed the sea in the king's service (*quando iuit transmare in servitium regis*), as his men and the whole hundred say.

(99) In the hundred of HELETHORNE [ELTHORNE] Elveve holds of the king $\frac{1}{2}$ hide in GRENEFORDE [Greenford]. There is land for $\frac{1}{2}$ plough but it is not there now. This land is worth 10*s.*; when she received it [it was worth] the same; T.R.E. 20*s.* Levric, the man of Earl⁸⁵ Leofwine, held this land and he could sell [it] to whom he pleased.

included the north-west part of Marylebone parish: *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 138, n. 1.

⁸¹ *f. Suani* interlined.

⁸² *de Lond'* interlined.

⁸³ *alb'* interlined.

⁸⁵ *comitis* interlined.

⁸⁴ *comitis* interlined.

⁷⁶ CERCEHEDE is inserted above CHELCHED.

⁷⁷ Uluuene is a woman's name (see p. 103).

⁷⁸ *ii* interlined.

⁷⁹ This is the only example of the use of the term *carucate* in *Mdx.*

⁸⁰ Surviving in Lisson Grove and Street. The old manor

APPENDIX I

HIDES AND TEAMLANDS

Entry	Manor	Total geld hides	Hides in demesne	Hides among men	Teamlands	Total teams	Demesne teams	Men's teams
ELTHORNE HUNDRED								
Agreements								
43	Greenford	11½	5 ..	6 2 ..	7	6 (1)	1 (1)	5
44	Hanwell	8	4 1	3 3 ..	5	5	1	4
45	Cowley	2	1 2	.. 2 ..	1	1	1	..
53	Harmondsworth	1	.. ..	1	1	½ (½)	..	½ (½)
56	Hillingdon	4	2 ..	2 .. 10	2	1 (1)	(1)	1
71	Northolt	15	8 ..	7	10	8 (2)	2	6 (2)
5	Unspecified	2	.. ..	2	1	1	..	1
Disagreements								
3	Hayes	59	12 ..	27 2 ..	40	28 (12)	2	26 (12)
35	W. Drayton	10	5 ..	2 1 9	6	6	1	5
48	Harmondsworth	30	8 ..	9 2 ..	20	13 (7)	3	10 (7)
55	Colham	8	6 ..	3 1 20	7	6	3	3
74	Ruislip	30	11 ..	10 1 28	20	15 (5)	3	12 (5)
82	Harefield	5	2 ..	2 1 23	5	5	2	3
Information Incomplete								
54	Harlington	10	not stated	4 .. 11	6	5 (1)	2	3 (1)
57	Dawley	3	"	1 .. 5	2	2	1	1
58	'Ticheham'	9½	"	2 3 20	6	4 (2)	n.s.	n.s.
70	'Ticheham'	3½	"	.. 1 15	2	2	"	"
86	'Ticheham'	2	"	.. .. ..	1	(1)	non est ibi modo	..
68	Greenford	3	"	.. 2 ..	1½	1 (½)	n.s.	n.s.
69	Greenford	½	"	.. .. ..	¼	?	"	"
91	Cranford	5	"	2 1 2	3	3	1	2
99	Greenford	½	"	.. .. ..	½	(½)	non est ibi modo	..
84	Unspecified	2	"	.. .. ..	1	½ (½)	n.s.	n.s.
TOTALS		224½	+643	+89 2 23	148½	+113½ (34)	+23 (2)	+82½ (27½)
GORE HUNDRED								
Agreements (none)								
Disagreements								
4	Harrow	100	30 ..	30 2 13	70	49 (21)	4 (5)	45 (16)
47	Hendon	20	10 ..	6	16	11 (5)	3	8 (5)
64	Stanmore	9½	6 2	1 3 11	7	3½ (3½)	2 (1)	1½ (2½)
90	Stanmore	9½	4 ..	1 1 15	7	4 (3)	1 (2)	3 (1)
Information Incomplete								
46	Kingsbury	2½	n.s.	1 1 ..	2	2	1	1
75	Kingsbury	7½	"	2 3 10	7	7	2	5
TOTALS		149	+50 2	43 3 19	109	76½ (32½)	13 (8)	63½ (24½)
HOUNSLOW HUNDRED								
Agreements (none)								
Disagreements								
80	Isleworth	70	6 2	22 3 ..	55	34 (11)	6	28 (11)
81	Hampton	35	18 ..	10 2 ..	25	20 (5)	3	17 (5)
Information Incomplete (none)								
TOTALS		105	24 2	33 1 ..	80	54 (16)	9	45 (16)

THE HOLDERS OF LANDS

Entry	Manor	Total geld hides	Hides in demesne	Hides among men	Teamlands	Total teams	Demesne teams	Men's teams
EDMONTON HUNDRED								
<i>Agreements (none)</i>								
<i>Disagreements</i>								
72	Edmonton	35	16 ..	12 3 10	26	26	4	22
73	Enfield	30	14 ..	13	24	20	4	16
<i>Information Incomplete</i>								
96	Tottenham	5	n.s. ¹	7 1 ..	10	14	2	12
TOTALS		70	+30	33 0 10	60	60	10	50
OSSULSTONE HUNDRED								
<i>Agreements</i>								
22	Willesden	15	.. ..	15	15	8 (7)	..	8 (7)
26	St. Pancras	4	.. ..	4	2	1 (1)	..	1 (1)
28	Islington	2	.. ..	2	2½	2½	..	2½
30	Hoxton	1	.. ..	1	1	1	..	1
31	Hoxton	3	.. ..	3	3	3	..	3
33	Stanestaple	4	.. ..	4	2	2	..	2
36	Westminster	13½	9 1	4 1 20	11	10 (1)	4	6 (1)
37	Westminster	3	3 ..	.. .. ..	2	2	2	..
38	Hampstead	4	3 2	.. 2 ..	3	2 (1)	1	1 (1)
29	Hampstead	1	1 ..	.. .. ..	½	½	½	..
83	Haggerston	2	.. ..	2	2	3	..	3
87	Stepney	3½	2 ..	1 1 19	2	2	1	1
92	Chelsea	2	1 ..	1 .. 15	5	3 (2)	2	1 (2)
97	Lisson	5	4 2	.. 2 2	3	3	2	1
<i>Disagreements</i>								
6	Stepney	32	14 ..	16 2 15	25	25	3	22
17	Fulham	40	13 ..	36	40	30 (10)	4	26 (10)
19	Fulham	5	3 ..	3 .. 20	5	4 (1)	2	2 (1)
50	Tyburn	5	2 ..	.. 2 25	3	3	1	2
65	Ebury	10	5 ..	3 2 ..	8	7 (1)	2	5 (1)
94	Tollington	2	1 ..	.. 2 24	2	3	1	2
<i>Information Incomplete</i>								
7	Stepney	5½	n.s.	1 1 17½	4	4	1	3
8	Stepney	5	"	1 2 10	2½	2	1	.. (1)
9	Stepney	3½	"	1 2 ..	5	5	2	3
10	Stepney	1	"	n.s.	1	1	1	..
11	Stepney	1½	"	.. 1 28	1	1	1	..
12	Stepney	1½	n.s.	.. .. 14	1	½ (½)	n.s.	..
13	Stepney	1¾	"	.. 1 5	1½	1 (½)	1 (½)	..
14	Stepney	1	"	n.s.	1	(1)	sed car. deest.	..
18	Fulham	5	"	.. 2 8	3	2 (1)	1	1 (1)
20	Twyford	2	"	.. 2 15	1½	1½	n.s.	n.s.
21	Twyford	2	"	.. 1 6	1½	1 (½)	1 (½)	..
23	Harlesden	5	"	4 1 ..	4	2½ (1½)	2	½ (1½)
24	Rugmoor	2	"	n.s.	1½	1 (½)	1 (½)	..
25	Tottenham Court	5	"	"	4	3½ (½)	n.s.	n.s.
27	Islington	2	"	.. 1 ..	1½	1 (½)	"	"
29	(Stoke) Newington	2	"	.. .. 10	2½	2½	..	..
34	St. Pancras	1	"	n.s.	1	1	"	"
67	Islington	½	"	"	½	½	"	"
85	Stepney	4	"	1 3 11	3	3	"	"
93	Kensington	10	"	3 3 15	10	9 (1)	4	5 (1)
66	Unspecified	1½	"	.. .. 14	1	1	n.s.	n.s.
95	Islington	½	"	n.s.	½	½	"	"
TOTALS		219¾	+621	116 3 23½	189½	159½ (31½)	+41½ (1½)	+102 (28½)

¹ But in demesne there were in addition 2 carucates of land.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

Entry	Manor	Total geld hides	Hides in demesne	Hides among men	Teamlands	Total teams	Demesne teams	Men's teams
SPELTHORNE HUNDRED								
<i>Agreements</i>								
40	Staines	19	11 ..	7 3 29	24	24	13	11
42	Shepperton	8	3 2	4 1 24	7	7	1	6
51	Hatton	1½	.. ..	1 2 ..	1	1	..	1
88	Laleham	8	4 ..	4	5	5	1	4
63	Kempton	5	2 ½	2 3 ..	5	4 (1)	1 (1)	3
89	Charlton	5	4 2	.. 2 8	4	1½ (2½)	1	½ (2½)
49	Unspecified	1	.. ..	1	½	½	..	½
<i>Disagreements</i>								
41	Sunbury	7	4 ..	2 2 15	6	5	1	4
62	Feltham	12	6 ..	4 .. 15	10	9 (3)	1 (3)	8
76	Stanwell	15	3 ..	11 .. 28	10	13	3	10
<i>Information Incomplete</i>								
52	Hanworth	5	.. ..	2 2 ..	3	4	1½	2½
59	Laleham	2	.. ..	.. 2 ..	1½	1½	n.s.	n.s.
60	Ashford	1	n.s.	n.s.	1	1	"	"
61	Bedfont	2	.. ..	.. 2 8	1	½ (½)	"	"
77	Bedfont	10	.. ..	3 2 13	5	5	1	4
78	W. Bedfont	8	.. ..	5 .. 10	4	4	1	3
79	Hatton	1h 3½v	.. ..	.. 2 5	1	½ (½)	n.s.	n.s.
98	Unspecified	.. 2½v	n.s.	.. .. ..	½	(½)	non est ibi	..
TOTALS		112	+38½	53 0 5	89½	86½ (8)	25½ (4)	+57½ (2½)

APPENDIX II

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AMONG THE PEASANTRY

Entry	Manor	Class ¹	Tenures precisely recorded ²					Tenures imprecisely recorded			
			h	½h	v	½v	a	villani	bordars	cottars	No details ³
2	Nanesmaneslande	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
2	Holborn	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
3	Hayes	V	..	12	20	40	..	2 on 2h	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	16 on 2h	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
4	Harrow ⁴	V	..	13	28	48	..	13 on 4h	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 13a	..
5	Unnamed	V	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
6	Stepney	V	..	7	44	9	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	46 on 1h	..
7	Stepney	V	..	1	..	..	..	6 on 3v	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on ½v	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3 on 2½a	..
8	Stepney	V	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	15 on 10a	..	..
9	Stepney	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	14 on 1½h	..	..
11	Stepney	V	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	4:7a	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
12	Stepney	B	..	..	..	..	2:5a	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 4a	1
13	Stepney	V	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	6 on 5a	..	..

¹ Villani, bordars, and cottars are entered as V, B, C.

² The figures below show the number of men who held single hides, half-hides, virgates, or half-virgates (except where otherwise stated) or a precise number of acres (thus 4:7a, where 4 men each held 7 acres).

³ Many cottars entered in this column probably had no land.

⁴ There were 7 'men' in Harrow (4), 24 at St. Pancras (34), 3 at Hillingdon (56), and a number at Westminster (36).

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Entry	Manor	Class	Tenures precisely recorded					Tenures imprecisely recorded			
			<i>h</i>	$\frac{1}{2}h$	<i>v</i>	$\frac{1}{2}v$	<i>a</i>	<i>villani</i>	<i>bordars</i>	<i>cottars</i>	No details
17	Fulham ⁵	V	5	..	13	34	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	22 on $\frac{1}{2}h$ 8 de suis hortis	..
18	Fulham	V	..	..	..	..	..	6 on $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 8a	3
19	Fulham	V	..	..	8	7	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	7:5a	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
20	Twyford	V	..	..	..	..	..	3 on $\frac{1}{2}h$ $\frac{1}{2}v$	..	..	..
21	Twyford	V	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 1v	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	1:6a	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
22	Willesden	V	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
23	Harlesden	V	..	..	12	10	..	..	..	..	..
25	Tottenham Court	V	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
26	St. Pancras	V	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 4h	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
27	Islington	V	..	..	..	..	..	3 on 1v	..	..	..
28	Islington	V	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 2h	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
29	(Stoke) Newington ⁶	V	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	37 on 10a	..
30	Hoxton	V	..	..	..	..	..	3 on 1h	..	..	..
31	Hoxton	V	..	..	..	..	..	7 on 3h	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
32	Bishopsgate	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10 on 9a	..
33	Stanestaple	V	..	..	..	..	..	7 on 4h	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
34	Unamed	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
35	(W.) Drayton	V	..	..	..	..	..	8 on 2h	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	1:5a	..	6 on 30a	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 4a	..
36	(Westminster)	V	1	..	9	9	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	1:5a	..	..	41 render 40s. p.a. for their gardens	..
37	(Westminster)	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
38	Hampstead	V	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	5 on 1v	..	..
40	Staines	V	..	3	1	8	..	4 on 1h	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	10:5a	..	36 on 3h 4 on 40a 8 on 1v	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	5:4a	..	..	3 on 9a	..
41	Sunbury	V	..	..	8	..	..	2 on 1v	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	5 on 1v	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
42	Shepperton	V	..	..	17	..	..	..	..	3 on 9a	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
43	Greenford	V	1 on 1h 1v	4	..	..	..	4 on 1h	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	7 on 1h	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
44	Hanwell	V	1 on 2h	..	..	..	..	4 on 1h	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	6 on 3v	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
45	Cowley	V	..	..	..	..	..	2 on $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
46	Kingsbury	V	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
47	Hendon	V	..	3	7	16	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	12 have $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6

⁵ Fulham (17): *sub eis manent inter villanos et bordarios xxxi.*

⁶ Stoke Newington (29): *Ibi iiii villani et xxxvii cotarii de x acris.*

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Entry	Manor	Class	Tenures precisely recorded					Tenures imprecisely recorded			
			<i>h</i>	$\frac{1}{2}h$	<i>v</i>	$\frac{1}{2}v$	<i>a</i>	<i>villani</i>	<i>bordars</i>	<i>cottars</i>	<i>No details</i>
48	Harmondsworth	V	2	..	14	6	..	2 on 1 <i>h</i>	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	6:5 <i>a</i>	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
49	Unnamed	V	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50	Tyburn	V	..	..	..	1	..	2 on $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 10 <i>a</i>	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
51	Hatton	V	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 1 $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
52	Hanworth	V	1	..	5	..	..	2 on 1 <i>v</i>	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
53	Harmondsworth	V	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 1 <i>h</i>	..	..	..
54	Harlington	V	..	..	12	4	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 11 <i>a</i>	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
55	Colham	V	..	..	6	..	..	4 on 2 <i>v</i>	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	10:5 <i>a</i>	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
56	Hillingdon	V	..	..	..	..	..	2 on $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 10 <i>a</i>	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
57	Dawley	V	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 5 <i>a</i>	..	..
58	'Ticheham'	V	..	..	..	..	..	6 on 1 <i>h</i> 2 on 1 <i>h</i> , 1 <i>v</i> 2 on 2 <i>v</i>	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 20 <i>a</i>	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
59	Laleham	V	..	..	..	..	..	6 on $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
61	Bedfont	V	..	..	..	..	1:8 <i>a</i>	..	..	..	..
62	Feltham	V	..	..	14	5	..	..	..	..	..
63	Kempton	V	..	..	6	8	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	3 on 1 <i>v</i>	..	..
64	Stanmore	V	..	..	4	..	..	2 on 1 <i>v</i>	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3 on 10 <i>a</i> 3 on 1 <i>a</i>	..
65	Ebury	V	..	1	4	14	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 1 <i>v</i>	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
66	Unnamed	B	..	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 14 <i>a</i>	..	..
67	Islington	V	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
68	Greenford	V	..	..	..	..	..	2 on $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
70	'Ticheham'	V	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
71	Northolt	V	1	5	8	8	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
72	Edmonton	V	1	3	20	24	..	4 on 1 <i>h</i> , 1 <i>v</i>	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	4:5 <i>a</i> 4:4 <i>a</i>	..	9 on 3 <i>v</i>	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 4 <i>a</i>	10
73	Enfield	V	1	3	17	36	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	20 on 1 <i>h</i> , 1 <i>v</i>	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7 on 23 <i>a</i> 5 on 1 <i>a</i>	18
74	Ruislip	V	..	..	17	10	..	2 on 1 <i>h</i>	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	7:4 <i>a</i>	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
75	Kingsbury	V	..	..	8	3	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	5:5 <i>a</i>	..	..	..
76	Stanwell	V	1	8	10	8	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	4 on 28 <i>a</i>	..	6
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
77	Bedfont	V	4	..	4 on 1 <i>h</i>
		B	3 on 13 <i>a</i>
78	West Bedfont	V	2 on 1 <i>h</i> 2 on 2 <i>v</i> 2 on 1 <i>v</i>
		B	1:5 <i>a</i>
		C	1:5 <i>a</i>

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Entry	Manor	Class	Tenures precisely recorded					Tenures imprecisely recorded			
			<i>h</i>	$\frac{1}{2}h$	<i>v</i>	$\frac{1}{2}v$	<i>a</i>	<i>villani</i>	<i>bordars</i>	<i>cottars</i>	No details
79	Hatton	V	..	..	I	..	..	2 on 1v	..	..	..
80	Isleworth ⁷	B	..	..	..	..	1:5a	..	..	..	..
		V	..	..	51	42	..	6 on 2h $\frac{1}{2}v$	..	..	{ 12
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
81	Hampton	V	..	..	30	..	..	11 on 2 $\frac{1}{2}h$	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
82	Harefield	V	..	..	5	5	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	7:5a	..	..	..	..
		..	..	..	..	..	1:3a	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
83	Haggerston ⁸	V	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
84	Unnamed	C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
85	Stepney	V	..	..	..	..	1:14a	..	..	..	..
		..	..	..	..	..	1:12a	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	n bordars on $\frac{1}{2}h$ $\frac{1}{2}v$	..	..
87	Stepney	V	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	4:19a	..	..	..	..
88	Laleham	V	..	7	I	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	3 on 1v	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
89	Charlton	V	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	1:8a	..	..	..	..
90	Stanmore	V	..	..	I	8	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	3:5a	..	..	..	..
91	Cranford	V	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 2a	..
92	Chelsea	V	..	..	..	4	..	2 on 2v	..	..	..
93	Kensington	B	..	..	..	..	3:5a	..	..	..	..
		V	..	..	12	..	..	6 on 3v	..	..	..
94	Tollington	V	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	..	..	2 on 9a	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I
95	Islington	V	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I
96	Tottenham	V	..	..	..	24	..	6 on 6v	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	12:5a	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
97	Lisson	V	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..
		C	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3 on 2a	..

⁷ Isleworth (80): *Sub eis manent inter villanos et bordarios xii et vi villani domini qui tenent ii hidas et dimidiam virgatam.*

⁸ Haggerston (83): *Ibi iii villani et vii bordarii qui tenent hanc terram.*

APPENDIX III

HIDAGIUM COMITATUS TOTIUS MIDDLESEX

(B.M. Add. MS. 14252, ff. 126-7)

THIS manuscript, a copy of an earlier document, is contained in a collection, *temp.* John, relating to the administration of London.¹ Assuming that it is an accurate copy, internal evidence can be adduced to date the original. It was probably completed before the issue, between 1151 and 1153 or 1154,² of the charter in which King Stephen released from geld 6½ hides in eodem manerio Westmonasterii in quo

*ecclesia predicta sita est.*³ These 6½ hides were still answerable for geld when the *Hidagium* was drawn up. Since the Abbot of Colchester is entered as holding a small estate in Ossulstone Hundred, the original *Hidagium* must have been compiled after the foundation of this house in 1096, and probably after *c.* 1104, the date of the consecration of Hugh, the first abbot, and of the abbey itself.⁴ There is no

¹ See Round, *Commune of Lond.* 257-60; *E.H.R.* xvii. 728-9.

² The benediction of Robt., Abbot of St. Albans, who witnesses the charter, took place, according to Matthew Paris, in 1151: Dugdale, *Mon.* ii. 186. The charter is also

witnessed by Daniel, Abbot of St. Benet of Holme, who seems to have died in 1153, the year in which he is said to have been restored: *ibid.* iii. 63-64.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* i. 308, no. liii.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 607.

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charter evidence to identify the small Middlesex estate given to Colchester nor can the date of the grant be determined. Round's view that the original *Hidagium* is 'not later than the middle of the 12th century'⁵ is supported by the evidence, and in view of the close agreement with Domesday it may have been compiled in the first quarter of the century.⁶

From the fragmentary information contained in the section relating to the half hundred of Mimms, referred to in Domesday as Edmonton Hundred, it is evident that the manuscript from which the copy was made was imperfect or incomplete. The hides for three out of four manors are missing. Details for Elthorne Hundred are also missing from the document, but the total hides are included in the *Summe Hundredorum* (total 'C' below). In Gore Hundred the entries *Stanmere ix hid'* and *terra Com' vi hid'* may refer to the manor held by the Count of Mortain in Domesday, although smaller than the Domesday manor by half a hide. In respect of Ossulstone Hundred the total of 191½ hides given in the *Summa* (total 'B' below) is at variance with a figure of 211 hides in the list of hundred totals, the *Summe Hundredorum*. Of the two the first would seem to be the correct figure.⁷ It agrees fairly closely with Domesday, for although the entries here recorded amount to 219¾ hides there is a writ of William I freeing from geld 24 hides which King Ethelbert is said to have given to St. Paul's *iuxta murum Lond'*.⁸ Subsequent confirmations refer to this as land held by the canons.⁹ Twenty-six out of 28½ hides not shown in the *Hidagium* were held in 1086 by the Canons of St. Paul's and it is obvious that among them must be the 24 hides referred to in the writs.¹⁰

The *Hidagium* gives three separate sets of figures from which the total hidage of the county can be

obtained, as well as that which can be arrived at by adding up the details of individual entries. After making adjustments for omissions, there are slight variations in the resultant figures and these, together with the Domesday total, are compared in Table I under the following headings:

A The total of individual entries. The details given for the half hundred of Mimms are defective. They are missing for Isleworth (Hounslow) and for Elthorne. In the table they are supplemented by information (shown in brackets) given elsewhere in the document.

B At the foot of each hundred column is given a *Summa*, no doubt representing the sum of the details for the hundred. There is not one for Elthorne. The detail for Elthorne (shown in brackets) is taken from C. Mimms (Edmonton) has a total at the head (70 hides) and at the foot (69 hides) of the column.

C A list of hundred totals, *Summe Hundredorum*, given at the foot of the *Hidagium*, from which Mimms (Edmonton) is omitted. This detail (in brackets) is taken from B.

D A grand total, *Summa Summarum*. This appears immediately after the entries of the details hundred by hundred.

E An amount of £85 os. 6d. given as the Danegeld for Middlesex and reckoned at the rate of 2s. a hide, presupposes a total of 850½ hides.¹¹ This figure, shown in column E, is very close to the sum of the totals (column B).

F The Domesday total of 880½ hides. For purposes of comparison a second figure of 856½ hides is obtained by deducting the 24 hides freed from geld by King William, referred to above.

TABLE I

Hidagium

Comparison of Totals

Hundreds	A	B	C	D	E	F
Elthorne	.. [224]	.. [224]	224	..	..	224½
Gore	154½	149	149½	..	..	149
Isleworth (Hounslow)	.. [105]	105	105	..	..	105
Mimms (Edmonton)	30 [39/40]	69	[69/70] ..	..	..	70
Ossulstone	191½	191½	211	..	..	219h 3v
Spelthorne	110	110	110	..	..	112
Totals A, B, C, — []						
D; E; F:	486	624½	799½	853½	850½	880h 1v
A, B, C, + []						
D; E; F-24h	854½	848½	869½	853½	850½	856h 1v

The Westminster entries provide an interesting but obscure aspect of the *Hidagium*. The purpose of the annotation *Abb.* which accompanies some entries is not clear. Baring suggested that it was a later addition.¹² Possibly a copy of the document came into the possession of Westminster Abbey and the information relating to it was then added. Between

the death of Gilbert Crispin in 1117, however, and the appointment of Herbert, his successor, in 1121 there was a period in which the king retained the abbey in his own hands, and the possibility cannot be ruled out that the notes were inserted by royal officials.

If the notes had been put in by a monk of West-

⁵ Round, *Commune of Lond.* 258.

⁶ Baring, *Domesday Tables*, 83, suggests that the list should be dated not much later than 1106.

⁷ Baring, citing Mary Bateson, *E.H.R.* xvii, 728, suggested that *exci et dim.* had been copied in the *Summe Hundredorum* as *cc et xi.*

⁸ *Charts. of St. Paul's.* ed. Gibbs, p. 14, no. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.* nos. 8 (William II, dated 1099-1100), 27 (Henry I, dated 1103-4).

¹⁰ Cf. Baring, *Domesday Tables*, 83.

¹¹ See also Round, *Commune of Lond.* 260; Baring, *Domesday Tables*, 84; the Danegeld for London given in the *Hidagium* is £120.

¹² Baring, *op. cit.* 83.

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minster, it is curious that Haggerston, for example, should be shown as part of the abbey's lands to which it never belonged; and that the abbey is not

accredited with any land in Kingsbury, although it is known to have held an estate there in 1086 and 1157.¹³

TABLE 2

Comparison of Entries in Hidagium and Domesday Book

<i>Place (Domesday entry no.)</i>	<i>Hidagium</i>	<i>Domesday</i>	<i>Domesday Landholder</i>
OSSULSTONE HUNDRED			
Stepney (6-16)	50	52h 1v	Bp. of London
(87)		3h 2v	Robt. fitz Roscelin
Stepney, Fafiton's land (85)	4	4	Robt. Fafiton
Haggerston (84) ¹	2	2	Robt. Gernon
Stepney, Bromley	5	..	Bp. of London (included above)
Fulham (17-18)	50	45	Bp. of London
(19)	..	5	Canons of St. Paul's
Westminster (36-37)	16½	16h 2v	Westminster Abbey
Hampstead (38-39) ^{1 2}	5	5	" "
Ebury (65) ¹	10	10	Geoff. de Mandeville
Tollington (94)	2	2	Ranulf, bro. of Ilger
Gilbert's land	½h	..	..
Abbot of Colchester's land	½h	..	..
Chelsea (92) ¹	2	2	Edw. of Salisbury
Kensington (93)	10	10	Aubrey de Ver, of Bp. of Coutances
Lisson (97)	5	5	Eideva
Tyburn (50)	5	5	Abbey of Barking
Willesden (22)	15	15	Canons of St. Paul's
Harlesden (23)	5	5	" "
Twyford (20)	4h xiid.	2	Durand, Canon of St. Paul's
(21)	..	2	Gueri, " "
Rugmoor (24)	..	2	Ralph, " "
Tottenham Court (25)	..	5	Canons " "
St. Pancras (26)	..	5	" " "
(34)	..	.. 4	Walter, Canon " "
Newington (29)	..	2	Canons of " "
Hoxton (30, 31)	..	4	" " "
Stanestaple (33)	..	4	" " "
Islington (27, 28)	..	5	" " "
(67)	..	.. ½h	Gilbert, of Geoff. de Mandeville
(95)	..	.. ½h	Derman of London
Unspecified (66)	..	1h 2v	Geoff. de Mandeville
Total of details	191½	219h 3v	
Total— <i>Summa</i>	191½	..	
ISLEWORTH HUNDRED			
[HOUNSLOW HUNDRED]	..	..
Total— <i>Summa</i>	105	105	
SPELTHORNE HUNDRED			
Staines (40) ¹	35	19	Westminster Abbey
Ashford (60)	..	1	Count of Mortain
Charlton (89)	..	5	Roger de Rames
Laleham (59)	..	2	Count of Mortain
Laleham [Littleton] (88)	..	8	Robt. Blund
Stanwell (76)	15	15	Walter fitz Other
Bedfont (61)	10	2	Count of Mortain
(77)	..	10	Walter fitz Other
Bedfont, West (78)	10	8	" "
Feltham (62)	15	12	Count of Mortain
Kempton (63)	5	5	" "
Sunbury ¹ (41)	7	7	Westminster Abbey
Shepperton (42) ¹	8	8	" "
Hanworth (52) ^{1 3}	5	5	Earl Roger
Hatton (51)	..	1h 2v	"
(79)	..	1h 3½v	Walter fitz Other
—(49)	..	1	Holy Trinity, Rouen
—(98)	..	2½v	Alveve, wife of Wateman
Total of details	110	112	
Total— <i>Summa</i>	110	..	

¹³ Ex inf. Miss Barbara Harvey.

¹ 'Abb' in text.

² *iiii* Abb in text.

³ *iii* Abb in text.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

<i>Place (Domesday entry no.)</i>	<i>Hidagium</i>	<i>Domesday</i>	<i>Domesday Landholder</i>
GORE HUNDRED			
Harrow (4)	100	100	Abp. of Canterbury
Kingsbury (46)	10	2h 2v	Westminster Abbey
(75)	..	7h 2v	Ernulf of Hesdin
Stanmore [Great] (64)	9	9h 2v	Count of Mortain
<i>T[er]ra Com'</i>	6	..	
Stanmore [Little] (90)	9½	9h 2v	Roger de Rames
Hendon ¹ (47)	20	20	Westminster Abbey
Total of details	154½	149	
Total— <i>Summa</i>	149	..	
MIMMS HALF-HUNDRED			
[EDMONTON HUNDRED]	70	..	
Tottenham (96)	..	..
	detail	5	Countess Judith
	omitted		
Edmonton (72)	..	incl. in the	
	..	berewick 35	Geoff. de Mandeville
Mimms	..	of Mimms	
Enfield (73)	30	30	
	30+	70	
Total of details	69	..	
Total— <i>Summa</i>			
ELTHORNE HUNDRED			
	no entry	..	
Total of details	no entry	224½	
Total— <i>Summa</i>	..	..

¹ 'Abb' in text.

ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

THE archdeaconry of Middlesex within the diocese of London was in existence probably in 1103¹ and certainly in 1127.² It is possible that the jurisdiction of the archdeacon had originally extended to the whole of northern Essex but that the formation of the archdeaconry of Colchester (before 1103) left the Archdeacon of Middlesex with only the deaneries of Dunmow, Harlow, and Hedingham in Essex, together with the deaneries of Braughing (Herts.) and Middlesex.³ The boundaries of the deanery of Middlesex appear in general to have been those of the county. A list of c. 1244–8⁴ gives the names of 48 churches and chapels in the deanery, including the churches of St. Clement Danes and St. Martin in the Fields. Westminster Abbey was also said to be within the deanery but was not subject to the archdeacon, and jurisdiction over the church of St. Margaret Westminster and the chapel of Paddington had been confirmed to the abbey in 1222.⁵ Staines, also conditionally exempted in 1222 from the jurisdiction of the archdeacon and bishop,⁶ nevertheless appears in the deanery in c. 1244–8. St. Andrew Holborn and St. Mary Islington were in the archdeaconry of London, which covered the City of London,⁷ and St. Leonard Shoreditch went into the same archdeaconry at some date after 1203⁸ and perhaps after 1291.⁹ Of the other Middlesex churches not included in the list of c. 1244–8, Acton, Ealing, Finchley, Fulham, Hackney, Hornsey, and Stepney were probably subject directly to the Bishop of London who held manors in those places;¹⁰ Chiswick, Friern Barnet, Stoke Newington, St. Pancras, Twyford, West Drayton, and Willesden belonged to the Dean and Chapter¹¹ of St. Paul's and were probably all exempt from the jurisdiction of both the Archdeacon of Middlesex and the Bishop of London, except when the latter was making a visitation of the chapter; and the church of Harrow-on-the-Hill with the chapel of Pinner and the church of Hayes with the chapel of Norwood were part of the deanery of Croydon, a peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹² The church of Ruislip, also omitted from the list, belonged to the abbey of Bec,¹³ but seems to have been under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Archdeacon of Middlesex and the Bishop of London by the 14th century.¹⁴

In 1540 Henry VIII erected the new bishopric of Westminster.¹⁵ The diocese comprised Westminster, henceforth to be a city and the whole county of Middlesex with the exception of Fulham. The Archdeacon of Middlesex was exempted from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and became a dignitary of the new cathedral of St. Peter, which was to be the seat of the Bishop of Westminster. The archdeaconry lost

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. 9th Rep. 65; Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 70.

² Radulfi de Diceto Opera Hist. (Rolls Ser.), i, pp. xxii, xxxv–xxxvi, 251.

³ V.C.H. Essex, ii. 81.

⁴ St. Paul's MS. W.D. 9, ff. 83v–86; W. E. Lunt, *Valuation of Norwich*, 178–81, 358–60.

⁵ St. Paul's MS. W.D. 9, f. 89; H. F. Westlake, *Westm. Abbey*, i. 46–47.

⁶ Westlake, *Westm. Abbey*, i. 46–47; V.C.H. Mdx. iii. 28.

⁷ St. Paul's MS. W.D. 9, f. 48v.

⁸ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 97, 685.

⁹ *Taxatio Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 17, 19.

¹⁰ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 569, 604, 607, 652, 737, 760; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 452.

¹¹ *Visitations of Churches in the Patronage of St. Paul's* (Camd. Misc. ix), p. iv; *Visitations of Churches belonging to St. Paul's* (Camd. Soc. N.S. iv), p. xiii; Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 75, 588, 596, 606, 700, 705, 759, 760.

¹² Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, i. 63, n. 6.

¹³ See p. 202.

¹⁴ *Lond. Reg. Gravesend* (Cant. & York Soc.), 281; *Lond. Reg. Simonis de Sudburia* (Cant. & York Soc.), i. 7, 259.

¹⁵ Westlake, *Westm. Abbey*, i. 207; V.C.H. Lond. i. 447, 451.

its deaneries in Essex and Hertfordshire, but it may now have included most if not all of the former peculiars in the county of Middlesex.¹⁶ Estimates of the endowment of the bishopric vary, but the bishop himself certified to the Archbishop of Canterbury that his income was £573 a year.¹⁷ Most of the property of Westminster Abbey went to endow the new secular chapter; much of it was alienated under the first dean, and the bishop himself was reported to have impoverished the see by granting long leases of its property.¹⁸ Thomas Thirlby, the first and only bishop, was often absent on diplomatic missions.¹⁹

The reasons for the suppression of the bishopric are not very clear. The diocese was small, but the bishopric was better endowed than Rochester or the Welsh bishoprics,²⁰ and it is improbable that it was in fact too poor to survive. It is more likely that the loss of Middlesex was resented by the see of London.²¹ On 29 March 1550 Thirlby resigned and the bishopric was immediately reunited to that of London.²² The Archdeacon of Middlesex resumed his old position and territories, but the church of St. Peter remained a cathedral until the restoration of the monastic rule in 1556.²³

During the time of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum diocesan organization disappeared, and there was no attempt to replace it in the greater part of Middlesex by the presbyterian plan of church government that involved a few of the urban parishes of the county in the presbyterian 'Province of London'.²⁴ The restoration of episcopacy in 1660 brought back the old organization and boundaries. A few new parishes were created and new churches built in the late 17th century. By 1708 there were 52 churches and chapels in the county subject to the Archdeacon of Middlesex, 14 subject directly to the bishop, 8 subject to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, 5 subject to the Archdeacon of London, and 4 subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury.²⁵ In 1711 an Act was passed for the building of 50 churches in the cities of London and Westminster and their suburbs.²⁶ Of the churches which were in fact built, four, all designed by Hawksmoor, were in Middlesex.²⁷ Twelve other churches were built in the inner London suburbs during the 18th and early 19th centuries independently of the Act.²⁸ Under the provisions of the Church Building Act of 1818 a further six were erected in the county.²⁹

The considerable growth in the population of Middlesex in the 19th and 20th centuries demanded the rearrangement of the archdeaconries and the deaneries. In 1834 Bishop Blomfield announced that he had divided his diocese into 47 rural deaneries, each consisting of about ten parishes, but this scheme seems not to have been pursued.³⁰ In 1845 an Order in Council abolished all peculiar jurisdictions within the diocese, removed the Essex and Hertfordshire deaneries from the Archdeaconry of Middlesex, added certain parishes in Surrey and Southwark to it (which it lost in 1878),³¹ and incorporated 20 parishes east of the City within the Archdeaconry of London.³² Further reorganization followed the London Government Act of 1899. Bishop Creighton wanted the deaneries to correspond as far as possible to the new boroughs and urban

¹⁶ G. Burnet, *Hist. of the Reformation*, ed. N. Pocock, iv. 501; Guildhall MS. 9531/12, ff. 248-9.

¹⁷ Guildhall MS 9531/12, f. 257; cf. J. Strype, *Eccl. Memorials*, i (2), 407, and R. Widmore, *Enquiry into the Foundation of Westm. Abbey*, 130.

¹⁸ J. P. Neale, *Westm. Abbey*, i. 106; Stow, *Survey*, ii. 108.

¹⁹ *D.N.B.*

²⁰ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 100; iv. 345, 380, 416, 433.

²¹ Westlake, *Westm. Abbey*, i. 218.

²² Rymer, *Foedera*, vi (3), 186-8.

²³ Westlake, *Westm. Abbey*, i. 219, 223; but cf. A. P. Stanley, *Westm. Abbey*, 408, n. 5.

²⁴ See p. 144.

²⁵ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 56-57, 75-76.

²⁶ Churches in Lond. and Westminster Act, 10 Anne, c. 20.

²⁷ J. Summerson, *Georgian London*, 74.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 196-216.

²⁹ Church Building Act, 58 Geo. III, c. 45; Summerson, *Georgian Lond.* 196-216.

³⁰ C. J. Blomfield, *Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lond.* 1834, 31-32; Lambeth MSS., Fulham Papers, and returns of Rural Deans 1834.

³¹ *Lond., Gaz.* 1878, i. 2859.

³² *Ibid.* 1845, pp. 2541, 2631, 2663; *Eccl. Jurisd. Act*, 11 & 12 Vic. c. 98. The Order does not seem to have come into immediate effect cf. M.R.O., Archd. Mdx. V. Bk. 5, ff. 8v, 203-13.

districts, so that contact between town hall and clergy would be easy and every unit of local government would have its civic church. There was opposition to the scheme from some of the clergy,³³ but the bishop's plan was adopted substantially unchanged. In 1912 the Archdeaconry of Hampstead was carved out of the Archdeaconry of Middlesex.³⁴ In 1951 the parishes to the east of the City were formed into the Archdeaconry of Hackney.³⁵ In 1964 the diocese of London consisted of the Archdeaconries of London, Middlesex, Hampstead, and Hackney. Of the 28 deaneries and 500 parishes in the diocese all except the deanery of the City (23 parishes) and that of Westminster (20 parishes), were in Middlesex.³⁶

The practice of appointing suffragan bishops, which had fallen into disuse, was revived in the 19th century. The first appointment in the diocese of London was of William Walsham How, who became Bishop of Bedford in 1879. He resided at Clapton, took charge of parishes in Bethnal Green, Hackney, Shoreditch, Stoke Newington, and Whitechapel and exercised the Bishop of London's rights of patronage in the area.³⁷ His successors, who from 1895 have held the title of Bishop of Stepney, have had similarly wide powers.³⁸ A suffragan Bishop of Islington was appointed in 1898,³⁹ and there have been Bishops of Kensington since 1900⁴⁰ and of Willesden since 1911.⁴¹

The rapid growth of the urban population created pastoral and therefore organizational problems which were fundamentally of parochial provenance and to which the rearrangement of archdeaconry and deanery boundaries was at best a partial response. Many more churches were needed, and in many places this need was met by opening mission-chapels, often in very humble circumstances, in the more remote or more populous quarters of the parishes. The establishment of a mission was not in every case well-planned or, perhaps, properly explained to the parishioners, and the congregation of the mother church appears occasionally to have shared hardly at all in the missionary spirit of the enterprise. If there were sharp social distinctions between the areas served by the parish church and the mission-chapel, as was sometimes the case, calls to alleviate the poverty of the latter were often openly resented.⁴²

To help to pay for the new churches and mission-chapels which the day demanded, Bishops Blomfield and Tait established a number of special funds financed by people of standing,⁴³ but local funds were raised as well.⁴⁴ In order to effect economies, chapels were opened in rented premises,⁴⁵ even in attics, while some favoured prefabricated iron chapels, which came in various shapes and sizes and could be erected by unskilled labour.⁴⁶ Gradually the rented rooms and iron chapels gave place to more permanent structures and many of the 19th-century churches in the county today are mission-chapels come of age.

Not all the new parishes in Middlesex were established in response to demographic pressures. At Clerkenwell and Kilburn they were formed to accommodate parishioners who were at variance with their incumbents on matters of ritual and still more on the theological issues of which they were the expression.⁴⁷

In the 19th and early 20th centuries clergy in the inner suburbs with their mobile

³³ Lambeth MSS. F.P. 69.

³⁴ *Lond. Dioc. Book* (1913), iii.

³⁵ *Ibid.* (1952), 3.

³⁶ *Ibid.* (1964).

³⁷ F. D. How, *Bishop Walsham How*, 134-5; *The Times*, 12 July 1879.

³⁸ How, *Walsham How*, 144.

³⁹ *Lond. Dioc. Book* (1889), 73.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* (1901), 75.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* (1912), 23.

⁴² Guildhall MS. 9583A/6, 1/8.

⁴³ B. F. L. Clarke, *Church Builders of the 19th century*,

26, 217; *Church Work among the Masses in connection with the London Diocesan Building Society*, N.S. iii. 33-41; *The Bishop of London's Fund—some account of work since Midsummer 1863*, xiv.

⁴⁴ Clarke, *Church Builders*, 218; *Church Work among the Masses*, N.S. i. 21.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 43.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* N.S. i (advertisements on inner covers); *ibid.* N.S. ii. 20, 22; *Bp. of London's Fund*, iii. 3.

⁴⁷ Lambeth MSS. F.P. 165; *Royal Com. on Eccl. Discipline: Minutes of Evidence*, (Ed. 3070), 337-8.

populations and lack of tradition began to adopt new pastoral methods;⁴⁸ many extended their ministry through numerous forms of social service,⁴⁹ while a few even engaged in political action.⁵⁰

Vocational chaplaincies for those for whom the parochial structure was irrelevant were founded in the 20th century. Two were in Middlesex; the Chaplaincy for Members of the University of London (1952)⁵¹ and the Industrial Chaplaincy for North and West London (1961).⁵² By 1965–6 the University Chaplaincy consisted of a central chaplaincy, two regional chaplaincies, and a specialized chaplaincy for medical students.⁵³

After the break with Rome only clandestine activity was possible for those who remained attached to the Papacy. The ecclesiastical structure was destroyed. In 1623 a vicar apostolic in episcopal orders was appointed with jurisdiction over England, Wales, and Scotland.⁵⁴ In 1688 England and Wales were divided into four vicariates or districts⁵⁵ and in 1840 their number was increased to eight;⁵⁶ Middlesex remained throughout in the London district. After the restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850 it became part of the Archdiocese of Westminster which consisted of the City of London, Westminster, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, and, until 1917, Essex.⁵⁷

In the later 16th century Roman Catholics in London and the inner suburban parishes began to use Embassy chapels⁵⁸ but throughout penal times they also had secret or at least very discreet chapels of their own.⁵⁹ A number of country houses were apparently used as centres of missionary activity⁶⁰ but the only one which appears to have become a centre of importance was the Earl of Shrewsbury's house at Isleworth where there was a permanent mass-centre from 1728 and probably earlier.⁶¹ After the Relief Act of 1791 the use of certified public chapels was permitted and by 1801 there were 7 in London north of the Thames (including one in the City), 3 in rural Middlesex, and 7 'French chapels'.⁶² After the restoration of the Hierarchy, normal diocesan organization was slowly created. Deaneries were established in 1894.⁶³ In 1895, when there were 11 in the diocese, 7 deaneries and part of an eighth lay in Middlesex.⁶⁴ In 1965 there were 23, of which 18 were in the county.⁶⁵

English diocesan priests in Middlesex were assisted by English regular clergy,⁶⁶ by Irish priests from the 17th century onwards,⁶⁷ and during the Revolutionary and Napo-

⁴⁸ *Church Work among the Masses*, N.S. ii. 22–26; N.S. viii, 120; Clarke, *Church Builders*, 218–20; *Bp. of London's Fund*, viii.

⁴⁹ *Church Work among the Masses*, v. 53; N.S. viii. 120–2.

⁵⁰ St. J. B. Groser, *Politics and Persons*, *passim*.

⁵¹ *Lond. Dioc. Book* (1953), 11.

⁵² *Ibid.* (1962), 11.

⁵³ Ex inf. University Chaplaincy.

⁵⁴ P. Hughes, *Rome and the Counter Reformation*, 323, 329–30.

⁵⁵ B. Hemphill, *Early Vicars Apostolic of England, 1685–1750*, 16.

⁵⁶ B. Ward, *Sequel to Catholic Emancipation* 154–67.

⁵⁷ *Eng. Catholics, 1850–1950*, ed. G. A. Beck, 111; *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, ix. 481–3.

⁵⁸ P. R. Harris, 'William Fleetwood, Recorder of the City, and Catholicism in Elizabethan London', *Recusant Hist.* vii. 3; *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 326; J. H. Harting, *Catholic London Missions*, *passim*.

⁵⁹ R. Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, 11, 174–5, 590, *et passim*.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 112–13 (Tresham's house at Hoxton); W. D. Bushell, 'The Bellamies of Uxendon', *T.L.M.A.S.* N.S. iii. 71–103; Robbins, *Mdx.* 108–9 (Bellamies of Uxendon); W. Robinson, *Hist. and Antiq. of Hackney*, i. 100 (Vaux's house in Hackney); *D.N.B.* vii. 881 (Moorcroft, Hillingdon; Enfield Chase).

⁶¹ *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 130; J. S. Hansom and J. Gillow, 'Cath. Regs. of Isleworth, Mdx. 1746–1835', *Cath. Rec. Soc.* xiii. 299–334.

⁶² *Laity's Directory*, 1801 (3rd section), 4–5.

⁶³ *Synodus Diocesana Westmonasteriensis Trigesima Tertia*, 9, 18; but cf. also *Decreta quatuor Conciliorum Provincia- lum Westmonasteriensium*, 1852–73, 12 (*Decreta* xiv. 2).

⁶⁴ *Cath. Dir.* (1895), 122–3.

⁶⁵ *Westminster Year Bk.* (1966), 117–19.

⁶⁶ *Benedictines*: H. N. Birt, *Obit Book of the Eng. Benedictines from 1600–1912*, *passim*; A. C. F. Beales, *Educ. under Penalty*, 247. Carmelites: G. R. Zimmerman, *Carmel in Eng.* 51, 52, 225, 302, 339, 345; Beales, *Educ. under Penalty*, 202, 226, 248. Dominicans: W. Gumbley, *Obituary Notices of the Eng. Dominicans, 1555–1952*, 6, 16, 36, 38, 42, 45, 63, 64, 80; Beales, *Educ. under Penalty*, 248. Franciscans: Challoner, *Memoirs*, 430, 565; Beales, *Educ. under Penalty*, 247. Jesuits: G. Oliver, *Collections towards Illustrating the Biography of the Scotch, English and Irish Members of the Society of Jesus*, *passim*; R. Trappes-Lomax 'Addresses of Jesuits in Eng., 1727–34', *Cath. Rec. Soc.* xiii. 160–89; Challoner, *Memoirs*, 380, 385, 436, 468, 526; Beales, *Educ. under Penalty*, 207, 248–53; *D.N.B.* xiii. 881.

⁶⁷ Zimmerman, *Carmel*, 345; Hemphill, *Early Vicars Apostolic*, 76, 99.

leonic Wars by French priests who opened 7 chapels.⁶⁸ In the mid-19th century Flemish priests from the English missionary seminary at Bruges were working in the county.⁶⁹ In 1965 408 of the 508 diocesan clergy and 372 of the 427 regular clergy in the Archdiocese of Westminster were working in Middlesex.⁷⁰

The number of Roman Catholics resident in the county at different times is difficult to determine. In a report to Rome in 1773 Bishop Challoner stated that in London (including the City, Westminster, Southwark, and the urban Middlesex parishes) there were 20,000 Roman Catholics and in rural Middlesex 400.⁷¹ In 1814 there were said to be 49,000 Roman Catholics in London (the City, Westminster, Southwark, and the inner suburbs). Of these 12,000 were in East London and 12,000 in the Moorfields-Shoreditch area, 8,000 in Soho, and 7,000 in St. Giles.⁷² In 1818 Bishop Poynter reported that there were 50,000 in London and 1,360 in rural Middlesex.⁷³ From the early 19th century the Roman Catholic population of the country, stimulated by the increase in the volume of immigration of Irish Roman Catholics,⁷⁴ rapidly began to rise. Impressive as the volume of Irish immigration was, and continues to be, it would be a mistake to underestimate the part played by internal immigration, conversions, and the immigration of Roman Catholics from the continent. In 1965 there were 490,701 Roman Catholics in the Archdiocese of Westminster, most of whom lived in Middlesex.⁷⁵ Of the 20,157 infant baptisms that year, about 17,500 were in the county⁷⁶ and of the 110,000 Roman Catholics of school-age in the diocese, some 90,000 were at school in Middlesex.⁷⁷

The principal concentrations of Roman Catholics in penal times were in the urban parishes around the City.⁷⁸ In the 19th century the inner suburbs, where work was found and where the Roman Catholic communities were compact and homogeneous,⁷⁹ were the most popular areas of Irish settlement and consequently the most strongly Roman Catholic. The growth of the outer suburbs slowly dispersed these concentrations but since the end of the Second World War new concentrations have become evident in Kilburn and neighbouring areas.⁸⁰

At the end of the 18th century several refugee communities of English and French nuns started schools in the county.⁸¹ In the 19th and 20th centuries the demand for Roman Catholic schools and other forms of social service encouraged many religious orders to open houses in Middlesex, 42 for men and 82 for women, as well as 2 secular institutes.⁸²

Westminster was one of the few dioceses which put into effect the national programme of Catholic Action promulgated in 1938. Catholic Action was formally established on a parochial and deanery basis throughout the diocese, including Middlesex, in that year.⁸³ The scheme was disrupted by the war and not revived after it.

There are specialized chaplaincies for Roman Catholics in the University of London and for Overseas Students. These were founded in 1934⁸⁴ and 1952⁸⁵ respectively. The first consisted in 1966 of a central chaplaincy and a regional chaplaincy.⁸⁶ Ever since the 19th century particular churches have been reserved for communities of foreign Roman

⁶⁸ *Laity's Dir.* 1801 (3rd section), 5.

⁶⁹ Ex inf. Mr. E. Derluyn.

⁷⁰ *Westminster Year Bk.* (1966), 224.

⁷¹ W. M. Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, iii. 168-9; E. H. Burton, *Life and Times of Bp. Challoner*, ii. 170-2.

⁷² Brady, *Episcopal Succession*, iii. 187-8. ⁷³ *Ibid.* 189.

⁷⁴ K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian Eng.* 120-1; J. A. Jackson, *Irish in Britain*, 137-9, 150.

⁷⁵ *Westminster Year Bk.* (1966), 224.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 199.

⁷⁷ Ex inf. Westminster Dioc. Schools Com.

⁷⁸ Ex inf. Mr. A. Dures.

⁷⁹ Jackson, 'Irish in East London', *East Lond. Papers*, vi. 2.

⁸⁰ Ex inf. Mgr. D. Norris.

⁸¹ *Laity's Dir.* 1798, 15 (Hammersmith), 16 (Chelsea, Pentonville).

⁸² *Westminster Year Bk.* (1966).

⁸³ *The Tablet*, N.S. cxxxix. 233; N.S. cxl. 13, 14; *Westminster Cathedral Chron.* xxxii. 37-39, 197-200.

⁸⁴ *Cath. Dir.* (1935, 1947, 1948, 1951, 1961).

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* (1953), 84.

⁸⁶ Ex inf. Chaplaincy to Catholics in the Univ. of Lond.

Catholics and in 1966 there were 8 national churches of this kind and 5 national chaplaincies without reserved churches or chapels.⁸⁷ While most Roman Catholics in Middlesex are of the Latin rite, for some years there have been small communities of the Ukrainian and Byzantine-Slavonic rites in the county.⁸⁸

The history of Protestant nonconformist organization in Middlesex begins with the period of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, for although there had been nonconformist congregations in the county since the mid-16th century they were either too small, protean, and peculiar to combine with one another, or were of their very nature opposed to combination. It was not until the Baptists, the Independents, and the Presbyterians had begun to proliferate after the destruction of the Anglican hierarchy in the early 1640s that it became necessary for the various denominations to organize themselves. There seems to be no evidence that the churches of Middlesex were combined in a classical system on the presbyterian model, although the presbyterian Westminster Assembly undoubtedly dominated London and the surrounding areas. The projected 8th, 9th, 11th, and 12th classes of London included fourteen Middlesex parishes, but only the 8th classis was put into operation.⁸⁹ The Baptists of London, however, were organized as early as 1644,⁹⁰ and the Congregational societies in and about the City of London joined with the Baptists in issuing declarations in 1647 and 1651.⁹¹ The arrangements for the Savoy Conference of the Independents in 1658 were entrusted to the elders of the Independent churches in and about London, a body which held regular meetings.⁹² The Quakers had at least eight meetings in Middlesex during the Interregnum,⁹³ and by 1662 the London fortnightly meeting, begun in 1656, had become an important and well-settled body.⁹⁴

With the Restoration and the return of the Anglican hierarchy numerous ministers and congregations became persecuted nonconformists. Twenty-one Middlesex ministers were ejected from their cures in 1660-1, and in five more parishes Anglican clergymen who had been removed during the Civil Wars and Interregnum were restored.⁹⁵ After the Act of Uniformity of 1662 a further 15 ministers were ejected and another in 1663; in all 37 ministers were deprived during the period 1660-3.⁹⁶ Most of these ministers seem to have been presbyterian⁹⁷ and 27 of them held cures in what was then rural Middlesex. The Conventicle Act of 1664 discovered conventicles frequented by large numbers of nonconformists in 1664-5.⁹⁸ A list of 1669 gives the locations of 34 conventicles in the county, most of them in urban Middlesex: 7 were Independent, 4 were Baptist, 3 were Presbyterian, and the denomination of the remainder was not indicated.⁹⁹ The meetings of both the Independents and the Baptists were apparently organized to ensure that there should be a meeting each day of the week at one or other of the meeting-houses in the several areas.¹ The Quakers were undoubtedly the best organized body at this time. Of the original five monthly meetings set up by Fox in 1667, two were in Middlesex;² in 1671 the six weeks' meeting began, and was for a time the prime meeting for London Friends.³

⁸⁷ *Westminster Year Bk.* (1966).

⁸⁸ *Cath. Dir.* (1948), 83; (1949), 73.

⁸⁹ W. A. Shaw, *Hist. of the Eng. Ch.* ii. 31, 403.

⁹⁰ D. M. Himbury, *British Baptists*, 42, 109; before 1660 the Baptists had at least 6 churches in urban Mdx.: *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.* ii. 245-8.

⁹¹ G. F. Nuttall, *Visible Saints*, 120.

⁹² R. T. Jones *Congregationalism in Eng.* 35

⁹³ W. C. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism* (2nd. edn.) 376-80.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 339.

⁹⁵ A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised*. Some deprivations may have been the result of a defective title to the benefice.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* In another 10 cures new appointments were made during this period: Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*.

⁹⁷ Matthews, *Cal. Rev. passim*; *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.* ii. 245-8; *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* vi. 43 sqq.

⁹⁸ *Mdx. Cnty. Recs.* iii. 340-9.

⁹⁹ G. Lyon Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, i. 85-92. Attendance figures should be treated with caution.

¹ *Ibid.* 90.

² W. C. Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism* (2nd edn.), 253.

³ *Ibid.* 275.

After the Declaration of Indulgence was issued in 1672, 38 Presbyterian, 10 Independent, and 2 Baptist ministers were licensed, 28 of the total being in rural Middlesex.⁴ In spite of the almost immediate cancellation of the Declaration nonconformist meetings continued to be held and in the last five years of the reign of Charles II conventiclers were discovered and indicted at thirty places in Middlesex.⁵ The Toleration Act of 1689, however, brought some relief to the nonconformists, and in the same year the short-lived London Association of Baptists was formed.⁶ In 1691 an attempt was made to bind the Congregational and Presbyterian ministers of London in an agreement called the 'Happy Union', the product of subscription to certain 'Heads of Agreement'; but it was not successful, and the union began to break up only two years later.⁷ It had not been possible for the Presbyterians to maintain under persecution any form of that elaborate network of synods and courts which had been the basis of classical Presbyterianism, and it was theological and not disciplinary differences which led to the dissolution of the union.⁸ Nevertheless, the two denominations continued to co-operate in certain matters⁹ although attempts to bring them together were more successful in the country than in London. The Baptists were as well organized as the other denominations both during the period of persecution¹⁰ and after the Toleration Act, but the Independents and Presbyterians tended to regard them as inferior in religious opinion and social status.¹¹ In 1704 the London Association of the Baptists was revived but again lasted only for a short time;¹² the General Baptist ministers of London met regularly at a coffee-house from 1714, and the Particular Baptists established a rival coffee-house meeting in 1724.¹³ In the thirty years following the Toleration Act 158 places of worship were certified in Middlesex (including London and Westminster), and of these 57 were specified as Independent, 44 as Baptist, 20 as Presbyterian, and 10 as Quaker.¹⁴

A list of 1729 gives 17 Presbyterian, 10 Independent, and 9 Baptist churches in Middlesex.¹⁵ A list of 1731, obviously incomplete, gives 9 Presbyterian, 9 Independent, and 11 Baptist churches.¹⁶ The compiler of this list argues that the dissenting interest had lost ground since 1695, for although the actual numbers of dissenters had not decreased the population of London had grown by a sixth in that time.¹⁷ The theological laxity of many ministers led to a confusion of denominations.¹⁸ The Presbyterians were divided between Calvinism and Arminianism, and would generally declare their assent to a congregational order.¹⁹ Some of the Independents inclined to antinomianism, and one church in Goodman's Fields was not acknowledged by the other Independent churches.²⁰ The Baptists included Arminians, Socinians, Calvinists, antinomians, ranters, and libertines; many were 'whimsical, giddy, and unstable'; their congregations were smaller, and the people of lower status, than either the Presbyterians or Independents.²¹ Nevertheless, there was some co-operation between the denominations. In 1727 the first Congregational Association, the Board of Congregational Ministers in and about London, was formed,²² and in the same year the churches of the three

⁴ F. Bate, *The Declaration of Indulgence*, App. xxxvii-xl.

⁵ *Mdx. Cnty. Recs.* iv. *passim*.

⁶ A. C. Underwood, *Hist. of Eng. Baptists*, 129; H. S. Skeats, *Hist. of Free Churches*, 157-66.

⁷ Jones, *Cong. in Eng.* 112 sqq.; Skeats *Hist. of Free Chs.* 172 sqq.; A. H. Drysdale, *Hist. of Presbyterians in Eng.* 459-65; *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 382.

⁸ Skeats, *Hist. of Free Chs.* 176 sqq.; Drysdale, *Hist. Presbs.* 469-76.

⁹ Jones, *Cong. in Eng.* 118.

¹⁰ Himbury, *Brit. Bapts.* 44.

¹¹ Dr. Williams's Libr. Records of Nonconformity 18, 'A View of the Dissenting Interest in London . . .', pp. 100-1.

¹² Underwood, *Hist. Eng. Bapts.* 131.

¹³ Skeats, *Hist. Free Chs.* 262; W. T. Whitley, *Hist. of British Baptists*, 203-4.

¹⁴ *Returns Relating to Dissenters' Places of Worship*, H.C. 156, p. 46 (1852-3), lxxviii.

¹⁵ Dr. Williams's Libr. MS. 34. 4, 'John Evans List of Dissenting Congregations', ff. 74-80.

¹⁶ Dr. Williams's Libr. Recs of Nonconformity 18, pp. 79-102.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 81.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 87.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 89, 93-94.

²⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 91-92.

²¹ *Ibid.* pp. 100-1.

²² *Cong. Year Bk.* (1846), 92.

denominations within ten miles of London formed themselves into a General Body which could act on behalf of the Dissenting Interest throughout the Country in discussions with the government.²³ In 1732 the body known as the Protestant Dissenting Deputies was formed, including two deputies from every dissenting church within ten, later twelve, miles of London, with the object of obtaining more freedom for the non-conformists.²⁴ The general decline of religious enthusiasm in the earlier 18th century, however, affected the nonconformists of Middlesex, and the growth of the population of London and the surrounding districts did not lead to a corresponding growth in the provision of places of worship. A list of 1772 gives 16 Presbyterian, 15 Independent, 10 Baptist, and 4 unspecified churches in Middlesex.²⁵ Of the 45 congregations 10 were 'such eccentric irregular preachers and societies as are in no connection with either of the denominations'. The rest of the ministers were included on the approved list which was delivered by each denomination from time to time to the Deputies, none but these approved ministers being admitted members of the General Body.²⁶

Methodism seems to have made little impression on the county before 1800, although the London Methodist Circuit was established in 1765,²⁷ and it was stated in 1772 that the Independent minister of Stepney meeting, who was ordained to the church in 1746, 'by closely connecting himself with the Methodism has raised that Congregation to an amazing height'.²⁸ The dissenting chapel at Staines was taken over by the Methodists soon after 1768.²⁹ However, although only nine of the Methodist places of worship that existed in the whole county in 1851 had been erected before 1801,³⁰ by 1811 there were at least 25 Methodist congregations in Middlesex without London and Westminster.³¹ At this date the Congregationalists were by far the strongest denomination in the county; the Presbyterian interest had withered away with the conversion of many congregations to Unitarianism and Independency,³² and the Baptists had gained little ground since 1772, although they were perhaps the best organized denomination.³³

Table 1 shows the growth of nonconformity in Middlesex during the 19th century, a growth which was part of the great national expansion of dissent. The popularity of the sects was matched and surpassed by the major denominations, which were forced to organize themselves more rigorously on both a local and a national basis. The Particular Baptist Union was founded in 1812.³⁴ The present London Baptist Association was established in 1865,³⁵ and in 1871 the Metropolitan Association of Strict Baptist Churches was created for a number of churches which could not bring themselves to enter the London Association.³⁶ In 1832 the Congregational Union, consisting of the county and district associations, was formed, and in 1847 a new constitution brought individual churches into closer connexion with the Union.³⁷ The Finsbury Association of Congregational Churches, formed in 1846, was the first Middlesex supplement to the old-established London Association,³⁸ and by the end of the century all Middlesex was divided into five districts and included in the London Union.³⁹ The London Circuit of the Methodists remained the only circuit in Middlesex until 1807, when it was divided in two, but by 1850 there were nine Wesleyan circuits, and be-

²³ Jones, *Cong. in Eng.* 143; B. L. Manning, *Protestant Dissenting Deputies*, 21-22; *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 387-8.

²⁴ Manning, *Prot. Diss. Depts.* 2, 19-20; Jones, *Cong. in Eng.* 143; Drysdale, *Hist. Presbs.* 613-16.

²⁵ Dr. William's Libr. MS. 34. 5, 'A state of the Dissenting Interest in the Several Counties of England and Wales . . .' (Thompson MS.), f. 48.

²⁶ *Ibid.* ff. 48-49; cf. Manning, *Prot. Diss. Depts.* 34-35.

²⁷ J. Hall, *Alphabetical List of the Circuits in Great Brit.* (1897 edn.).

²⁸ Dr. William's Libr. MS. 34. 5, f. 51.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Religious Census*, 1851, p. ccxiv; cf. *Dissenters' Places of Worship* (1852-3), p. 46. These figures include Lond. and Westminster.

³¹ *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* vi.

³² Drysdale, *Hist. Presbs.* 526-32, 540-2.

³³ Himbury, *Brit. Bapts.* 81, 83, 114.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 114.

³⁵ Underwood, *Eng. Bapts.* 207.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 246.

³⁷ Jones, *Cong. in Eng.* 242-4.

³⁸ *Cong. Year Bk.* (1846), 106.

³⁹ *Ibid.* (1898).

tween 1857 and 1876 eighteen more circuits were created. In 1896 there were thirty Wesleyan circuits covering the county.⁴⁰ In 1850 the Unitarians of the metropolis and its neighbourhood formed the London District Unitarian Society, and in 1889 the Provincial Assembly of Non-subscribing Ministers and Congregations of London and the South-Eastern Counties was created.⁴¹ English Presbyterianism revived, originally through the inspiration of the Scottish Secession Church, and in 1820 a presbytery was established in London;⁴² the name of the Presbyterian Church in England was adopted in 1844⁴³ and in 1876 the Scottish and English bodies were united as the Presbyterian Church of England.⁴⁴ A new movement, which owed much to the situation in urban Middlesex itself, was the Salvation Army, which began in 1865 in a tent in White-chapel as the 'Christian Mission to the Heathen in our Own Country' and spread rapidly in the highly-populated industrial areas.

By 1772 nonconformist meetings in rural Middlesex accounted for less than a quarter of the total number of meetings in the county,⁴⁵ and as London spread northward and westward so the influence of the rural congregations became progressively less. The districts with the highest numbers of nonconformist worshippers in the county in 1851 were St. Pancras, Stepney, Marylebone, Hackney, Islington, St. Luke, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Clerkenwell, and Edmonton.⁴⁶ In six out of the 24 Middlesex districts Protestant nonconformists accounted for more than half the total number of worshippers.⁴⁷ The *Daily News* census of 1902-3 showed that in 13 out of the 41 Middlesex areas covered nonconformists provided more than 50 per cent. of the total number of worshippers, and in 19 of the areas nonconformists outnumbered Anglicans.⁴⁸

The general reduction of church-going in the 20th century has greatly reduced the number of churches belonging to the main nonconformist groups in Middlesex. In 1963 there were ninety Congregational chapels in Middlesex, with a total membership of 10,215. The county was covered by ten districts, all in the London Union.⁴⁹ Nineteen of the churches had been built since 1900, all but one of them in the north and west of the county. In 1963 the Baptists had 131 churches in Middlesex. Thirty-four had been formed since 1900, and these again, with a single exception, were in the north and west of the county. Membership of the denomination was 18,267. Most of the churches were members of the Baptist Union of Great Britain through membership of the London Association, but twelve churches belonged to the Metropolitan Strict Baptist Association, which was not a member of the Baptist Union.⁵⁰ The Methodist chapels were organized into 29 circuits and 3 districts, and the total membership for the county was 20,344.⁵¹ There were 29 Presbyterian Church of England churches, 10 of them founded since 1900; all were included in the Presbytery of London North, and had a total of 7,061 communicants.⁵² There were eleven Unitarian and Free Christian churches, which were included in the London District and South-Eastern Provincial Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, formed in 1924 by the amalgamation of the London District Unitarian Society and the Provincial Assembly of Non-subscribing Ministers and Congregations of London and the South-Eastern Counties.⁵³

⁴⁰ Hall, *Circuits in Great Brit.* (1897 edn.).

⁴¹ *Unitarian and Free Christian Churches Year Bk.* (1964)

25.

⁴² Drysdale, *Hist. Presbs.* 606-7.

⁴³ *Ibid.* 612.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 625.

⁴⁵ Dr. William's Libr. MS. 34. 5.

⁴⁶ *Religious Census*, 1851.

⁴⁷ Clerkenwell, Hackney, Poplar, St. Luke, Shoreditch, Stepney.

⁴⁸ R. Mudie-Smith, *Rel. Life of Lond.*

⁴⁹ *Cong. Year Bk.* (1963-4), It should be noted that none of the figures for 1963-4, which are of either church members or communicants, is strictly comparable with the attendance figures of the 1902-3 census.

⁵⁰ *Bapt. Handbk.* (1964).

⁵¹ *Minutes of the Meth. Conf.* 1963, pp. 103 sqq.

⁵² *Official Handbk. of Presb. Ch. of Eng.* (1963-4).

⁵³ *Unitarian and Free Christian Chs. Year Bk.* (1964).

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

TABLE I

Protestant Nonconformist Places of Worship in Middlesex, excluding London and Westminster¹

	1811 ²	1851 ³	1902-3 ⁴
Congregational	52	138	168
Presbyterian (English)	3	8	63
Presbyterian (Scottish)	1	3	
Baptist (Particular)	14	99	201
Baptist (General)	3	..	
Wesleyan Methodist	23	75	125
Wesleyan Methodist Association	..	9	..
Wesleyan Reformers	..	8	..
Methodist New Connexion	1	3	2
Primitive Methodist	..	14	53
Bible Christian	..	1	3
Welsh Calvinistic Methodist	..	3	6
United Methodist	..	..	18
Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion	1	7	1
Unitarian	5	5	17
Quaker	2	8	17
Brethren	..	5	110
Salvation Army	..	..	81
London City Mission	..	..	52
Swedenborgian (New Church, New Jerusalem)	1	3	5
Mormon	..	16	23
Universalist	1	..	..
Evangelistic Mission Services	..	..	12
Freethinking Christians	..	1	..
Southcottian	..	1	..
Peculiar People	..	..	1
Out and Out Mission	..	..	1
Railway Mission	..	..	8
Christian Community	..	..	4
Disciples of Christ	..	..	6
Calvinistic Independent	..	..	2
Sandemanian	..	..	2
Seventh Day Adventist	..	..	1
Free Episcopal	..	..	3
Christadelphian	..	..	4
Denomination not specified	3	28	..
	110	435	989

¹ 'Foreign Protestant' places of worship numbered 3 in 1851 and 18 in 1902-3.

² *Protestant Dissenters Almanack and Annual Register* . . . 1811, reprinted in *Trans. Cong. Hist. Soc.* vi.

³ *Religious Census*, 1851.

⁴ R. Mudie-Smith, *The Religious Life of London*. (*Daily News* census 1902-3). This set of figures covers areas within a radius of 12 miles of Lond.

THE JEWS

THE traditional unit of Jewish organization is a territorial one—the community. The history of the Jews in London and its environs has centred on the tension between maintaining the unified community and progressive fragmentation, due more to successive waves of immigrants from different communities than internal schism. The earliest division was between the Sephardim (adherents of the Spanish rite) and Ashkenazim (adherents of the German rite). The first synagogue of the Resettlement, opened in Creechurch Lane in the City in 1656, was attended by both until 1692 when the Ashkenazim opened the Great Synagogue.¹ During the 18th century a few wealthy families, mainly Sephardim, had country houses in Middlesex, where they sometimes held religious meetings,² but they all belonged to one of the two communities and most held seats at one of the City synagogues, the Sephardi Bevis Marks (1701),³ or the Ashkenazi Great, Hambro' (1725),⁴ and New (1761).⁵

Most Sephardim lived in the City near the synagogue and its associated institutions—Talmud Torah (teaching of the law), Hebra (burial society), and schools dating from 1664 and 1730.⁶ But the Ashkenazim early began the movement out of the City and five synagogues had been opened for them by the beginning of the 19th century, one near the Strand, and others in the East End. The dispersal of the Ashkenazim led to the first positive efforts to maintain the unity of the community. In 1808 the City synagogues⁷ agreed to maintain the framework of the original Ashkenazi community under the authority of its rabbi. Even more important was the rabbinate of the two Adlers, Nathan (1845–90) and Hermann (1891–1911), especially as this came after the community had received a shock with the foundation in the West End of a Reform synagogue, formed mainly by a group of dissident Sephardim, but also linked with the continental Reform movement. Formal relations between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities were polite and both co-operated in the Board of Deputies, founded in 1760, to further the interests of the Jews in England, in the Beth Din (Law Court) and Shechita Board (to deal with kosher food), both set up in 1804. But each community maintained its liturgical traditions, and a proposal for a joint West End Synagogue in 1849 was rejected on liturgical grounds by the Sephardim.⁸

Nathan Adler's policy of consolidating the Ashkenazi community began with the issue in 1847 of regulations confirming the supremacy of the Chief Rabbi in questions of religion and ritual practice, and in 1855 the Jews' College was opened in Finsbury Square for training teachers and ministers. Adler also encouraged a group of young Benthamite Jews in 1859 to found the Board of Guardians, which was an attempt to co-ordinate and supply the gaps left by the large number of heterogeneous, overlapping Jewish charities. Adler's initiative also lay behind the United Synagogue, created by Act of Parliament in 1870. Consisting of the City Ashkenazi synagogues and making provision for the admission of other synagogues and the erection of new ones, the

¹ *Bevis Marks Records*, ed. L. D. Barnett, 5, 29–31.

² *Ibid.* 33; C. Roth, *Rise of Provincial Jewry*, 16 25; H. F. Finberg, 'Jewish residents in eighteenth-century Twickenham', *Trans. Jewish Hist. Soc.* xvi. 129–35.

³ *Bevis Marks Records*, ed. Barnett, 25.

⁴ Founded by members of the Hamburg community: *ex inf.* Mr. E. M. Marmorstein.

⁵ V. D. Lipman, *Social Hist. of the Jews in England, 1850–1950*, 5. ⁶ *Bevis Marks Records*, ed. Barnett, 25.

⁷ Also alarmed for economic reasons by the decline in their membership.

⁸ Lipman, *Social Hist. of Jews*, 13–16, 39; Lipman, 'A survey of Anglo-Jewry in 1851', *Trans. Jewish Hist. Soc.* xvii. 171–88; A. Barnett. *The Western Synagogue through two centuries, 1761–1961*, 19–29, 82, 179.

United Synagogue was characterized by a common financial system and governed by a committee.⁹ Orthodox, but increasingly characterized by Victorian 'decorum' in worship and by sermons in English, the United Synagogue was the expression of the more prosperous, longer-established Anglo-Jewry. Through its newspaper, the *Jewish Chronicle*, it advocated a policy of Anglicization, which was largely accomplished by the Jewish schools, the Westminster Jews' Free School (1811), the Jews' Free School, Spitalfields (1817), the Stepney Jewish Schools (1865), and the Bayswater Jewish Schools (1866).¹⁰

The chief challenge to the United Synagogue came from the East End, into which immigrants from eastern Europe flooded during the period from 1882 to 1914. A Jewish Dispersion Committee (1902) tried to attract them to areas like Notting Hill and in 1899 the United Synagogue adopted an Associated Synagogue Scheme to facilitate the establishment of self-supporting but less expensive metropolitan synagogues. Some of the immigrants joined the United Synagogue, but the majority preferred to remain in the East End where they found their relatives and familiar institutions like the hebra or chevra, a benevolent society to which a small synagogue was often attached. The earliest hebra dated from 1853 and there were 20 in 1870, but the numbers multiplied greatly with the arrival of the immigrants. Small, noisy, often dirty and insanitary, and outside its control, the hebroth were attacked by the United Synagogue as a barrier to social assimilation and a potential source of anti-Semitism. As an alternative, in 1889 it proposed an East End Scheme, to consist of a large synagogue with all the ancillary services the immigrants required. Many immigrants, however, distrusted the westernized and often lax Anglo-Jew of the United Synagogue. The East End Scheme had to be abandoned and in 1887 twenty-one hebroth joined in the Federation of Synagogues, a large burial society 'to preserve the structure of east European Jewry'.¹¹

Another challenge to the unity of the Ashkenazi community came from the Machzike HaDath. Established in 1891, it was the first attempt to form a community based on very strict observance, particularly in relation to the Sabbath and meat-slaughtering. It clashed with the Chief Rabbi over the latter and set up its own organization which still survives, although within the framework of the Shechita Board. In 1905 economic reasons forced it to join the Federation's burial scheme.¹²

Immigration also introduced into England Hassidim, followers of an 18th-century east European pietist movement. In 1886 a Hungarian and German separatist movement founded the North London Beth Hamedrash, which in 1911 developed into the Adath Yisroel congregation. This was an independent orthodox community outside the jurisdiction of the Chief Rabbi, with its own courts and other institutions. In 1926 a number of small synagogues, affiliated to Adath Yisroel for burial purposes, established the Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations 'to protect traditional Judaism'. At the other end of the religious spectrum, the Jewish Religious, founded in 1902, opened the first Liberal synagogue in Hill Street, St. John's Wood, in 1911.¹³

The severe damage caused in the East End during the Second World War hastened the dispersion of Jews to other parts of London and to more distant suburbs. Refugees from Nazi persecution tended to concentrate in North London, forming two nuclei of Union synagogues around Stoke Newington and Golders Green and a colony of

⁹ Lipman, *Social Hist. of Jews*, 40, 50-64. ¹⁰ Ibid. 46-49.

¹¹ Ibid. 121. Their opponents ascribe the foundation to the political motives of Samuel Montagu. For immigration and the Federation see Lipman, *Social Hist. of Jews*, 71-75, 85-101, 120-30; L. P. Gartner, *The Jewish Immigrant in England, 1870-1914*, 187-203.

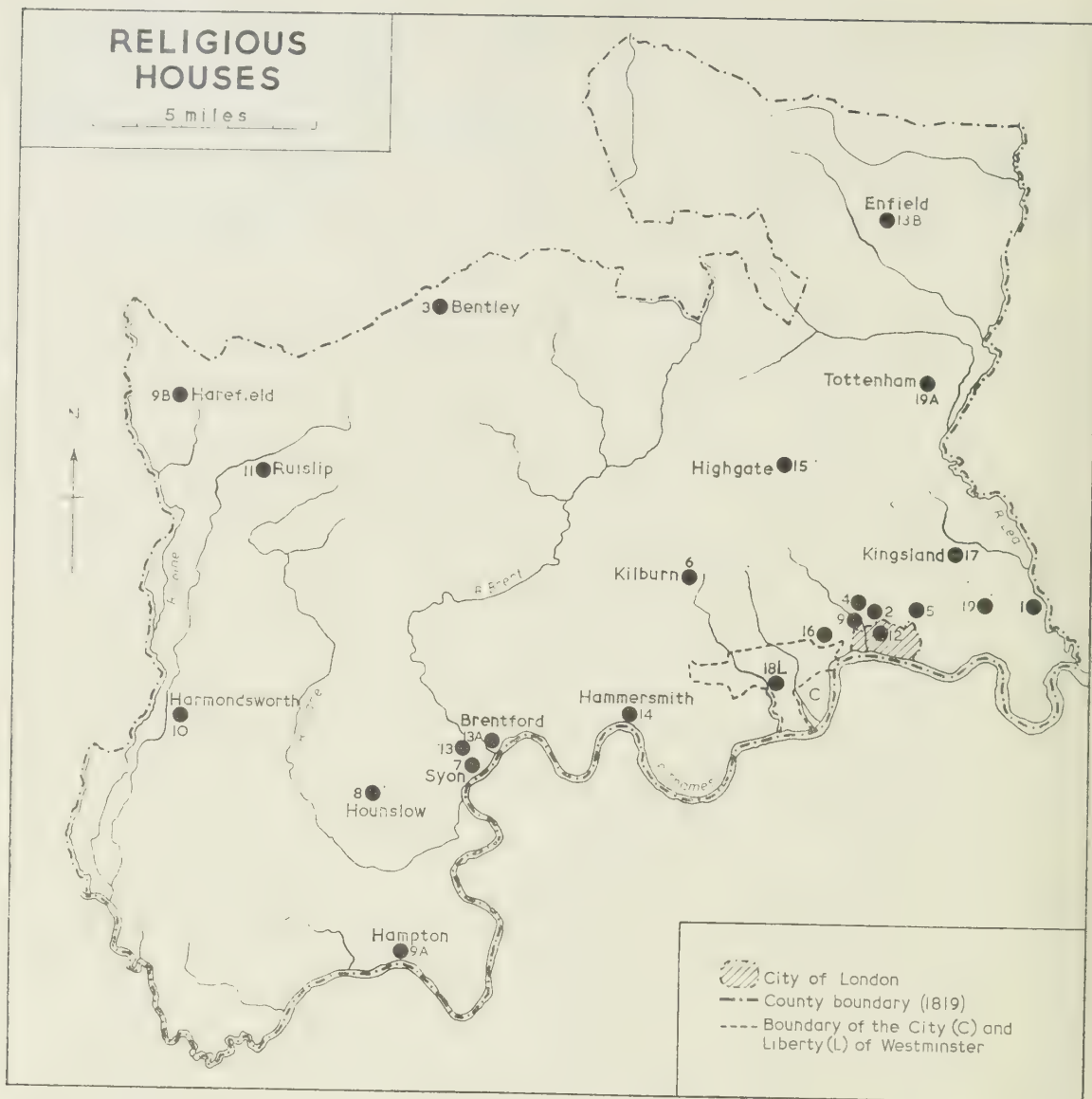
¹² Lipman, *Social Hist. of Jews*, 123-6; Gartner, *Jewish Immigrant*, 209-14.

¹³ Lipman, *Social Hist. of Jews*, 156-7, 171; ex inf. Mr. E. M. Marmorstein.

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Hassidim in Stamford Hill. Most of the synagogues serving congregations in the outer suburbs have been established under the auspices of the United Synagogue. Liberal and Reform synagogues, both affiliated to the world union for Progressive Judaism, although numerically a minority, have grown steadily, being especially strengthened by the influx of German and Austrian Jews in the 1930's. Most Federation synagogues are still in the East End, with a few scattered elsewhere, although there has been a general decline. The Sephardim have opened Persian and Bokharan synagogues in Stamford Hill.¹⁴

¹⁴ Lipman, *Social Hist. of Jews*, 167-77; *Jewish Year Bk.* (1964).



BENEDICTINE NUNS

1. Stratford at Bow Priory

CARTHUSIAN MONKS

2. Charterhouse

AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

3. Bentley Priory

AUGUSTINIAN CANONESSES

4. Clerkenwell, St. Mary's Priory
5. Haliwell Priory
6. Kilburn Priory

BRIDGETTINES

7. Syon Abbey

TRINITARIAN FRIARS

8. Hounslow Priory

KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

9. Clerkenwell, St. John's Priory
- 9A. Hampton *camera*¹
- 9B. Harefield commandery, later *camera*²

ALIEN HOUSES

10. Harmondsworth Priory
11. Ruislip Priory

HOSPITALS

12. Aldersgate (in London)
13. Brentford, All Angels
- 13A. Brentford, St. Mary, St. Anne, & St. Louis³
- 13B. Enfield, St. Leonard⁴
14. Hammersmith
15. Highgate, St. Anthony
16. Holborn, St. Giles-in-the-Fields
17. Kingsland
18. Knightsbridge, St. Leonard
19. Mile End, St. Mary Magdalen
- 19A. Tottenham, St. Loy⁵

¹ V.C.H. Mdx. ii. 325-6, 327, 371; see p. 194 and n. 26.

² Ibid. iii. 238; see p. 194 and n. 27.

³ See p. 153.

⁵ See p. 153.

⁴ See p. 154.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES¹

THE register (c. 1244–8) of Fulk Basset, Bishop of London 1244–59, lists five religious houses in the deanery of Middlesex and two more situated in the county but in the archdeaconry of London.² Those in the deanery of Middlesex were Westminster Abbey,³ the nunneries of Stratford at Bow and Kilburn, and the leper hospitals of St. James, Westminster,⁴ and St. Giles-in-the-Fields. The nunneries of Haliwell and St. Mary, Clerkenwell, were in the archdeaconry of London. Five houses, whose histories are included in this volume and which were in existence when the list was made, are not mentioned.⁵ The priory of Hounslow is first mentioned in 1200, although it probably did not come into the possession of the Trinitarian friars until the mid-13th century.⁶ Harmondsworth and Ruislip were the cells of foreign abbeys, and Bentley was a cell of St. Gregory's, Canterbury. In each of these there were probably no more than two or three religious,⁷ and the houses may have been too small to merit the attention of the compiler of the list. A more important omission was the Priory of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, founded in the mid-12th century.⁸ The Knights Hospitallers also had *camere* at Hampton and Harefield; the latter even enjoyed the status of a commandery for some time in the 13th century.⁹ Both houses were very small and neither is dealt with individually in this section. Two other Middlesex houses, both founded after the 13th century, had a more than local importance. The London Charterhouse, founded in 1371, was regarded as the senior house of the Order in England, and missives from the General Chapter of the Carthusians were usually sent to its prior.¹⁰ In the early 16th century the reputation of the London Charterhouse was very high, especially in the performance of divine service.¹¹ The abbey of Syon, founded in 1415, was the only house of the Bridgettines in England. This fact alone would have made it remarkable, but, in addition, like the Charterhouse, it enjoyed a high reputation. The laity were attracted by the sermons in English, and the spiritual treatises produced by the brethren were widely read.¹² But apart from these three, the religious houses of Middlesex were of little importance.

As well as the preceding religious houses there were in Middlesex nine hospitals, six of which were for lepers. Two of the hospitals for the poor were at Brentford; the other was at Tottenham.¹³ All three were small, and almost nothing is known of them. This is particularly true of the hospital of St. Mary, St. Anne, and St. Louis at Brentford,¹⁴ newly-built in 1393,¹⁵ and consisting of a chapel and two houses with bedding and other necessities for poor travellers;¹⁶ and an ancient spital house at Tottenham, mentioned in 1416¹⁷ and 1484,¹⁸ but then no more. Aldersgate hospital, here described, was omitted from *V.C.H. London*, i.

¹ In accordance with accepted usage, first place in this chapter is given to the Benedictine houses, then follow the Carthusians, the Augustinian Canons and Canonesses, the Bridgettines, the Trinitarian Friars, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and alien houses; an article on the medieval hospitals concludes the chapter.

² St. Paul's MS. W.D. 9, f. 89.

³ For the history of Westminster Abbey see *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 433–57.

⁴ See *ibid.* 542–6.

⁵ No evidence has been found to support Speed's statement (*Hist. of Eng.* 814) that a monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, was founded in Uxbridge; see Lysons, *Mdx. Pars.* 178.

⁶ See p. 191.

⁷ See pp. 169, 200, 202.

⁸ See p. 194.

⁹ See p. 166.

¹⁰ See p. 164.

¹¹ See p. 186.

¹² In addition the New Hospital of St. Mary without Bishopsgate maintained a row of almshouses at Shore-ditch: *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 60–61.

¹³ See *ibid.* For brief accounts of the hospitals of Aldersgate and All Angels, Brentford, see pp. 204–5.

¹⁴ R. M. Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, 8, 262, 304.

¹⁵ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 626, 627 n.; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 49, 553. The chapel is mentioned in 1372.

¹⁶ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 552, 540.

¹⁷ Guildhall MS. 9171/7, f. 15v.

Of the ten leper hospitals strategically sited on the main roads out of London,¹⁹ six were in Middlesex.²⁰ These were at Enfield,²¹ Hammersmith, Highgate, Holborn (St. Giles's), Kingsland, and Mile End. Two more leper hospitals—St. James's²² and Knightsbridge²³—lay in Westminster. Of the Middlesex leper houses the earliest was that of St. Giles', Holborn,²⁴ founded by Queen Maud in the early 12th century. The City authorities gradually assumed responsibility for the London lepers and probably themselves founded additional hospitals.²⁵ The City certainly administered the four hospitals at Kingsland, Knightsbridge, Mile End, and Southwark (the Lock). Later the leper hospitals at Hammersmith (in existence by 1500) and Highgate (independently founded in 1473) were taken over. Supervision was exercised by two elected wardens, first mentioned between 1191 and 1211,²⁶ and described in the late 14th century as 'the wardens and surveyors of lepers at St. Giles' Hospital, the Lock, and at Hackney [Kingsland]'.²⁷ The wardens' duties included general supervision, daily visits to the hospitals, and the correction and punishment of difficult inmates.²⁸ Wardens were excused all other civic duties.²⁹ In 1549 the administration of the City's leper hospitals of Kingsland, Hammersmith, Highgate, Knightsbridge, Mile End, and Southwark (the Lock) was transferred to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.³⁰ The City continued to elect two wardens until 1574,³¹ but St. Bartholomew's assumed routine supervision and the right to appoint the master or 'guider' of each house. These guiders were always surgeons, and the practice developed of appointing the two junior assistant surgeons at St. Bartholomew's to the two houses of the Lock and Kingsland.³² In 1553 £60 was given to the leper hospitals round London on condition that the inmates did not beg within three miles of the city.³³ In 1555–6 and on two other occasions 26s. 8d. were allotted by St. Bartholomew's to four of the hospitals, and in 1556–7 the six houses received £22 4s. 6d. for 'keeping the poor'.³⁴ Subsequently St. Bartholomew's made more or less regular monthly payments of varying amounts to the six 'outhouses', to which patients, often with complaints other than leprosy, were sent from St. Bartholomew's.³⁵ From 1608 the guiders or masters, who were expected to be continually on duty,³⁶ were paid about £4 a year and 4d. a day for each patient's food.³⁷ By 1682 one master's annual salary had risen to £30, with an additional £3 for washing the patients' sheets. In one case £50 was provided in a year for medicines.³⁸ The decline of the Middlesex leper houses as such came in the 16th century. Mile End is not mentioned after 1589.³⁹ The five others remained on the books of St. Bartholomew's as ordinary hospitals until 1623.⁴⁰ After this date only the Lock and Kingsland were maintained by St. Bartholomew's,⁴¹ but the others continued independently for some time. The Lock and Kingsland finally closed in 1760.⁴²

Little is known of the hermits of Middlesex.⁴³ Even when a hermitage had been

¹⁹ For a detailed account see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 4–61.

²⁰ The Lock hospital was in Southwark, and Bermondsey leper hospital in Surr.

²¹ The only known reference to St. Leonard's Hospital, Enfield, occurs in 1270: *Cal. Pat.* 1266–72, 436.

²² See *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 542–6.

²³ See p. 211.

²⁴ See p. 206.

²⁵ Corp. Lond. Rec. Off., Letter Book M, f. 246v; Repertory 1, f. 445v; *ibid.* 3, f. 44; Stow, *Survey*, ii. 146.

²⁶ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, ff. 129, 131v. A list of wardens is printed in *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 10–11.

²⁷ *Cal. Letter Bk. H.*, 343.

²⁸ *Ibid.*; H. T. Riley, *Memorials of Lond.* (1868), 510–11.

²⁹ *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 184; K, 142–3.

³⁰ Corp. Lond. Rec. Off., Repertory, 12/1, f. 154; St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 1.

³¹ Corp. Lond. Rec. Off., Cal. of Repertories, 1495–1552, pp. 74b, 75a; Letter Bk. M, f. 246v.

³² D. Power, *Hist. of St. Bart's. Hosp.* 1123–1923, p. 47.

³³ Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, 47.

³⁴ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, ff. 277v, 305v, 306v.

³⁵ N. Moore, *Hist. of St. Bart's. Hosp.* (1918), ii. 218.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 317–18.

³⁷ J. Paget, *Records of Harvey in Extracts from the Jnls. of St. Bart's. Hosp.* (1846), 13.

³⁸ Moore, *Hist. of St. Bart's.* ii. 339, 372.

³⁹ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 483.

⁴⁰ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/4.

⁴¹ For their relationship with St. Bart's. Hosp. during the 17th and early 18th cents. see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 10.

⁴² St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 4/1, f. 53v; Ha 1/13, pp. 164, 166, 171.

⁴³ See also *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 587; p. 159.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

endowed it was not always possible to find a hermit. The buildings were often granted by the patrons to ecclesiastics who wished for rural retirement without committing themselves to asceticism.⁴⁴ It is impossible to make a reliable list of the inmates of any particular hermitage, and references to hermits in Middlesex are rare. When the nunnery of Kilburn was founded, about 1130, the nuns were given as their superior a hermit called Godwin, who had formerly built a hermitage on the site.⁴⁵ The hermitage in Monken Hadley which was given to Walden Abbey (Essex) by Geoffrey de Mandeville in about 1136 may by then have been unoccupied.⁴⁶ The best known Middlesex hermitage was at Highgate. It was just outside the Bishop of London's manor of Hornsey, and consisted of a chapel and dwelling-house in his gift. In 1386 Bishop Braybroke granted this hermitage to William Lichfield to hold as the earlier 'poor hermits' of Highgate had done.⁴⁷ A hermit was presented in 1531.⁴⁸ The tradition that the hermit of Highgate was responsible for maintaining the causeway between Highgate and Islington is not older than the reign of Queen Elizabeth I,⁴⁹ although it may have been based on genuine information. The claim that there was a hermitage at Harrow dedicated to St. Edmund and St. Catherine rests on very slender evidence.⁵⁰ When Bishop Swinfield of Hereford stayed at Kensington in the winter of 1289-90 he gave alms to the anchoress there.⁵¹ There was also an anchorite attached to the hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields in 1371.⁵²

⁴⁴ R. M. Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites of Eng.* 228-9.

⁴⁵ See p. 178.

⁴⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 149.

⁴⁷ Guildhall MS. 9531/3, f. 51.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 9531/11, f. 9.

⁴⁹ Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, 64-65.

⁵⁰ Ibid. 228-9; *N. & Q.* 10th ser. iii. 467.

⁵¹ *A Roll of the Household Expenses of Richard de Swinfield, Bishop of Hereford* (Camd. Soc. lxii), p. cxxix.

⁵² Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, 228-9.

HOUSE OF BENEDICTINE NUNS

I. THE PRIORY OF STRATFORD
AT BOW¹

THE priory of St. Leonard, Stratford at Bow, first mentioned in 1122,² was a house of Benedictine nuns.³ In the 16th century the nuns accepted a tradition⁴ that the house had been founded by a Bishop of London, who was, according to Leland, William, Bishop of London 1051-75.⁵ Leland also suggests that William Roscelin granted an estate in Bromley to the nuns,⁶ in which case Roscelin may be regarded as co-founder of the house. It would appear more probable that the founder of the priory was Maurice, Bishop of London 1086-1107, or Richard de Belmeis I (1108-27). No manor attributable to this house occurs in Domesday, but a 5-hide manor of Bromley is mentioned in the Middlesex Hidage *post* 1096.⁷ Since the foundation almost certainly included land nearby and since this Bromley manor is not attributed specifically to any other holder, it is a fair inference that it was the nuns' manor. Comparison with the Domesday Survey suggests that this manor included 2 hides which in 1086 belonged to the Bishop of London's manor of Stepney and three hides which were held by Robert, son of Roscelin.

The priory stood near the banks of the Lea. The chapel of St. Mary in the priory church served as the parish church for the parish of St. Leonard, Bromley, and its site is indicated today by a small park lying about 200 yards south of Bow Bridge. The priory lay to the south of the church.⁸

In 1535 the priory was worth £121 a year and had possessions in Middlesex, London, Surrey, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Kent, and Hertfordshire.⁹ In Middlesex the nuns had the manor of Bromley, to which part of East Smithfield belonged. This property included at least two water-mills on the Lea.¹⁰ From the end of the 12th century the nuns held the advowson of Islington church.¹¹ In London the priory held various tenements, devised by citizens, in Ivy Lane,¹² Candlewick Street,¹³ the parish of St. Antholin,¹⁴ and the parish of St. Benet Sherehog.¹⁵ In Surrey the nuns held houses, shops, and tenements in Southwark, devised in 1350 by a royal clerk to support a chaplain in the chapel of St. Mary in the priory church,¹⁶ and a

number of other small properties and rents.¹⁷ In Cambridgeshire they held the manor of Haslingfield, given to them by Christine de Sumeri and her sons, and confirmed by King Stephen.¹⁸ It was held in free alms.¹⁹ Property in Cambridge itself, which had been acquired by St. Leonard's in the 14th century,²⁰ had been alienated before the Dissolution. In Essex the priory had lands and rents in Great Oakley, Lambourne, Corringham, Ilford,²¹ and West Ham (acquired in the 13th century),²² a portion of the tithes of Wethersfield,²³ and the rectories of Buttsbury, Berners Roding, and Norton Mandeville,²⁴ the last by the gift, made before 1188, of Galiena Dammartin and her son Bartholomew.²⁵ In Kent the nuns had the tithes of the manor of Fawnes,²⁶ probably in Crundale parish. In Hertfordshire the priory was said in 1535 to receive revenues from East Reed and Braughing, but there is no other record of possessions in these places.²⁷

Apart from the two manors of Bromley and Haslingfield the nuns' most valuable properties were their four appropriated churches.²⁸ Between 1163 and 1183 they were involved in a controversy with the Canons of St. Paul's about Islington church. The matter was finally settled and in the presence of Bishop Gilbert Foliot it was agreed that the nuns were to hold the church from the canons for the annual payment of a mark, and were to find a suitable clerk to serve it.²⁹ No vicarage was established in any of the Essex churches as long as the priory held them,³⁰ but one was established in Islington at some time between 1259 and 1347.³¹

An undated charter of Stephen, first recorded in an *inspeximus* of 1366, is the earliest statement of liberties enjoyed by the priory. It is, however, a statement in general terms, for it merely confirmed the priory's tenure in Haslingfield of all the liberties which Christine de Sumeri had there, whatever they may have been.³² Liberties confirmed to the priory by Henry II included quittance of the shire, the hundred, and assizes, as well as the amercements of its own men in whatever court they were imposed and their chattels if they suffered as felons; the confirmation was produced in an *inspeximus* of 1318.³³ The last was successfully maintained in 1229 when the chattels of one of the priory's Bromley men were delivered to the prioress in virtue of the

¹ It is variously called St. Leonard Bromley and St. Leonard Stratford; the latter is the style in the earliest reference to the house (1122) and in Dugdale and the *Valor*.

² *Rouleaux des Morts*, ed. L. Delisle, 341; *Med. Rel. Houses*, 219.

³ Guildhall MS. 9531/3, f. 346v.

⁴ *Ibid.* ff. 157, 159v; 9531/10, f. 117v.

⁵ Leland, *Collectanea*, i. 55.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ See p. 137.

⁸ L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* i. 15-16.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 120-3.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 122; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 409.

¹¹ St. Paul's MS. W.D. 9, f. 148v; B.M. Add. MS. 35824, f. 10v.

¹² *Cal. of Wills in Court of Husting*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, ii (1), 120.

¹³ *Ibid.* ii (2), 446.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 490-1.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 522-3.

¹⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1348-50, 463.

¹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 122; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 409.

¹⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 120.

¹⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1346-9, 185.

²⁰ B.M. Add. MS. 5843, p. 357.

²¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 409; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 122.

²² *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, 261-3.

²³ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 123.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 122.

²⁵ Guildhall MS. 9531/6, ff. 173v-4.

²⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 409.

²⁷ *Ibid.*; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 123; *V.C.H. Herts.* iii. 251 306-15.

²⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 122.

²⁹ St. Paul's MS. W.D. 9, f. 148v.

³⁰ *Ibid.* ff. 56, 58v, 87v; Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii. 118, 439-40, 503.

³¹ St. Paul's MS. W.D. 9, f. 48v; Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 677.

³² *Cal. Chart. R.* v. 194.

³³ *Ibid.* iii. 383-4.

charters of Henry II and Richard I.³⁴ All these liberties were confirmed in 1189, 1198, 1247, 1318, 1366, 1390, 1408, and 1414.³⁵

In 1293-4 *quo warranto* proceedings were taken to determine the priory's right to conduct its own assizes of bread and ale and its own view of frankpledge and its right to a pillory in Bromley. The prioress denied that the priory had a pillory but defended its other privileges by producing charters granted by Richard I and Henry III.³⁶ Five years later *quo warranto* proceedings were taken to test the priory's right to sac and soc, tol and team, infangtheof, and similar conventional privileges, together with view of frankpledge and to the chattels of felons and amercements of its own men. The evidence showed that all these liberties, except view of frankpledge, had been confirmed by Henry III, and a local jury swore that the priory had enjoyed view of frankpledge from time immemorial.³⁷ In 1347 the priory was able to prove that the manor of Haslingfield was held in free alms, and therefore was exempt from the aid levied in that year.³⁸

The dowries of the nuns who entered it and gifts from the citizens of London also increased the wealth of the convent. In 1282 Archbishop Pecham, who was trying to secure the admission of a particular postulant, promised that the convent would acquire numerous friends and rich benefactors through her.³⁹ There is, however, no specific information about the dowries of Stratford nuns. The priory occurs frequently in the wills of the citizens of London⁴⁰ and in those of local people.⁴¹ Some of the bequests were made with a request that prayers be said for the donor or his family.⁴² Sometimes the bequests were made not to the convent but to individual nuns;⁴³ in 1433 Alice Seyntpoull left a gift to Idonea Appelby, a nun there,⁴⁴ and in 1477 John Gayton, 'Steward of the House and Church of Saint Leonard called the Nunnery', left a small pension to his daughter Elizabeth,⁴⁵ who later became the prioress. In 1392 the widow of a draper left 20 marks to a relative—possibly a daughter—living at St. Leonard's, on condition that she became a nun.⁴⁶ London priests also remembered the convent in their wills.⁴⁷ It was probably by means of such bequests that some city properties were burdened with rents to the nuns such as those reserved for them in 1273, when some tenements in the parish of St. Stephen, Walbrook changed hands.⁴⁸

The priory received occasional gifts from the king. Small money grants from Henry II are recorded in the pipe rolls.⁴⁹ In the 13th century the nuns

had gifts of wood from the forest in Essex;⁵⁰ a grant of this kind, made in 1267, gave timber for use in the building operations on the priory church.⁵¹

The nuns had to make a number of annual payments out of these endowments. The annual mark for Islington church continued to be paid to St. Paul's until the Dissolution, and the canons also received a number of other payments. Synodals and procurations had to be paid annually for the churches held by the nuns, and there were small payments to other religious houses.⁵² In 1371 the nuns acquired the farm of two parts of the tithes of Buttsbury from the priory of Tutbury (Staffs.). They were to pay 13s. 4d. every year at Easter, and 40s., as well as all the arrears, in case of default.⁵³ One payment expected from St. Leonard's was felt to be exceptionally heavy. In 1339 the prioress complained that she was forced to pay a disproportionate sum for the upkeep of a wall along the Thames known as 'le priouressewal' in respect of some land she held in West Ham Marsh. This land, acquired in the 13th century, had been under water for several years, yet the prioress had often been distrained to pay whilst other landowners, whose holdings in the area were more profitable, were not assessed. The prioress brought her grievances before the commissioners of walls and ditches, who decided that all who held land in the marsh should share the burdens and that St. Leonard's should not be taxed disproportionately.⁵⁴

So small a religious house was not likely to play an important part in the political or ecclesiastical history of the kingdom. In the 14th century, however, Stratford for a time became fashionable. The convent appears to have been the residence of Elizabeth of Hainault, and at her death in 1375 she seems to have been on terms of intimacy with the Stratford nuns.⁵⁵ She directed that she should be buried in the chapel of St. Mary in the priory church and it has been concluded that she lived in the convent.⁵⁶ It was presumably to visit her aunt that Elizabeth of Ulster, wife of Prince Lionel, went to Stratford in 1356; her infant daughter Philippa seems to have stayed at the nunnery.⁵⁷ Elizabeth of Hainault made bequests to a nun called Argentyn⁵⁸ who was also mentioned as one of the nuns in 1380-1;⁵⁹ she occurs twice in Elizabeth's will. If, as has been suggested,⁶⁰ Argentyn was the model in part for 'madame Eglentyne' in the *Canterbury Tales*,⁶¹ she must have been a woman of a certain gentility and fashion.

Although in the 14th century the priory acquired

³⁴ *Close R.* 1227-31, 213.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; *Cal. Chart. R.* i. 323-4; iii. 384; v. 194-5, 325, 441, 469.

³⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 121.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1346-9, 185.

³⁹ *Reg. Epist. Joh. Pecham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 356.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, i. 84; ii (1), 8, 37, 114, 119, 177, 185, 206, 212, 220, 224, 234, 300, 341, 349.

⁴¹ Guildhall MS. 9171/1-10, *passim*.

⁴² *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, ii (2), 446, 490-1; *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda R.* (Lond.), 1458-82, 102.

⁴³ *Cal. Close*, 1354-60, 517-18; *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, i. 34, 110; ii (1), 120; Guildhall MS. 9171/5, f. 123.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 9171/3, f. 350v.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 9171/6, ff. 234v-6v; p. 177.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, ii (1), 393.

⁴⁷ *Reg. Abp. Langham* (Cant. and York Soc.), 356; W.A.M., Cart. of St. Martins-le-Grand, f. 94v.

⁴⁸ B.M. Harl. Chart. 47. I. 44.

⁴⁹ *Pipe R.* 1183 (P.R.S. xxxii), 75; 1188 (P.R.S. xxxviii), 30, 31.

⁵⁰ *Close R.* 1231-4, 24; 1234-7, 50; 1247-51, 211, 422; 1251-3, 58; *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 493.

⁵¹ *Close R.* 1264-8, 309.

⁵² Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 122-3.

⁵³ *Cartulary of Tutbury Priory*, ed. A. Saltman (Staffs. Rec. Soc. 4th ser. iv), 98-99, 252.

⁵⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, 261.

⁵⁵ Guildhall MS. 9171/1, f. 16v.

⁵⁶ J. M. Manly, *Some New Light on Chaucer*, 202-20.

⁵⁷ B.M. Add. MS. 18632, f. 101v; E. A. Bond, 'New Facts in the Life of Geoffrey Chaucer', *Fortnightly Review*, 15 Aug. 1866.

⁵⁸ Guildhall MS. 9171/1, f. 16v.

⁵⁹ E 179/44/347.

⁶⁰ Manly, *New Light on Chaucer*, 202-20.

⁶¹ Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*: Prologue, I. 121.

prestige from the visits of members of the royal family,⁶² this must have been a severe strain on a house that was far from wealthy. In 1282 the prioress called attention to the poverty of the convent.⁶³ As a house which claimed to be small and poor, Stratford was often exempted from taxation. In 1235 and again in 1237 part of the money owed by the nuns for the tax on movables was remitted.⁶⁴ When a second tax was raised in 1237, the commissioners were ordered, pending investigations, to take nothing from Stratford;⁶⁵ later, all that was owed by the priory on that occasion was remitted.⁶⁶ In 1359 the nuns were excused payments for their lands in Bromley which had been flooded by the Lea.⁶⁷ This seems to have been regarded as an important precedent, since the pardon was exemplified by Richard II in 1380.⁶⁸ In 1409 it was conceded that the nuns should be excused all payments for their lands in Bromley for the fifteenth and all payments for a fifteenth less than £28.⁶⁹ In 1354 an indulgence was granted to those who visited the priory⁷⁰ and in 1411 another was granted to all who visited it and gave alms for the fabric and for the support of the community.⁷¹

In 1282 the prioress had a dispute with Archbishop Pecham. The archbishop ordered her to admit as a nun the daughter of one of the citizens of London. The prioress refused, saying that the girl was too young and that the convent had its full complement of nuns and could not afford any more. Pecham dismissed these excuses as frivolous, reminded the prioress that she owed him obedience as her metropolitan, and threatened to excommunicate her.⁷² She then turned for help to the Bishop of London, stating, in addition to her other objections, that the girl was deformed. Replying to a letter on the subject from the bishop, Pecham alleged that the greater part of the convent was on his side, and that only the prioress was making difficulties. He added that he wished that not only the Stratford nuns, about whom there were so many scandals, but all other worldly nuns were deformed, so that they might lead no one into sin.⁷³

Although the Bishop of London was the diocesan as well as the patron of the nunnery,⁷⁴ little is known of its relations with him. Bishop Gilbert Foliot presided when the nuns made their agreement with the Canons of St. Paul's about Islington church.⁷⁵ In 1282, as has been seen, Bishop Richard Gravesend interceded on their behalf with the Archbishop of Canterbury. The only occasion recorded of the bishop being present at the clothing and profession of new nuns was in 1397, when Bishop Braybrooke celebrated High Mass in the priory church and received the profession of six novices.⁷⁶ Only in the

16th century is there any information about the bishop's part in the election of prioresses. The bishop's vicar presided at the election in 1520 and the bishop subsequently confirmed the new prioress.⁷⁷ In 1528 Prioress Eleanor Sterkey resigned her office into the hands of Bishop Tunstal. The nuns, perhaps under pressure, decided to settle the election of the new prioress by way of simple compromise, and to this end submitted their rights to the bishop, who appointed Sybil Kirke, formerly Prioress of Kilburn.⁷⁸ It is possible that this action and appointment was connected with some attempt to reform the nunnery, for a party gathered round Eleanor Sterkey, who was still living in the convent after her resignation. A petition to the king was followed in 1533 by a second petition, this time to Cromwell, asking for the removal of the 'supposed prioress' and claiming that Sybil Kirke made up the shortness of meat and drink with a fresh supply of threatening words; the old lady 'who is the rightful prioress' was like to die for want of sustenance.⁷⁹ It is possible that this was a somewhat exaggerated picture of an attempt by the new prioress to enforce the Rule. The new prioress was supported by Bishop Stokesley, whose chancellor confirmed her in office and encouraged her to be firm.⁸⁰ The outcome of these disturbances is not known, but for some years after the Dissolution Sybil Kirke continued to receive the pension due to the head of the house.⁸¹

In 1354 there were 30 nuns in the priory⁸² but the poll tax of 1380-1 gives the names of only 14 nuns, including the prioress and sub-prioress.⁸³ There were eight professed nuns and one novice at the election of the prioress in 1520,⁸⁴ and ten professed nuns at the election in 1528.⁸⁵

As a small house, with an income of less than £200, St. Leonard's was among those foundations suppressed in 1536. In 1537, after the dispersal of the nuns, the site of the priory was granted to William Rolte, together with most of its property except some of the London city tenements, which were granted to Sir Ralph Sadler.⁸⁶ Rolte did not hold the lands for long, and by 1540 the whole property had passed to Sadler.⁸⁷ In 1541 his tenure was confirmed by the king, and the original grant to William Rolte was cancelled.⁸⁸

There are no means of determining the plan of the convent. The royal grant of 1537 mentions the house and site of the priory, and the church, 'steeple', and churchyard.⁸⁹ The 'steeple' disappeared, but the eastern limb of the church continued to be used for worship. The description by Lysons⁹⁰ and prints of the early 19th century⁹¹ give little idea of the appearance of this part of the church in the Middle

⁶² See above.

⁶³ *Reg. Epist. Joh. Pecham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 366.

⁶⁴ *Close R.* 1234-7, 55, 424.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 1237-42, 11.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 29.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1358-61, 175.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 1377-81, 534.

⁶⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1341-1417, 441, 469.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Papal Regs.* iii. 523.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* vi. 228.

⁷² *Reg. Epist. Joh. Pecham* (Rolls Ser.), i. 356.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 366.

⁷⁴ See p. 156.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Guildhall MS. 9531/3, f. 346v.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 9531/9, ff. 157-9.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 9531/10, ff. 117-19v.

⁷⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vi, p. 677.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.* xiii (1), p. 574; xvi, pp. 354, 356.

⁸² *Cal. Papal Regs.* iii. 523.

⁸³ E 179/44/347.

⁸⁴ Guildhall MS. 9531/9, f. 157.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 9531/10, f. 117v.

⁸⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (1), p. 161.

⁸⁷ B.M. Add. MS. 35824.

⁸⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xvi, p. 383.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* xiv (1), p. 161.

⁹⁰ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 62.

⁹¹ Guildhall Libr. interleaved copy of Lysons, *Environs of Lond.*

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Ages. In 1805 the church was a small rectangular building, lighted by an 'haphazard collection of windows of indeterminate dates; the medieval floor appears to have been considerably lower than the ground level of 1805,⁹² and the east window had been replaced c. 1700 by a primitive apse for the communion table. Inside there were signs that there had been a south aisle, but the most striking feature was the Norman choir arch, with dog-tooth ornament, at the west end. The arch had been blocked up and everything to the west of it had disappeared by 1805. The building as Lysons saw it survived until 1842, although in a dilapidated condition. In 1842-3 a new church in the neo-Norman style was erected on the site.⁹³ This was destroyed in the Second World War.

PRIORESSES OF STRATFORD

Lucy, occurs c. 1264-c. 1284⁹⁴

Isabel Blunt, occurs 1341⁹⁵

Maud, occurs 1371⁹⁶

Mary Suharde, occurs 1375, 1396, 1397⁹⁷

Alice Burford, occurs 1412, and before 1425⁹⁸

Anne Graciane, died 1436⁹⁹

Margaret Holbeche, occurs 1436¹

Katherine Washburne, occurs 1477²

Elizabeth Gayton, occurs 1509-10; died 1520³

Helen Hyllard, elected 1520; died 1522⁴

Eleanor Sterkey, elected 1522; resigned 1528⁵

Sybil Kirke, elected 1528⁶

The common seal of the priory, as used in Prioress Lucy's time (occurs 1264-84), is a pointed oval, 2½ by 1½ in., and shows a bishop (? St. Leonard) standing beneath a canopy, his right hand raised in blessing, his left holding a crozier.⁷ Legend, lombardic:

SIGILLUM SANCT[I L]EONARDI . . .

An oval seal of a later date, 1¼ by 1 in., depicts the Virgin on right with the Child on her right arm with a figure (? a nun) in prayer on her left facing right.⁸ Legend defaced.

HOUSE OF CARTHUSIAN MONKS

2. THE LONDON CHARTERHOUSE

THE London Charterhouse,⁹ known as the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, was founded at Smithfield, a little to the north-west of the city wall, by Sir Walter Manny and Bishop Michael Northburgh of London in 1371, but the foundation was only the final event in a prolonged series of negotiations and changes of plan.¹⁰ The Black Death had reached England in the summer of 1348, and was at its height in London in the early months of the following year. When the capacity of the city graveyards proved inadequate, Manny, as a work of charity, rented from the Master and Brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for an annual sum of twelve marks a close of some 13 acres known as Spital Croft, with the understanding that he should be granted full possession when he could provide

the hospital with property of equal value in exchange.¹¹ The graveyard was dedicated on the feast of the Annunciation 1349 by Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, who preached on the word 'Hail' of the angel Gabriel. This circumstance, itself possibly a consequence of Manny's devotion to this particular incident in the gospel, gave the name that the future monastery was to bear, the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God.

On the same day the foundations were laid of a chapel wherein masses were to be celebrated for those buried in the graveyard, for Manny intended to establish a college of twelve secular priests with a provost, of the type that was becoming common. This project was never executed, although papal permission for it was obtained.¹² Instead, a hermitage for two inmates was erected, in which continual prayers were to be offered for the dead.¹³

⁹² J. Dunstan, *Hist. of Par. of Bromley*, 72.
⁹³ Ibid. 70; E. Sinker, *The Church in Bromley for a Thousand Years*, 30-34.

⁹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 121.

⁹⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1341-3, 272.

⁹⁶ *Cart. Tutbury Priory*, ed. Saltman, 98.

⁹⁷ Guildhall MS. 9171/1, f. 16v; B.M. Add. MS. 5843, p. 357; Guildhall MS. 9531/3, f. 346v.

⁹⁸ Guildhall MS. 9171/2, f. 288v; P.C.C. 5 Luffenham, Southcote.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1429-36, 494.

¹ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, ii (1), 47.

² Guildhall MS. 9171/6, ff. 234v-6v.

³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), p. 232 (2nd edn.); Guildhall MS. 9531/9, f. 157.

⁴ Guildhall MS. 9531/9, ff. 158-58v; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii (2), p. 986.

⁵ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iii (2), p. 986; Guildhall MS. 9531/10, f. 117v.

⁶ Guildhall MS. 9531/10, f. 118.

⁷ E 42/471.

⁸ B.M. Seals LXVIII. 72. This is the same as a much-damaged impression attached to a document of 1506: E 329/200.

⁹ The story of the London Charterhouse has often been told. See in particular L. Hendriks, *The London Charterhouse*, a careful account, with appendix, by a modern Carthusian; W. H. St. J. Hope, *Hist. of the London Charterhouse*, a posthumous publication of material

assembled by a distinguished antiquary, with many original documents printed; E. M. Thompson, *English Carthusians*, a careful, scholarly account using all the known material and printing a number of documents; and D. Knowles and W. F. Grimes, *Charterhouse*, an account of the post-Second World War excavations and discoveries, with plans and diagrams of the monastic buildings.

¹⁰ The principal authority for the early history is a register or cartulary now at the P.R.O. (L.R. 2/61); the narrative portions of this are printed all but entirely (although not consecutively) in Hope, *Charterhouse*, 28-36, 47-52, 77-88, which also contains many of the relative charters. The register was compiled shortly before 1500 by an anonymous monk.

¹¹ L.R. 2/61, ff. 10-10v; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 29-30; transactions also recorded in Stow, *Survey*, ii. 81, 82, and *Chron. Galfridi le Baker*, ed. E. M. Thompson, 99.

¹² Bull of Clement VI cited in that of Urban VI printed in Hendriks, *Charterhouse*, 360-2, and Hope, *Charterhouse*, 27-28.

¹³ Two hermits in 1354, Thomas Stapelow and Walter of Dorset, obtained an indulgence of 40 days for all contributors and bedesmen (E 135/15/1). This document, dated from Avignon, specifically gives the dedication of the church as 'the Assumption' not 'the Annunciation', and the Assumption is one of the days when the indulgence may be gained, but all this may be the error of a foreign scribe.

So matters stood for a number of years. The first suggestion of a Charterhouse seems to have come from Michael Northburgh, Bishop of London 1355–61, who on his journeys to and from the papal court had visited and admired the Charterhouse at Paris. He approached Manny with the suggestion that they should co-operate in the foundation of a monastery in Spital Croft.¹⁴ The suggestion was in harmony with a recent change in the policy of the Carthusian Order. The Grande Chartreuse and all early Charterhouses had been founded of set purpose in desert places, and even the *conversi* or lay brethren had been accommodated in buildings at a considerable distance from those of the monks. Hitherto the English foundations at Witham and Hinton (Som.) and at Beauvale (Notts.) had conformed to this pattern. More recently, however, continental houses had been founded on urban sites, as at Paris, Bruges, Cologne, and Liège, where the strict and secluded community had served as a living contrast to the worldliness and vice of a great city. Northburgh hoped with reason for a similar result in London. Manny was agreeable to the proposal,¹⁵ and the bishop approached the priors of Witham and Hinton.¹⁶ The Carthusians, at least in the early centuries of their Order's existence, rarely made foundations spontaneously as a 'swarm', like the Cistercians, but responded to an invitation from a founder who was expected to provide the buildings and endowment. In this case the priors accepted the invitation; both died shortly afterwards, and it was left to a subsequent Prior of Hinton, John Luscote, to raise the matter again with Manny when on a visit to London.¹⁷ Manny was still willing to act, and after some delay the general chapter in 1370 accepted the new foundation and appointed Luscote, relieved of his charge at Hinton, as its administrator.¹⁸ When, however, he arrived in London with a companion, a deacon-*redditus*¹⁹ named John Gryseley, he found that no building had been started. Manny had offered the Hospital of St. Bartholomew the manor of Streetly (Cambs.) in exchange for their lands; the manor, however, owed service to the Bishop of Ely, who was supported by his chapter in maintaining that he could not alienate the rights of his see without papal permission.²⁰ This was obtained with the assistance of Simon Sudbury, Bishop of London, whose aid Luscote had solicited, and who offered

the Bishop of Ely sufficient compensation for the loss of service. The requisite papal permission was given by Urban V in May 1370, when he committed to Archbishop Whittlesey the decision as to the sufficiency of Sudbury's proposed compensation, and Whittlesey's licence was duly issued in June.²¹ These and other delays, caused partly by the chapter of St. Paul's and partly by an anchoress who lived alongside the graveyard chapel, had held up all building operations. Even now events moved slowly. It was not until December that the inquisition *ad quod damnum* returned a verdict that the king would suffer no loss by the foundation, and two more months passed before the royal licence was issued.²² At last, on 28 March 1371, came Sir Walter Manny's foundation charter,²³ and about the feast of the Ascension (15 May) the founder and the prior made an agreement with Henry Yevele, the celebrated master mason, for building the first cell and beginning the great cloister.²⁴ Seven months later, on 15 January 1372, Manny died, and was buried before the high altar²⁵ in the chapel of the graveyard, now to be the monastic church.

Meanwhile Prior Luscote, as 'visitor' of the province, had been authorized to summon monks from each of the existing houses to become founding members of the new community: a monk and a lay brother from Hinton, two priests from Witham in addition to John Gryseley, and two from Beauvale.²⁶ With them he lived in makeshift buildings for many years; indeed, Prior Luscote died in 1398 before the communal rooms and the great wall of the enclosure had been completed.

In contrast to the slow progress with the buildings, the nucleus of property owned by the Charterhouse was complete within twenty years.²⁷ Spital Croft or, as it was re-named, New Church Haw, was conveyed to Manny and others by St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1370, and at the same time the Hospital conveyed to them about 3 acres of land north of the main block;²⁸ the Hospitallers of St. John in Clerkenwell had conveyed another piece of 3 acres north-west of the Pardon churchyard to Manny,²⁹ but for some reason it did not pass to the monks either by Manny's foundation charter or at his death. It was therefore bought on behalf of the monks and subsequently released, along with all the other properties, to King Edward III and by him granted to the Charterhouse in 1376.³⁰ Shortly afterwards, in

¹⁴ L.R. 2/61, ff. 30–31.

¹⁵ Ibid. ff. 31–32; cf. charter cited *ibid.* ff. 21–22 (*Cat. Anct. D.* ii. B2315), and also bull of Urban VI, n. 12 above.

¹⁶ L.R. 2/61, f. 32 cites letter.

¹⁷ Ibid. f. 33.

¹⁸ C. le Couteulx, *Annales Ordinis Carthusiensis, s.a.* 1370, 1398.

¹⁹ A *redditus* was a vowed inmate of a Charterhouse, of status immediately below the monks and above the *oblates* and *conversi*; a clerk *redditus* was at this time always a deacon; cf. Thompson, *Carthusians*, 123–4, 172, n. 2, correcting Hope, *Charterhouse*, 13–14.

²⁰ L.R. 2/61, ff. 34–35.

²¹ Ibid. f. 34; Lambeth MSS., Reg. Whittlesey, f. 28v; royal permission to alienate Streetly given 7 May 1370; cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1367–70, 415.

²² Hope, *Charterhouse*, 24–25 (from P. Bearcroft, *Hist. Account of T. Sutton*, 174–5); *Cal. Pat.* 1370–4, 44.

²³ L.R. 2/61, f. 21; *Cal. Pat.* 1370–4, 44. Charter preserved at Charterhouse.

²⁴ 'Henrico Revell' in L.R. 2/61, f. 35, but it is clear that Yevele is indicated: he appears later among benefactors: *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, 160.

²⁵ L.R. 2/61, f. 12; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 35: '*Sepultusque . . . in ecclesia predicta . . . ante gradum majoris altaris*'.

²⁶ L.R. 2/61, f. 11v; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 35 (names given).

²⁷ Map of this property, in parcels as acquired, in Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 19; this assumes, as did the present writer in 1952, the inclusion of Pardon churchyard (see n. 28).

²⁸ Deed in L.R. 2/61, f. 15. G. S. Davies, *Charterhouse in Lond.* 4–6, and Hope, *Charterhouse*, 18, assert the identification of this land with Pardon churchyard. Thompson, *Carthusians*, 168, denies this, stating that Stow is the sole authority for the bishop's connexion with Pardon churchyard. This seems to overlook the reference in Hope, *op. cit.* 5 to the medieval chronicler Geoffrey le Baker (see n. 11 above): '*episcopus Londiniensis emit illamcroftam Nomenneslond vocatam*', but even so the grant by Sir Thomas Docwra in 1514 of 'a chapell called the Pardon chapel . . . and . . . the chapellyard', printed in Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum*, i. 382, seems to prove that St. John's still held the area at that date.

²⁹ L.R. 2/61, f. 19; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 22–23.

³⁰ E 303/Lond./34 (cf. also 149); *Cal. Pat.* 1374–7, 380–6. The manor of Huntingfield (Kent) was granted 6 Mar. 1377: *Cal. Pat.* 1374–7, 434.

1377, the builders were faced with a problem. The great cloister was planned on the ample scale of 300 by 340 feet; as projected its eastern alley and cells would lie outside the parish boundary, which was also the eastern boundary of New Church Haw, and the construction was in consequence halted. The land, however, belonged to St. Bartholomew's, who once more came to the rescue and made over 4 acres to the monks.³¹ This transfer completed the site of the monastery with its offices, gardens, and orchards, today bounded on the east by Goswell Road, on the north by Clerkenwell Road, and on the west by the gardens at the rear of houses in St. John's Street. Two more grants of land, the one by the Hospitallers of St. John in 1384, the other by Westminster Abbey in 1391, gave the Charterhouse fields to the north and north-west of their existing property.³² All these parcels of land combined to give the monks a compact area of some 30 acres, forming a parallelogram almost 300 by 600 yards in extent, and giving space not only for an orchard surrounding three sides of the cloister, but also for a vegetable garden, hayfield, and wilderness to the north—the last-named harbouring at least the smaller species of game.³³ This area remained without addition or diminution until the suppression of the house.

The original endowment of the Charterhouse consisted of £2,000 from Michael Northburgh, together with some articles of plate, and the manors of Ockholt in Romney Marsh (Kent) and Knebworth (Herts.) from Sir Walter Manny, together with a claim to debts and arrears amounting to £4,000, due to Manny from the king and the Black Prince.³⁴ In the event the monks had little profit from Manny's legacies, as Ockholt was partially submerged by the tides, Knebworth taken from them unjustly, and the royal debts permanently dishonoured.³⁵ As a consequence the Charterhouse depended for the major part of its income on the gifts, large and small, in cash and in real estate, occasional or substantial, from personal friends and humbler donors, mainly Londoners. The founders of cells are enumerated below; in addition, the 'Register' and the evidence of wills show a constant stream of gifts and legacies of property, money, and valuables from the foundation to the early 16th century. As might be expected, the greater part of the property so devised lay in or near London, and consisted of tenements in the City and suburbs, and pastures and gardens on the outskirts, but there were a few manors and some house property at a distance, and the rectories of at least five churches. The monks seem to have found difficulty with distant property, no doubt because it was impossible for one of their own body to visit or supervise it; some of the original property was very soon lost, and there is also mention of two manors in Kent,

Plumstead and Hintingford, and a church in Somerset, Norton Veal (now Norton St. Philip),³⁶ lost, so it was alleged, through the sharp practice of enemies. The house was in financial difficulties as early as 1393, and early in the reign of Henry IV the monks were reduced to such straits by losses and obligations that they were forced to appeal to the king, who in 1403 took the Charterhouse into his hands for a time and administered its affairs.³⁷ Forty years later Henry VI acknowledged further losses by a licence to acquire in mortmain property of £40 annual rent, and added a second tun of wine yearly to that given by Edward III.³⁸ The only major benefaction of land in the later 15th century was the gift by Edward IV, 'through the persuasion and advice of Thomas Colt', of the alien priory of Ogbourne (Wilts.), with a manor and other property in Great Ogbourne (Ogbourne St. George) and Little Ogbourne (Ogbourne St. Andrew).³⁹ Hitherto King's College, Cambridge, had had a title to Ogbourne, and it was some years before the Charterhouse was able to realize the gift. They were helped by Bishops Alcock of Ely (1486–1500) and Russell of Lincoln (1480–94) and the final arrangement was in force from about 1500. By that time the College was in possession, farming the property, and paying a yearly rent of £33 6s. 8d., about half of the rent they received, to the Charterhouse.⁴⁰

The bulk of the land at a distance was, so far as can be seen, farmed out for a lump annual sum, but the monks appear to have kept in hand the demesne at Bloomsbury, where they employed a bailiff, to provide dairy produce for the house. Their own gardens and orchards adjoining the monastery would have sufficed for vegetables and fresh fruit. So far as can be seen from the procurator's accounts over a run of nine years (1492–1500)⁴¹ receipts of all kinds fluctuated greatly according as gifts and legacies were forthcoming or not, or as house property fell into disrepair or was lost for one reason or another. Moreover, a well-connected and energetic procurator, such as Philip Underwood, with wealthy relatives in the City, could manage, by calling in debts, soliciting gifts, and making the most of rents, to swell the annual receipts considerably. Underwood's predecessor in 1492–3 could only realize £589 in receipts; Underwood raised this to £1,067 in his first year, and in his last account of 1500 this had risen to £2,012. There is some evidence that Underwood cared more for administration and money-winning than for the Carthusian life; he was removed from office after eight years and in 1514 by special dispensation transferred himself from the Charterhouse to the Knights of St. John at the nearby Clerkenwell Priory.⁴² Thirty years after Underwood had ceased to be procurator his successor of the day returned to the commissioners of the tenth in 1536 a gross income of £736.⁴³

³¹ Hope, *Charterhouse*, 26; *Cal. Pat.* 1377–81, 238 (18 May 1377).

³² Hope, *Charterhouse*, 26.

³³ Clerkenwell Rd. was formerly known as 'Wilderness Street'. In 1473 a general chapter prohibited hunting by secular persons on the Charterhouse property (Bodl. MS. Rawlinson D 318, f. 153v).

³⁴ L.R. 2/61, ff. 13v–14; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 77–78. Manny's will, dated St. Andrew's day 1371, is in Lambeth MSS., Reg. Whittlesey, f. 120v.

³⁵ L.R. 2/61, ff. 78–79.

³⁶ *Ibid.* f. 79.

³⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1401–5, 174 (8 Nov.).

³⁸ *Ibid.* 1441–6, 104 (30 June 1442).

³⁹ *Ibid.* 1461–7, 141, 176 (23 Feb.); cf. *Cal. Papal Regs.* xii. 308–9 (13 Jan. 1469); *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii 394–6.

⁴⁰ Cf. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), p. 319; xiv (2), pp. 99, 347; King's Coll. Camb., Ledger Bk. i, ff. 172v–3v; Mundum Bk. for 1502–3. The writer owes these references to Mr. J. Saltmarsh.

⁴¹ S.C. 12/25/55.

⁴² Hendriks, *Charterhouse*, 73.

⁴³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 430–1.

The fabric of the London Charterhouse was constructed over a long period of years. The two founders had provided land and a sum of money, but both they and the monks seem to have relied on private benefactors to come forward and finance the building. Thus the great cloister was constructed cell by cell as funds permitted, and since the names of the donors have been preserved, it is possible to date the progress within fairly narrow limits. The London monastery was from the first intended to be a 'double' house, that is, one for twenty-four monks and a prior. The cells were built round the cloister in a clockwise direction beginning at the south-western angle, where the doorway led to the outer world, and they were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet which, with one letter doing duty for I and J, V representing also U and W, and three bearing the letter S, gave a total of twenty-five cells. The donors⁴⁴ and the approximate date of the cells were as follows:

- A. Sir Walter Manny and Sir William Walworth (1371)
- B. Sir William Walworth (1371)
- C. Adam Fraunceys (after 1374)
- D. Walworth, applying bequest of John Lovekyn (after 1374-5)
- E. and F. Adam Fraunceys (after 1374)
- G., H., and J. Walworth and Lovekyn (after 1374-5)
- K. Mary of St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke (after 1376)
- L. and M. Adam Fraunceys (after 1374)
- N. Felice Aubrey (after 1378)
- O. Margaret Tilney (after 1393)
- P. Sir Robert Knolles and Constance his wife (after 1389)
- Q. John Buckingham, Bishop of Lincoln (probably after 1398)
- R. and S. Thomas Hatfield, Bishop of Durham (probably after 1381)
- T. William Ufford, Earl of Suffolk (after 1381-2)
- V. Richard Clyderhow (after 1419)
- X. John Clyderhow (c. 1436)
- Z. Joan Brenckley (after 1406)
- S. Margery Nerford and Christine Upstones (probably before 1394)
- S. Robert Manfield, Provost of Beverley (probably after 1419)

This list of donors of cells shows very clearly how wide was the appeal of the Charterhouse. We can divide the twenty-odd benefactors into at least five distinct classes—the nobility, the hierarchy, the soldiers of fortune, the office-holding, administrative class, and the prosperous citizens and their wives. It may be noted that the last two cells on the south side near the church (Z and S) may well have been completed before those in the east alley of the cloister, as also the sacrist's cell, below the treasury near the church. Altogether the completion of the full tale of cells took some sixty years. We are told that in 1412 nineteen had been completed.⁴⁵

The other buildings were even longer in achieving completion. The chapel, originally built for the graveyard by Manny, was used as the conventual church. The Carthusians, differing from every other order of monks and canons in this, gave no architectural prominence to their churches. The only one to remain in a fair state of preservation, that of Mount Grace (Yorks. N.R.), is even smaller and meaner in exterior appearance than that of the London Charterhouse must have been. The original building was a simple rectangle of 94 by 38 feet, divided internally into presbytery, choir, and a small (25 by 35 ft.) 'body of the church' at the western end, divided from the choir by a wooden screen with two altars against its western face. Into this space the public, including even women, asserted their right of entry, and it was only in 1405 that an extension to the west, 30 feet in length, was provided in response to urgent commands of Visitors to exclude women from the monastic church.⁴⁶ This ante-chapel was separated from the original church by a second screen, and called the chapel of St. Anne. In the year of its consecration, however, the two regular visiting superiors from abroad forbade women to visit the church at all. Nevertheless, the original 'body of the church', augmented now by the 'chapel' of St. Anne, remained accessible to men, and benefactors continued to found chapels and to erect tombs. Some of these chapels are specifically mentioned in the records of the monastery,⁴⁷ others have been identified after excavation, and yet others are only known to have existed through mention in a post-Dissolution survey. Those whose sites are known with certainty were as follows:⁴⁸ due south of the high altar the small (12 by 15 ft.), almost square chapel of St. John the Evangelist was built out of a legacy by Robert Boteler, and consecrated in 1437. South of the original 'body of the church' was a somewhat larger chapel (19 by 22 ft.) dedicated to St. Michael and St. John the Baptist, and adjoining this to the east a smaller one (12 by 16 ft.) of St. Jerome and St. Bernard. Both were built and endowed by Sir John Popham (d. 1463-4), whose tomb was in the larger of the two, and were consecrated in 1453. On the north side lay two chapels: that to the west, corresponding to Popham's chapel of St. Michael, was the chapel (18 by 20 ft.) of Sir Robert Rede (d. 1519), dedicated to St. Catherine; adjoining it to the east was that of St. Agnes, founded by William Freeman and consecrated in 1453. The exact position and dimensions of this last chapel are unknown, as its site is covered by existing buildings. Adjoining the presbytery to the north, beneath the existing 'tower', was the vestibule to the chapter-house, and in it were two altars dedicated to St. John the Baptist and St. Hugh of Lincoln. Finally, there is documentary record of two small chapels to the east of the high altar, but it is not clear whether they were on ground level or were on the first floor and connected with the prior's 'new cell' which lay behind the church.⁴⁹ The chapter-house, an essential requirement for the regular life, had not been begun at the death of

⁴⁴ L.R. 2/61, ff. 12-12v, 14-14v; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 49, 80. Dates discussed in detail in Hope, op. cit. 68-73, and in Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 25-26 (notes).

⁴⁵ L.R. 2/61, f. 12v; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 49; cf. L.R. 2/61, f. 14, and Hope, op. cit. 79.

⁴⁶ L.R. 2/61, ff. 12v-13; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 49-50.

⁴⁷ L.R. 2/61, ff. 16-17; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 84-88.

⁴⁸ Fuller account and plan in Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 51-63.

⁴⁹ Cf. S.C. 12/36/26, and extracts in Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 84-86.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Prior Luscote, and the altar in the room, dedicated to St. Michael, was not consecrated until 1414.⁵⁰

A Carthusian church, by primitive tradition and decrees of general chapter, was simple, austere, and without elaborate ornament, but here, as in some other respects, the monks of London had to pay a price for the support and endowment they received from the city at their gate. Rich well-wishers not only gave them ornaments and built and furnished chapels, but demanded that their bodies should rest in the church under tombs of their own specification.⁵¹ From the instructions of testators⁵² and the inventory of the commissioners of suppression⁵³ we can gain an impression of the appointments of these chapels, with their screens and retables. Woodwork, alabaster carvings, paintings, and silver-work were set off by the damask and brocades of the curtains, frontals, and vestments.

In a Charterhouse, in contrast to other monastic houses, the community rooms were very small and few in number. Dormitory and warming-house, infirmary, noviciate, and abbot's lodging formed no part of the complex, and the refectory or frater was used only on Sundays and feast-days, and had to accommodate only a small community. At the London Charterhouse the frater lay between cell A (the prior's) and cell B, and was presumably built in conjunction with those cells about 1371. Accommodation for the lay-brothers, stores, and guests lay outside the great cloister to the south-west of the south-west angle, where the exit lay to the outside world. Here there were ultimately two courts. One, immediately to the west of the church, formed the so-called Little Cloister (41 by 35½ ft.), the Master's Court of the modern establishment. It was constructed in 1436⁵⁴ and its western range of buildings held the guest rooms, needed in any case for visiting monks, and occupied also in London in the early 16th century by a few privileged laymen. Beyond this again to the west lay the slightly larger court (the modern Wash-House Court) round the three outer sides of which lay the quarters of the lay-brothers, kitchens, brewhouse, and cellars. The laundry apparently lay outside the cloister east of the chapter-house. Of these buildings, the Little Cloister was constructed in 1436 from a legacy of John Clyderhow. For the lay-brothers' quarters no documentary evidence is available, but the existing buildings are clearly of the early Tudor period (1490–1535), and it is possible that the letters I.H., which are picked out in darker brick on an external wall of the court, are those of Prior Houghton. Finally in the last decades of the House's existence, a new cell was built for the prior and three little cells to accommodate the influx of postulants under Tynbygh or Houghton. These were situated at the south-east corner of the precinct, east of the church, and approached from the cloister by a door or passage west of cell Z.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Chronicler states that the chapter-house had not been begun at Luscote's death: L.R. 2/61, f. 12v; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 49; but a will of 10 Feb. 1394 shows money left '*ad faciendum opus cementarium cuiusdam novae domus capitularis*': *Cal. Wills proved in Court of Husting*, ed. R. R. Sharpe, ii. 309; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 91. For consecration see L.R. 2/61, f. 13; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 51.

⁵¹ Hope, *Charterhouse*, 100–4, has list of burials, partly from Coll. of Arms MS. A. 17.

⁵² Hope, *Charterhouse*, 89–99. ⁵³ L.R. 54/11.

⁵⁴ L.R. 2/61, f. 13; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 52.

⁵⁵ Cf. Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 74–82.

One more feature of the monastery remains to be noted: the piped water-system.⁵⁶ Originally the monks no doubt depended upon wells, but a Carthusian monastery, with its numerous individual cells, felt the need for a distributed supply, and in 1430 we find John Ferriby and Margery his wife enfeofing the prior and convent with a spring in their meadow called Overmede at Islington, and with a strip of land for laying the pipes of a conduit.⁵⁷ This spring was a mile north of the Charterhouse, and the monks secured permission from the owners of the intervening land, the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell and the nuns of St. Mary's Priory, Clerkenwell, to lay lead pipes under their pastures.⁵⁸ Later both those houses drew water from the Islington springs by similar conduits. The cost of this installation was met by gifts from William Symmes and Anne Tatersale, and in the latter half of 1431 the water was brought into the great cloister. Medieval water engineers, like their modern counterparts in the public utility services, often drew plans of the piping to assist future maintenance workers. This was done at the Charterhouse, and an elaborate plan exists,⁵⁹ giving not only the location of the pipes, buildings, and taps, but showing also in elevation the church and other features of the southern range, together with the *age*⁶⁰ or conduit-house in the middle of the great cloister, which resembles the fountain in the Great Court at Trinity College, Cambridge. It was an elaborate erection containing the cistern into which the main discharged, and whence the water was drawn off by pipes to the cells and offices of the house. Several copies of this plan exist; the oldest and most elaborate, covered with descriptive annotations, may date from soon after the installation and is certainly earlier than about 1500, although it bears later notes dated 1512. Fifteen years after the water had been laid on, three brewers endeavoured to assert the right of those living near the Charterhouse to the regular overflow, and filed a bill in Chancery that the executors of William Symmes should be summoned to support their claim. The executors, however, gave testimony in favour of the monks; they were left by their benefactor entirely free to do what they willed with their surplus water, and judgement was given accordingly in 1451.⁶¹ Six years later the original spring in Overmede showed signs of failing. Margery, the widow of the original donor, was still alive and was now married to Lord Berners; she and her husband therefore gave permission for the monks to use other springs in the same field.⁶²

The site of the Charterhouse, alongside a public graveyard on the outskirts of the city, rendered its inmates liable to disturbances and visits of all kinds, especially in the early years before the cloister and enclosure wall were completed. The two last decades of the 14th century were a time of general unrest.

⁵⁶ Hope, *Charterhouse*, 107–44.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 133–4; L.R. 2/61, f. 98v.

⁵⁸ L.R. 2/61, f. 13; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 51.

⁵⁹ Original roll preserved at Charterhouse and reproduced in Hope, *Charterhouse*, 107; several later copies exist. Cf. Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 35, and account in Hope, *Charterhouse*, 107–33, based on same writer's article in *Archaeologia*, lviii. 293–312.

⁶⁰ For the term '*age*' see Hope, *Charterhouse*, 141–2, with citations from Ducange.

⁶¹ Ibid. 129–32.

⁶² Ibid. 142–3.

The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 had met with some support in the City and the Archbishop of Canterbury had been murdered by the mob, while almost at the same time the Lollards and their supporters were responsible for anti-clerical and anti-monastic agitation. These currents of feeling may have helped to excite irresponsible citizens who already had a grudge against the nuns of Clerkenwell and the Carthusians for occupying what was claimed as a public space hitherto used by the citizens for games and recreation. On three or four occasions crowds surrounded the house, destroying buildings and moving boundary walls.⁶³ Less violent, but felt as a more constant burden, was the practice of citizens in regarding the church as a public one in which women as well as men could worship. Fear of violence and sense of obligation for benefactions combined to make the monks chary of enforcing their rights,⁶⁴ and privacy was not finally secured until 1405, when the regular Visitors from abroad ordained that a strong wall should be built south of the church, and that women should not be allowed within it.⁶⁵

The London Charterhouse came into being when the Carthusian Order was about to undergo a period of stress. The hermits of the Grande Chartreuse, originally a group who had every expectation of remaining remote and alone, had gradually developed into an order with a constitution modelled in part on that of the Cistercians. The governing body was the General Chapter, meeting yearly at the Grande Chartreuse on the fourth Sunday after Easter, and consisting of the community there and the priors of all other Charterhouses, under the presidency of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse. This chapter passed legislation, settled appeals, ratified elections, and appointed Visitors. As the Order spread it was divided into provinces for the purpose of visitation and supervision; provincial Visitors were appointed, usually from among the priors, although General Chapter could always depute Visitors from outside for a particular purpose. As the Order for a long time had only two small houses in England (Witham, 1178, and Hinton, 1227), no province had been erected and Visitors had been appointed from France, but in 1343 a third house had been founded at Beauvale (Notts.), and it may be that the experience of thirty years of war between England and France, together with the prospect of an important foundation in London, led the chapter in 1370 to institute an English province. John Luscote was appointed 'rector' of the new venture and provincial prior over the other houses.⁶⁶ Henceforth the London Charterhouse came to have a kind of unofficial precedence, and the disciplinary missives or, as they were called, 'charters', of the General Chapter to the various houses all passed through the hands of its prior.

The English province and the London Charterhouse had been in existence for less than ten years when the Great Schism began in 1378. The Carthusians, like the other international orders, were

divided regionally in their allegiance. The English province followed the nation into the camp of the Roman Pope Urban VI in 1380, and in 1385 the general chapter of this section of the Order was transferred to Seitz in Austria. English priors were excused from the long and circuitous journey, but English affairs were discussed at Seitz and decisions communicated to England until the Order was reunited in 1411.

Decisions of General Chapter from time to time directly affected the London Charterhouse. Thus in 1405 the chapter at Seitz sent two Visitors from Holland who made rigorous decrees on enclosure;⁶⁷ in 1490 the chapter allowed the Bishop of Lincoln, John Russell, at the time 'conservator' of the rights and privileges of the Carthusians, to build a house within the precincts.⁶⁸ Shortly after this, a more important question arose. One of the Visitors, Prior John Ingleby of Sheen, took exception to the frequent acceptance of gifts and benefactions made to individual religious. The community of London took this ill, and in 1494 brought up at General Chapter a series of questions on the subject. Might a prior allow a donor to give a sum of money to be spent for the benefit of a particular monk? Might small objects such as books be given to individuals for life? Might a gift, made without conditions to an individual, be kept by the prior for that individual's use? Might the sick and aged be allowed to retain a few pence for medicine? Might lands or rents be accepted on condition that the income should be divided between the monks or priests for their use? All these questions reflected common problems in the London Charterhouse. Those who had received advice or edification, or who wished to secure prayers, naturally wished to show their gratitude or gain their end by means of gifts to an individual. Every one of the above questions had been answered implicitly in the affirmative by the contemporary black monks, and it is therefore significant that the chapter returned a firm negative to all. This produced division in the London convent, since certain legacies had been accepted, one of which allotted a yearly half-mark to the prior and procurator, in return for prayers, and the other an annual 20s. to be divided among all the priests celebrating an anniversary. Prior Ingleby, the Visitor, was called in as arbitrator, and used his powers to suspend several of the capitular decisions, but the stricter party appealed to the General Chapter of 1496, and the fathers there upheld the firm answers of their predecessors.⁶⁹

Few details of the lives of individual monks have been preserved. The elderly monk who compiled the 'Register', apparently between 1488 and 1500, had, when a young monk, known three elders, John Nevill, Thomas Gorwey, and William Hatherley, sometime Prior of Hinton, who had themselves known John Homersley, who had entered the house in 1393. Gorwey in particular, one of Homersley's novices, had often told the chronicler of his way of life. 'Homersley', he recorded, 'was a man of great

⁶³ Hope, *Charterhouse*, 49-50, 58; L.R. 2/61, ff. 12v-13, 14. These riots have left traces in the records: *Cal. Close*, 1389-92, 77 (23 Oct. 1389); 1402-5, 516 (6 May 1405).

⁶⁴ *Cal. Papal Regs.* v. 256 (17 Mar. 1399): women gaining Porziuncola indulgence may enter church, choir, and cloister.

⁶⁵ L.R. 2/61, ff. 50-51; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 43-44.

⁶⁶ Le Couteulx, *Annales*, s.a. 1370, 1398.

⁶⁷ L.R. 2/61, ff. 50-51; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 43-44.

⁶⁸ Bodl. MS. Rawlinson D 318, f. 156v.

⁶⁹ Ibid. ff. 158 sqq.; Thompson, *Carthusians*, 273-5. Some of this material also in Jesus Coll. Camb., MS. Q.A. 12.

simplicity and gentleness, who walked without blame in the way of the commandments of God and the observances of the Carthusian Order. He loved his cell and its solitude, and he shut his mouth against evil, lest he should transgress in his speech. He spoke rarely and in few words of things of good repute, but he justified the word of God by his works.' He never ceased from copying books for the church, frater, and cells, and when written he took them to the prior's cell; 'he took no steps to see that they were given to anyone in particular, or put in any special place, but leaving them with the prior he went back in silence to his cell'. If he was ever pressed to receive gifts or money from a benefactor, 'he took it straightway to the prior's cell and left it with him. If he failed to find the prior there he left the money on the ground by his door, laying a tile on it if it was windy, and thought no more about it'. The chronicler goes on to relate various visions and trials of Homersley, who died shortly after 1440.⁷⁰

After the account of Homersley in the 'Register', and the notes of various gifts, we have no personal details of individuals before the priorate of William Tynbygh, which began in 1500. Thenceforward until the end, the principal authority for the domestic life of the house is the 'history' of Maurice Chauncy, who was a young monk there in the last half-dozen years of its existence. The son of John Chauncy, a landowner of Sawbridgeworth (Herts.), he was born in 1509 and became in due course a student of the law at Gray's Inn. He took the habit at the Charterhouse at about the time of Prior Houghton's election. Although, as we shall see, he failed to stand firm to the end in opposition to the Royal Supremacy, he retained his sense of vocation, crossed to Flanders in 1546, and became a professed monk of the Charterhouse of Bruges, whence he returned in 1555 as leader of the group that refounded Sheen in Mary's reign. His chronicle of the last days of the London priory, *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, has a complicated literary history, still to be fully elucidated, and exists in at least five versions. The work is in aim a piece of hagiography or propaganda; Chauncy was neither a critical historian nor a writer of genius; he was frankly a panegyrist, and had a love of the marvellous which impairs his credit even when he is writing of what he knows well. He often digresses from his narrative and expatiates in scriptural quotations and parallels. Nevertheless, his basic sincerity and trustworthiness are unquestionable, and he was an eyewitness of much of what he describes.⁷¹

He begins with a short notice of Prior Tynbygh. Here he was writing, long after the event, of what he had only hearsay information. He tells us that Tynbygh, a native of Ireland, although not necessarily an Irishman by race, joined the community in

1470 after a conversion of which the details give every sign of being mythical. William Tynbygh was indeed almost certainly the son of Nicholas Tynbygh, gentleman, a member of a well-known Dublin family whose fortunes can be traced in the records of the city of Dublin from 1332 onwards.⁷² He became in turn sacristan and vicar (or second-in-command), and was elected prior in 1500, remaining in office for nearly thirty years; he resigned in 1529 and died less than two years later. Whatever discount we allow for Chauncy's enthusiasm, there can be no question of Prior Tynbygh's holiness of life, and he duly received from the General Chapter of 1531 the single word of the traditional laconic panegyric: '*qui sexaginta annis laudabiliter vixit in ordine*'.⁷³ To him, more than to any other, must be attributed the high standard of discipline and observance that distinguished the House of the Salutation even among its sister houses in the reign of Henry VIII.⁷⁴ He is recorded as having solemnly warned his brethren that their strength and security lay in unity; in later years these words were taken as evidence of a spirit of prophecy. It was he who received to the habit John Houghton, Sebastian Newdigate, and others who were to show themselves true Carthusians in the hour of trial.

Tynbygh was succeeded by John Batmanson, around whose name some confusion has occurred.⁷⁵ There were in fact two men of that name. The elder, a civilian and judge of some eminence, who appears in the records shortly before and after 1500, disappears from sight about 1516, and the opinion has become current that he joined the Carthusians and became prior. Recently, however, it has been shown that the Carthusian Batmanson was ordained deacon in 1510; this clearly distinguishes him from his namesake, and other evidence makes it possible, if not probable, that the two were father and son. The younger Batmanson became in due course Prior of Hinton 1523-9 and was called thence to hold office at London. He was a scholar of some note, although without university training, and wrote against Luther. He was even considered sufficiently qualified to be asked by Edward Lee, later Archbishop of York, to criticize Erasmus's *New Testament* when it appeared in 1516. This drew upon him not only some caustic comments from the sensitive humanist, but a long letter from Sir Thomas More in which More, who had known the Carthusian when he was a student of the law, attacked Erasmus's opponent with considerable asperity.⁷⁶ Although by no means an old man when he was elected prior, Batmanson died after two years in office, and was succeeded by John Houghton.

Houghton, who was born in 1485-6, came of gentle family in Essex.⁷⁷ He had taken a degree in laws at Cambridge from God's House, later Christ's

Notices of Tynbygh, Batmanson, and Houghton in *D.N.B.*, but all require considerable revision.

⁷⁴ Some accounts, etc., surviving from Tynbygh's priorate are summarized in *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii, p. 232.

⁷⁵ In this matter the author is indebted to Dom Andrew Gray for information. Refs. in Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, iii, App. I.

⁷⁶ *Corresp. of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. F. Rogers, 165-206; cf. Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, iii, App. I, and P. S. Allen, *Desiderii Erasmi Opus Epistolarum*, iv, 259. More was in the Charterhouse 1499-1503.

⁷⁷ Chauncy, *Historia*, ch. iv, *De sancto et discreto regimine Prioris*.

⁷⁰ L.R. 2/61, ff. 14v-15v; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 80-84.

⁷¹ Thompson, *Carthusians*, 343-53, discusses the literary history of *Historia Martyrum* (to 1932), and it is again discussed in M. Chauncy, *Passion and Martyrdom of Holy Eng. Carthusian Fathers*, ed. G. W. S. Curtis, 28-33. A briefer bibliographical note, which takes account of the rediscovery of the original version in Guildhall MS. 1231, is in D. Knowles, *Rel. Orders in Eng.* iii, 222-3. In the text above the edn. cited is that of V. M. Doreau (Montreuil-sur-Mer).

⁷² For this identification, first made by Prof. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., see the Dublin periodical *Studies*, xlix, 328.

⁷³ *Charta capituli generalis* 1531, cited by Hendriks, *Charterhouse*, 74; Chauncy, *Historia aliquot Martyrum*, 74.

College, and had then studied in private for the priesthood and lived at his father's home as a secular priest before taking the monastic habit in 1515. Seven years later he became sacrist and after five more years procurator. In 1530-1 he was elected Prior of Beauvale, but in six months' time the unanimous vote of the London community recalled him to be prior of the house of his profession. Under his rule the good observance was raised to a still higher level by the personality and example of a prior who combined holiness of life with a genius for leadership and inspiring guidance. Maurice Chauncy's glowing pages describing the Charterhouse as he knew it in the years 1531-5 may reflect both the youthful hero-worship and the later sorrowful nostalgia of the writer, but in their main lines they carry conviction, and we may well believe his statement that Houghton would have deserved canonization as a monk, even had he not died as a martyr.

The reputation of the Charterhouse had stood very high for at least fifty years. At the end of the previous century the young Thomas More had spent four years as an inmate of the house in his early days at the law, attending the offices and following much of the monastic routine before deciding that his call lay elsewhere. Twenty years later Chauncy, also a law student, was familiar with the remark that those who wished to hear the divine service worthily performed should go to the Charterhouse.⁷⁸ In Houghton's day we are told that Sir John Gage, vice-chamberlain of the court, thought of becoming a monk there when he could no longer serve the king. Not only the quality, but the number also of recruits was remarkable, and it is probable that here, as at contemporary Mount Grace,⁷⁹ there was a 'waiting-list' of postulants, and that it was this that made necessary the addition of a group of 'little' cells at one corner of the cloister.

There were in Prior Houghton's day thirty choir monks and eighteen lay brethren, and of the monks some twenty were under the age of thirty-eight when he took office.⁸⁰ Of several of these we have information from Chauncy or elsewhere. After the prior, the two personalities most clearly visible are those of William Exmew and Sebastian Newdigate.⁸¹ Exmew, born c. 1506, was of good family and had received a humanist's education at Christ's College, Cambridge; his knowledge of Greek in particular is noted. Under Prior Houghton he served first as vicar and then as procurator, a very common sequence of offices. Newdigate came of a landowning family of Harefield (Mdx.), later of Arbury (Warws.). He had many connexions with families in other counties: his mother was a Nevill of Lincolnshire and two of his sisters were to become ancestresses of the Dormers and Stonors, two well-known recusant families of the Elizabethan age. Two other sisters were nuns, of Haliwell and Syon, and two brothers, knights of Malta. He himself had been a page at court and later a gentleman of the privy chamber; he had left the royal service for the Charter-

house when the matter of the divorce was mooted. Other members of the community were Humphrey Middlemore, another man of good family⁸² and procurator in 1535; Richard Bere, nephew of the great Abbot of Glastonbury, John Rochester, brother of Sir John Rochester, comptroller of the household under Mary; and James Walworth, perhaps a son of the City family that had been among the first benefactors of the house. Of the others, Everard Digby, Oliver Batmanson, and John Boleyn bore well-known names. Equally well-known to history, although for other reasons, was Andrew Boorde or Bord,⁸³ a medical student of some note. Boorde had always been something of a misfit, and in 1535 had already received some kind of dispensation from the full observance.⁸⁴ He was later, after the first executions, but before the end of the house, to depart altogether for the career of a secular priest. Boorde was not the only difficult character with whom Houghton had to deal. There were George Norton, who fell into melancholy, threatened suicide, and was dispensed, later becoming a canon in the West Country; Nicholas Rawlings, sometime secular priest, who had been professed when ill before his full noviciate was up, and had ever since cherished a grievance; John Darley, who left during the troubles to take a 'service' as a secular priest at Salisbury; and Thomas Salter, who spoke ill of his brethren and superiors to their enemies.⁸⁵

The Carthusians, along with all other subjects of the king, were required in the spring of 1534 to swear to the first Act of Succession, and thus to accept the annulment of Henry's first marriage by Cranmer and the legitimacy of Anne Boleyn's offspring.⁸⁶ Their sympathies had unquestionably lain with Queen Katherine, whose marriage they considered valid, and they had shown interest in Elizabeth Barton, although they were not so far committed with her as their brethren at Sheen. When the commissioners arrived on 4 May to tender the oath Houghton replied in the name of all that Carthusians did not meddle with the king's affairs; they asked only to be left in peace. He added that he could not see how a marriage of such long standing could be declared invalid. He was therefore conveyed to the Tower along with his procurator, Humphrey Middlemore. After deliberation there they agreed to take the oath, so far as was lawful, and were sent home, where they found the community still unwilling to swear. The commissioners, Bishop Roland Lee and Thomas Bedyll, were unsuccessful at their first visit, and at their second, on 29 May, they obtained the adhesion only of Houghton, Middlemore, and six others. Finally, Lee and Sir Thomas Kytson, one of the sheriffs of London, who brought a band of men-at-arms, were successful in extracting an oath from all.⁸⁷ So far as can be seen from Chauncy's narrative, the opposition of the monks was based on a disapproval of the Boleyn marriage rather than on a realization, such as influenced More and Fisher, that papal supremacy was at stake, for when in June 1534 commissioners endeavoured to

⁷⁸ Chauncy, *Historia*, 69.

⁷⁹ Cf. Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, iii. 239, n. 6.

⁸⁰ Chauncy, *Historia*, 58, 65.

⁸¹ Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, iii. 226-7.

⁸² Middlemore's kin held lands at Edgbaston and Studley (Warws.): cf. *V.C.H. Warws.* iii. 181. ⁸³ *D.N.B.*

⁸⁴ Letter in B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. IV, f. 70, printed in Thompson, *Carthusians*, 413-14.

⁸⁵ See Chauncy, *Historia*, ch. viii, *De fratribus reprobis*, and Thompson, *Carthusians*, 387-92.

⁸⁶ For what follows the authority is mainly Chauncy, *Historia*.

⁸⁷ Certificates printed in Rymer, *Foedera*, xiv. 492, and Hendriks, *Charterhouse*, 368-70; cf. *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vii, p. 283.

extract an acceptance of the royal supremacy, at least nine of the community refused to take the oath, when such a refusal was not as yet criminal.⁸⁸

Houghton knew well that further demands would come, and urged his monks to spend their time in prayer and preparation for their trial. Less than a year in fact elapsed before the Act of Supremacy (November 1534), followed by the Treasons Act, laid anyone who denied that the king was supreme head on earth of the Church of England under liability to a charge of high treason. In the spring of 1535 commissioners were appointed to secure general acknowledgement of the royal supremacy; this was usually obtained by administering an oath upon the gospels in terms of acceptance. The preparations made at the Charterhouse for the day of ordeal, and the scenes in chapter-house and church described by Chauncy, are a familiar page of Tudor history made immortal by Froude.⁸⁹ While awaiting the summons, Houghton was visited by the Priors of Beauvale and Axholme. The former, Robert Laurence, was a professed monk of London who had succeeded Houghton on the latter's recall. After a series of interviews and examinations before Cromwell,⁹⁰ the three priors were lodged in the Tower; they were tried on 28–29 April and condemned to death for refusal to accept the royal supremacy.⁹¹ They were executed at Tyburn on 4 May.⁹² When Houghton had been imprisoned Humphrey Middlemore, now vicar, was in charge, and had as his principal counsellors William Exmew, the procurator, and Sebastian Newdigate; when they resisted all persuasions to take the oath⁹³ they also were removed to Newgate, where they remained for a fortnight chained by neck and legs to posts. Finally, on 11 June, they were tried⁹⁴ and condemned, and on 19 June executed. After their departure the monks of the orphaned community were subjected to every kind of persuasion and petty persecution, deprived of their books, harassed by visitors, vexed by the continual presence in the cloister of Cromwell's men,⁹⁵ and urged by the Bridgettines of Syon to submit;⁹⁶ some months later (perhaps in April 1536) they were given as superior William Trafford, sometime procurator of Beauvale, who had at first made a brave show of refusing the oath to the royal supremacy,⁹⁷ but had subsequently capitulated and become entirely subservient to Cromwell. A little later a further expedient was tried. Four of the most stubborn were exiled; Chauncy and John Foxe were sent in May 1536 to Beauvale, Rochester and Walworth to Hull;⁹⁸ a little

later eight more were sent to Syon,⁹⁹ and between 1535 and 1538 half-a-dozen monks from other houses were imported to London. At last in May 1537, when the Council threatened to suppress the house out of hand if the oath were refused, a division was created, some agreeing to swear in order to save their way of life; among these was the chronicler Chauncy.¹ Ten, however, still refused to swear; three priests, a deacon, and six lay brothers.² On 18 May these were lodged in Newgate and chained to posts, where all save one died of starvation or disease during the summer. The one survivor, William Horne, was kept a prisoner and executed at Tyburn on 4 August 1540.³ Meanwhile the two at Hull had been executed at York by the Duke of Norfolk in May 1537, on the same charge as their brethren in London.⁴ In all, eighteen Carthusians were executed, seventeen of them professed monks of the London Charterhouse. Within a few weeks of the removal of the recalcitrants in May, the rump of the community was induced to surrender the house (10 June),⁵ but it was not until 15 November 1538 that the House of the Salutation was actually disbanded.⁶ When that was done William Trafford and sixteen choir monks received pensions; the six surviving lay brothers received nothing. Of the seventeen pensioners eleven were among those who swore to the Act of Succession in 1534. The others must have been newcomers to London from other Carthusian houses, as it is not conceivable that recruits would have been professed during the years 1534–8. Despite the existence of several lists of names and two or three precise statements by Chauncy, it is impossible to account exactly either for the full number of those known to have been in the house shortly before 1534 or for the subsequent arrivals and departures.⁷

When the monks had been ejected, the church, cloister, and buildings were almost immediately divided up into three portions.⁸ The church and perhaps the chapter-house were given into the care of a Dr. Cave; the prior's cell and the new cells were given to the owner of an adjacent house, Sir Arthur Darcy; the residue of the fabric was, until March 1539, controlled for the commissioners of suppression by a certain William Dale. In June 1542, when the commissioners had ceased to be responsible, the whole place was turned over to the king's servants, John Bridges and Thomas Hale, and used as a storehouse for tents, hunting-nets, and the like. It was thus for some years virtually derelict, save for the occupation of some of the cells

⁸⁸ B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. VI, f. 209.

⁸⁹ J. A. Froude, *Hist. of Eng.* ii. 350.

⁹⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii, pp. 213–14.

⁹¹ K.B. 8/7/14 (Mdx. Sessions, Easter Term, 27 Hen. VIII).

⁹² Thompson, *Carthusians*, 399–400.

⁹³ Cf. Bedyll's letter to Cromwell (B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. VI, f. 259), printed in Thompson, *Carthusians*, 404–5.

⁹⁴ K.B. 8/7/3.

⁹⁵ The course of events may be followed in the relevant vols. of *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, and Thompson, *Carthusians*, 411–35, printing many letters. Many of the documents are in B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. IV.

⁹⁶ Cf. letter in B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. VI, ff. 172–4, printed in Aungier, *Syon*, 430–3.

⁹⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii, pp. 212, 260; Thompson, *Carthusians*, 457–8.

⁹⁸ B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. IV, f. 247, printed in Aungier, *Syon*, 438–9; Chauncy, *Historia*, 113–14.

⁹⁹ B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. VI, ff. 172–4; E. IV, f. 247.

¹ Chauncy, *Historia*, 115–16.

² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), pp. 337–8; B.M. Cott. MS. Cleop. E. VI, f. 208; B.M. Harl. MS. 6989, f. 69v. Their names were Richard Bere, Thomas Johnson, Thomas Greene (priests), John Davy (deacon), William Greenwood, Thomas Scryven, Robert Salt, Walter Peerson, Thomas Reddyng, and William Horne (lay brethren).

³ C. Wriothesley, *Chron. of Eng.* (Camd. Soc. N.S. xi), 121; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 484; Chauncy, *Historia*, 117. Chauncy, who was abroad, gives the wrong date of 4 Nov. 1541.

⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), pp. 337–8, 538.

⁵ E 322/133; C 54/1/16.

⁶ Commission of Suppression is dated 12 Nov.: E 117/12/22; Chauncy gives date in text: *Historia*, 119.

⁷ Chauncy, *Historia*; E 315/233, ff. 63 sqq. Thompson, *Carthusians*, 487, gives a plausible explanation.

⁸ Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 36–38, 75–86; Thompson, *Carthusians*, 494–5.

by a family of Italian court musicians of the name of Bassano, and it was at this time that Maurice Chauncy seems to have revisited the place and seen the profanation of the church. Finally, on 14 April 1546, the whole place was sold to Sir Edward (later Lord) North. With its subsequent fortunes and the establishment of the school in 1614,⁹ we are not concerned.

Of the monks, Maurice Chauncy, John Foxe, and the converse Hugh Taylor fled overseas in 1546–7 and joined the Charterhouse of Val de Grace at Bruges.¹⁰ They were sent back to England in 1555, when Queen Mary was contemplating the refoundation of a Charterhouse. Foxe died before this could be accomplished, and it is noteworthy that of those who joined Chauncy at Sheen not a single monk came from the London Charterhouse.¹¹ The converse Hugh Taylor, however, was there, and shared Chauncy's exile in 1559; he died at the priory of Sheen Anglorum at Bruges in 1575; Maurice Chauncy, his prior, died on a journey at the Paris Charterhouse on 12 July 1581.¹²

The complex of buildings of a Carthusian monastery¹³ can be considered as made up of three parts: first, the rectangular cloister of four alleys, giving access to the individual cells and gardens arranged along the cloister's external wall; next, the relatively small group of buildings serving the common need of all—church, chapter-house, prior's cell, sacristy, infirmary,¹⁴ and refectory, grouped together at an angle (at London the south-western angle) of the cloister; and, thirdly, outside the claustral buildings, the guest-house, kitchens, offices, and lay-brothers' quarters, which at London were grouped round two courts, the 'Little Cloister' and the modern 'Wash-house Court'. Of these it may be said that at London the third group has in great part survived to the present day in use as the domestic and administrative offices of the North-Norfolk Mansion and its successor, Sutton's Hospital, while the great cloister has disappeared save for portions of the external wall incorporating the entrance of cells A and B in the western alley, and T and V on the eastern.¹⁵ As for the conventual buildings, these were partly destroyed soon after the Suppression, and partly incorporated in the mansion which later became the Master's Lodge, Gallery, chapel, library, and dining-room of the modern Charterhouse. These buildings have been described frequently and authoritatively, in particular by Sir William St. John Hope and Sir Alfred Clapham,¹⁶ but as all these descriptions, with their accompanying plans and illustrations, have been largely superseded by more recent discoveries, it may be well to mention these latter briefly.

⁹ See *V.C.H. Surr.* ii. 196–8.

¹⁰ Thompson, *Carthusians*, 495–9; cf. also Chauncy, *Passion*, ed. Curtis, 322–5.

¹¹ Chauncy, *Passion*, ed. Curtis, 500 sqq.; Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, iii. 439, 441.

¹² For Hugh Taylor see Hendriks, *Charterhouse*, 294–5; for Chauncy's death, *ibid.* 306–8. His age is there given as 68 in 1581; this must be an error for 72, as his age is given in an official deed as 57 on 8 Mar. 1566 (*Analecta Bollandiana*, xxii. 53, n.).

¹³ For what follows see Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, 41 sqq.

¹⁴ Normally a charterhouse has no infirmary, but there is a reference to one at London both before and after construction.

¹⁵ The doorway and serving-hatch of cell B were revealed during reconstruction in 1958.

On the night of 10–11 May 1941, during a particularly heavy air-raid upon the City, the buildings of Charterhouse caught fire, and those that had formed the main parts of the Tudor mansion and Sutton's Hospital, partly covering the site of the conventual buildings, were entirely burnt out. When rebuilding became practicable a remarkable series of discoveries and deductions were made which made it clear that the existing chapel, hitherto considered to be identical with the choir and presbytery of the original monastic church, was in fact the monastic chapter-house and that the original church must have occupied a site to the south of the chapter-house in Chapel Court, an hypothesis which received dramatic confirmation by the discovery of the tomb and coffin of the founder exactly in the recorded position¹⁷ before the high altar of the original church. Consequently the south alley of the cloister was seen to lie considerably further to the south than had been supposed, which left space for the prior's cell at the south-west angle of the cloister, with the refectory adjoining it to the north as had been indicated in the waterworks plan, whereas hitherto it had been impossible to find room for it in this position.

All these discoveries were due to the research and investigations of the architects; subsequent excavations, besides confirming them, established the complete plan and disposition of the chapels in the monastic church, and also the dimensions of the Little Cloister, the exact dimensions and further details regarding the Great Cloister, and many details of the courses of the water-supply. Subsequent documentary research¹⁸ made it clear that shortly before the suppression a 'new' prior's lodging and three 'little' cells had been constructed, and enabled the excavators to indicate their position in the monastic plan, although the site where they had lain was covered by existing buildings. As a result of all this work, it was possible to draw a plan of the medieval monastery which, unlike previous plans, could be based securely upon visible and measurable remains.¹⁹

No catalogue of the library of the London Charterhouse is known to exist, but there are four lists of books²⁰ taken on loan or by gift: (i) books carried away from London by John Spalding, when returning to Hull, probably in the early 15th century; (ii) books lent in 1500 to Roger Montgomery on his departure to Coventry Charterhouse; (iii) an inventory of goods, including some books, taken to Mount Grace in 1519; and (iv) books taken c. 1530 by John Whetham to Hinton Charterhouse. The surviving books known to have belonged to the house have been listed by Dr. N. R. Ker.²¹

¹⁶ *Hist. Mon. Com., West Lond.* 21–30.

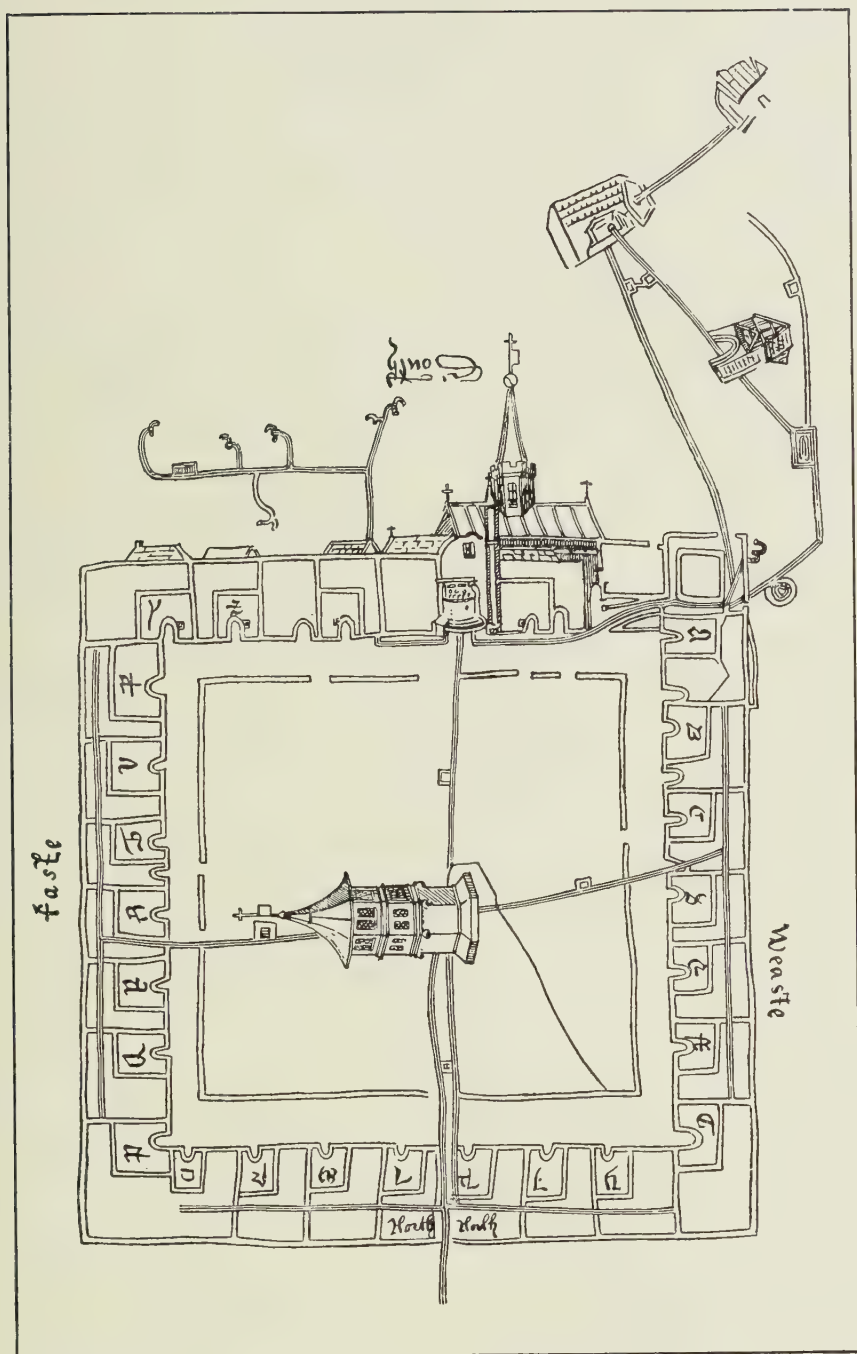
¹⁷ See p. 160.

¹⁸ S.C. 12/36/26 (survey of Charterhouse made 18 Mar. 1545); *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), pp. 374–6; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 178–84.

¹⁹ Knowles and Grimes, *Charterhouse*, plan facing p. 82. The architects responsible for the rebuilding were Messrs. Seeley and Paget.

²⁰ Thompson, *Carthusians*, 324–9.

²¹ N. R. Ker, *Med. Libr. of Great Britain*, (2nd edn.), 122–3. In addition, Gonville and Caius Add. MS. 732/771, a collection of 14th–15th-cent. statutes and decrees of General Chapter, etc., written carefully in a beautiful hand later than 1526, and following the printed text of statutes in the edn. of J. Amorbach, Basle, 1510 (see f. 48v), may also with some probability be assigned to the Lond. Charterhouse.



PART OF THE WATERWORKS PLAN OF THE CHARTERHOUSE
 showing the Great Cloister and Monastic Buildings

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

There is no direct information about the spiritual doctrine on the ascetical or mystical life given to the young monks. The lists mentioned above are interesting as showing the presence, as at Mount Grace, of copies of the mystical treatises current in England in the later Middle Ages. Thus there are two copies of *The Cloud of Unknowing*, two of *The Chastising of God's Children*, two of the English writings of Rolle and one of the *Incendium Amoris*, one of the enigmatic *Mirror of Simple Souls*, two of works of St. Bridget of Sweden, two of Ludolph of Saxony, one of the revelations of St. Mechtild, and one of Gerson's *De Contemptu Mundi*. Of the two copies of *The Cloud*, we know that one was written by William Exmew for the benefit of Maurice Chauncy.²² A letter²³ of Prior Houghton to the vicar of the Cologne Charterhouse, written 23 July 1532, is chiefly concerned with the ordering of copies of the printed editions of Denis the Carthusian, whose writings 'appeal to us above those of all other spiritual authors', and as he asks for ten copies of the complete works, twenty of a minor work, and twelve of any future work printed, he clearly has the needs of his community, and perhaps those of other houses also, in mind. The pages of Chauncy, as also those of the earlier chronicle, show clearly that members of the London Charterhouse at all periods were proficient in the ways of the spiritual life as traditionally presented by the medieval mystical theologians.

The commissioners for the tenth, early in 1536, returned the gross income of the house as £736, with obligatory rents and outgoings of £94, and a net income of £642.²⁴ Their list of properties tallies almost exactly with that given by the Suppression Commissioners of 1537.²⁵ This includes numerous tenements near the monastery and scattered about the City, pastures in Marylebone and Holborn, a

'messuage' (in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* a 'manor') called 'Blumsburye', the manors of Rolleston (Leics.), Westfield (Norf.),²⁶ and rents from the manors of Ogbourne (Wilts.) and Cardones (Kent),²⁷ the rectories of Edlesborough (Bucks.),²⁸ Stockton Magna (Hunts.),²⁹ Braintree (Essex),³⁰ North Mimms (Herts.), and Cromer (Norf.); lands at Kingston-on-Thames (Surr.) and Higham (Kent), the 'Bull Inn' at Rochester (Kent), 'Atherley's lands' in or near the Lea valley, and a wood called 'Arnold's' in Middlesex.

PRIORS OF THE LONDON CHARTERHOUSE³¹

John Luscote,³² occurs 1370; died 1398
John Okendon,³³ occurs 1398; resigned 1412
John Mapleston, occurs 1412-c. 1440
John Thorne,³⁴ occurs c. 1440; resigned c. 1448
John Walweyn,³⁵ occurs c. 1448; died 1449
John Seman,³⁶ occurs 1449-c. 1468
Edmund or Edward Storer,³⁷ occurs 1469; resigned 1477
John Walsingham,³⁸ occurs 1477-c. 1488
Richard Roche,³⁹ occurs c. 1488; resigned 1500
William Tynbygh (Tynbegh),⁴⁰ occurs 1500; resigned 1529
John Batmanson,⁴¹ occurs 1529; died 1531
John Houghton,⁴² occurs 1531; executed 1535
William Trafford,⁴³ occurs 1536-8

The common seal, as used in 1379⁴⁴ and still in use in 1537,⁴⁵ is a pointed oval, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in., showing the Annunciation within a niche with a carved canopy, pinnacled and crocketed, with tabernacle work at the sides; between the two figures a scroll with the legend 'Ave Maria'. Legend, black letter:

SIGILLUM COMUNE DOMUS MATRIS DEI ORDINIS
CARTUSIANORUM LONDONIARUM

HOUSE OF AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

3. BENTLEY PRIORY

BENTLEY was a priory or cell of Augustinian canons situated in Harrow, just inside the boundary with Great Stanmore parish.⁴⁶ It was dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen and in the patronage of the Archbishops of Canterbury.⁴⁷ It is said to have been founded in 1171 by Ranulf de Glanville, Justiciar 1180-89,⁴⁸

perhaps as a cell of the Priory of St. Gregory outside Canterbury. It was certainly dependent on St. Gregory's by the 14th century because in 1301 John de Bere, the former Prior, was said to have let the church at Wotton (Bucks.) to farm for twelve years without leave from his superior, the Prior of St. Gregory's, Canterbury, or from the diocesan.⁴⁹

In 1255 the priory held 3 virgates of land in Wotton

²² See *The Cloud of Unknowing*, ed. P. Hodgson (E.E.T.S., O.S. 218), introd., where the colophon reads *Liber . . . p[er] M. Chawncy quem exaravit sanctus Willelme Exmewe* (i.e. which Exmew wrote). Previous writers (including Thompson, *Carthusians*, 377) read *secundum* for *sanctus* and found difficulty in interpreting the text.

²³ Letter printed in Hendriks, *Charterhouse*, App. VI.

²⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com), i. 430-1.

²⁵ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2396, mm. 28-41.

²⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1377-81, 242 (1378).

²⁷ *Ibid.* 1476-85, 7 (1476).

²⁸ *Ibid.* 1391-6, 34 (1392).

²⁹ *Ibid.* 1381-5, 37 (1381).

³⁰ *Ibid.* 1413-16, 384 (1415).

³¹ Names and succession of priors are uncertain; dates of those up to 1488 are taken from a list (L.R. 2/61, f. 15v; Hope, *Charterhouse*, 147) which gives length in years of term of office, without dates. Remaining notes on priors are from Hope, *Charterhouse*, 148-50, who gives no references.

³² Formerly Prior of Hinton, died 16 June 1398.

³³ Died 14 Feb. 1418.

³⁴ Died 1453 or 1454.

³⁵ Formerly Prior of Coventry, died 6 Oct. 1449.

³⁶ Died 29 Dec. 1472.

³⁷ Later Prior of Hinton, died 1503.

³⁸ Formerly a Benedictine.

³⁹ Died 1515.

⁴⁰ Died 1531.

⁴¹ Formerly Prior of Hinton, died 16 Nov. 1531.

⁴² Formerly Prior of Beauvale.

⁴³ Formerly monk of Beauvale.

⁴⁴ St. Paul's MS. A. 26-40, 889.

⁴⁵ E 322/133; B.M. Seals lxvii. 90; cx. 23.

⁴⁶ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 568.

⁴⁷ M.R.O., Acc. 76/2421.

⁴⁸ J. Tavernor-Perry, *Memorials of Old Mdx.* 11.

⁴⁹ *Cant. Reg. Winchelsey* (Cant. and York Soc.), 748.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

Underwood (Bucks.), two of which were in demesne and the third was held by Michael de Hamme at a rent of 4s. a year. One virgate had been given to the priory by Fredeshet de Wotton and the others by Alice de Ruppel.⁵⁰ The priory also held the advowson of Wotton church.⁵¹ In 1291 the prior's goods at Stanmore were valued at 10s. and the lands and rents in Wotton at 13s. 4d.⁵²

In 1243 the king pardoned the Prior of Bentley the interest on 60s. which he had borrowed from the Jews,⁵³ and in 1248 this prior, or his successor, died of suffocation under a load of corn which had accidentally fallen on him.⁵⁴ In 1318 Edward II sent John de Cotham to the 'abbot and convent of Bintliley', meaning presumably the priory of Bentley.⁵⁵ A few years later John de Merston, a canon of St. Gregory's, Canterbury, was living at Bentley. Two others were sent there from the mother house as a punishment by the Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, who had been appointed to inquire into irregularities at St. Gregory's. Within a few weeks, however, one of them was appointed coadjutor of the Prior of Bentley.⁵⁶

In 1535 the farm of the lands of St. Gregory's at

Bentley was valued at £4 10s. and at Wotton at £4.⁵⁷ According to the court rolls of the manor of Harrow St. Gregory's had ceased to maintain a separate cell at Bentley many years before, although it was still responsible for providing a canon to celebrate in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen.⁵⁸ In 1546 the former priory was granted to Henry Needham and William Sacheverell, in so far as it had belonged to the Priory of St. Gregory, and later to the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁵⁹ There remain no traces of the buildings, which were eventually replaced by a large house called Bentley Priory, built by the Dukes of Abercorn. No seal is known.

PRIORS OF BENTLEY

Martin, occurs 1229-30⁶⁰
John de Bere, occurs before 1301⁶¹
William de Carlton, occurs 1301⁶²
John Taleboth, occurs 1315⁶³
Robert, occurs 1321⁶⁴
John de Merston, occurs 1330-1⁶⁵
Adam, occurs 1334⁶⁶
Walter de Hancrisham, occurs 1337⁶⁶

HOUSES OF AUGUSTINIAN CANONESSES

4. THE PRIORY OF ST. MARY, CLERKENWELL

THE Priory of St. Mary at Clerkenwell was a house of Augustinian canons, although it is often described both by contemporaries and by historians as being of the Order of St. Benedict. It became one of the more important English nunneries, being twelfth in the size of its revenue at the Dissolution according to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*. The priory lay immediately to the north of the house of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem between the road to St. Albans and the Fleet river. It was founded c. 1145, shortly before its more famous neighbour and by the same founder, Jordan de Bricet.⁶⁷ During the last two years of his reign Stephen confirmed the gifts of both the founder and of Richard de Belmeis, then Bishop of London.⁶⁸ Several charters of Henry II between 1175 and 1182, one of Richard I in 1190, and a bull of Urban III dated 19 October 1186 show that within fifty years of its foundation the priory had widespread possessions in southern England, extending from Norfolk to Hampshire.⁶⁹ The charters of Stephen and Henry II were later confirmed by successive

kings.⁷⁰ The bull confirmed the royal grants and also provided for the free election of the prioress, for the control of the chapter over the alienation of its property, and for exemption from certain tithes.

During the following three centuries the possessions of the nunnery, which owed much to the dowries of nuns who were members of landed families in the shires or of London merchant families, were concentrated nearer home. Ease of administration and the constant litigation in which, like all medieval property-owners, the nuns needed to engage simply to defend their lands, made such concentration an economic necessity. Whereas in the 13th and 14th centuries the revenues of the priory were drawn from sixteen counties outside London and Middlesex, by 1500 this number had been reduced to five, and even in some of these the property had shrunk. In London, on the other hand, the holdings of the nuns steadily increased. By 1190 they already held at least fourteen properties in the City,⁷¹ and these were constantly augmented, partly by the dowries of the nuns and partly by the wills of London citizens.⁷² In addition from time to time the nuns had money to invest in property, and London,

⁵⁰ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i. 24.

⁵¹ E. Lipscombe, *Hist. of Bucks.* i. 606; *V.C.H. Bucks.* iv. 133.

⁵² *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 14, 46.

⁵³ *Close R.* 1242-7, 132.

⁵⁴ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Ser.), v. 33.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, 117.

⁵⁶ *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 337-9, 345.

⁵⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 24.

⁵⁸ M.R.O., Acc. 76/2421.

⁵⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xxi (2), p. 92.

⁶⁰ *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 336, 538, 583.

⁶¹ *Cant. Reg. Winchelsey* (Cant. and York Soc.), 748.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ M.R.O., Acc. 76/2410.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 2411.

⁶⁵ *Lit. Cant.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 337-9, 345.

⁶⁶ M.R.O., Acc. 76/2412.

⁶⁷ J. H. Round, 'The Foundation of the Priors of St. Mary and St. John, Clerkenwell', *Archaeologia*, lvi. 226; *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell*, ed. W. O. Hassall (Camd. Soc. 3rd ser. lxxi), p. viii. Dr. Hassall's edition of the early-13th-cent. Cartulary and his other writings are now the only important sources for the history of the priory. A number of the charters are also printed in Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 81-86. For the site see *T.L.M.A.S.* xiv. 234-82.

⁶⁸ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 398; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 1.

⁶⁹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* pp. viii, 1-13, especially nos. 2, 6, 8, 9, 10; W. O. Hassall, 'Two bulls for St. Mary Clerkenwell', *E.H.R.* lvii. 97.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 398; *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, 541.

⁷¹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 5-8.

⁷² *Cal. of Wills in Court of Husting* (Lond.), ed. R. R. Sharpe, i. 8, 51, 98, 313, 445, 549, 585, 675.

where small parcels could be bought just outside their door, was the obvious place for this investment. Some of the money came from legacies from citizens of London,⁷³ some perhaps from the dowries of nuns, the sale of outlying properties, and savings from their income; the priory was not poor, although in 1314-15 they informed Queen Isabel in a petition that they were impoverished by the hard years, and sought licence to accept lands to the value of £20 yearly.⁷⁴ Whatever the source of their money, by the Dissolution they were drawing rents from sixty-four parishes in the City of London,⁷⁵ rents which by that time accounted for over three-fifths of the gross revenue of the priory.⁷⁶

In Middlesex the first property was of course the site of the priory, given by Jordan de Bricet and Muriel his wife, with the lands and gardens nearby and the meadow beside the Holborn.⁷⁷ The lands given by the founder and his family in Clerkenwell, Stoke Newington, Steeple (Essex), and Wanstead (Essex) were described in detail in 1197 in a final concord between Lucy (Lecia) de Munteni, daughter of Jordan and the wife of Henry Foliot, and the prioress, Ermengarde.⁷⁸ Although the priory received substantial rents in Clerkenwell, no revenue from there is shown in the *Valor*, where their other Middlesex holdings were said to bring in over £50 a year, nearly a fifth of their gross income.⁷⁹ The chapel and land of Muswell, or Muswell Hill, were held as the gifts of Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London (1152-62).⁸⁰ In Tottenham a few years later Robert son of Sewin of Northampton gave the nuns 140 acres in Hanger and other property,⁸¹ and in 1539 the pastures of the late priory there were worth £10 a year.⁸² Between 1179 and 1189 William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, granted 100s.-worth of land in Edmonton,⁸³ and John, son of Robert Blund, John White (*albus*), John Buchuinte, Gillian, daughter of William Renger, and Laurence de la Forde all added parcels to the priory's holdings in Edmonton before 1224.⁸⁴ At Bromley-by-Bow c. 1190 Roger de Pyrov granted land for which the priory had to pay a rent of 4s.,⁸⁵ and at Stepney a few years later Henry Foliot gave the land of Solomon son of Walter,⁸⁶ while at Hanworth Roger de Ginges gave a rent of 6d. from the marsh.⁸⁷ Towards Islington the nuns held two acres,⁸⁸ and later they acquired lands in Highbury, Holloway, Newington Barrow, and Tollington, all in Islington. Rents from Edmonton, Islington, Muswell, and

Tottenham continued to be drawn until the Dissolution.⁸⁹

The remaining counties in which Clerkenwell held property from the 12th to the 16th centuries were Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Essex, and Kent. In Sussex they held property only from the 14th century to the 16th. In Cambridgeshire the priory gained most of its income from the dowries of the eight nuns who came from the county in the 12th or early 13th century, but by 1300 some of the properties had been lost.⁹⁰ In Eversden Thomas de Andeville, William son of William of Eversden, Luke son of Warin, and Simon Luvel of Eversden gave small parcels in the late 12th or early 13th century.⁹¹ In Kingston Eustace de Bancis gave the land and *mansio* of Lefeson with 80 acres of arable and 9 acres in the meadow, a gift confirmed by Henry II in 1175-6. William de St. George gave half a virgate on his daughter Mabel becoming a nun, William the bald (*calvus*) gave nine acres, and William de Bancis gave dowries for his daughters Avice and Margaret.⁹² In Wimpole Roger de Bancis granted the nuns a small parcel of two acres.⁹³ All the lands in these three places came to be treated as a single unit, the manor of Beamont in Kingston. In 1254 it was valued at 30s.⁹⁴ and in the *Valor* at 40s.⁹⁵ The church of Fulbourn, granted by Jordan de Bricet and Muriel his wife, was confirmed by Henry II c. 1176.⁹⁶ At Hildersham Maud de Ros gave one mark yearly from the mill on her daughter becoming a nun.⁹⁷ William de St. George, whose endowment for his daughter has been mentioned, also gave a hide at Haslingfield for his sister Aubrey to become a nun. Robert de Beche gave half his mill in the same place, and in 1279 the prioress held there one hide of 120 acres worth 22s. a year in rent.⁹⁸ In Tadlow Alan son of Fulk gave 12d. rent on the mill to light the nuns' dormitory,⁹⁹ and at Wrating the grant of Margery de Buthlers was confirmed by Henry II in 1181.¹

In Dorset Blandford St. Mary and the advowson of the church were granted to the nuns by Geoffrey Martel and confirmed to them between 1160 and 1176 by William his son; Aubrey, wife of Geoffrey and mother of William, became a nun at Clerkenwell. The rectory was retained until the Dissolution, when it was valued at 40s.² In 1303 Roger, then Rector, had licence to stay at the priory in the service of the nuns provided only that he was in his parish from Passion Sunday to the octave of Easter.³

⁸⁶ Ibid. 40, 44, 56-57.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 61.

⁸⁸ Ibid. 30, 60, 73-74; S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2118.

⁸⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395.

⁹⁰ For Cambs. see W. O. Hassall, 'The Cambs. properties of the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.* xlii. 33-40.

⁹¹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 86-89.

⁹² Ibid. 79-86.

⁹³ Ibid. 79.

⁹⁴ *Valuation of Norwich*, ed. Lunt, 225.

⁹⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395.

⁹⁶ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 11.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 20-21.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 77; *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 558.

⁹⁹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 121.

¹ Ibid. 3.

² Ibid. 27-28; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 396; for Dorset see W. O. Hassall, 'Dorset properties of the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Soc.* lxxiii. 43-51.

³ *Salisbury, Reg. Simon de Gandavo* (Cant. and York Soc.), ii. 864.

⁷³ Ibid. i. 84, 460, 489, 615, 638, 650, 697; ii. 8, 37, 41, 47, etc.

⁷⁴ Eileen Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 179-80, quoting S.C. 1/36/201.

⁷⁵ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2396; *Clerkenwell Cart.* p. x.

⁷⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395-6.

⁷⁷ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 10.

⁷⁸ *Feet of F. 7 & 8 Ric. I* (P.R.S. xx), 101-3.

⁷⁹ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2118; S.C. 12/19/4; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.) i. 395-6. The failings of the *Valor* in the case of Clerkenwell, by omissions and confusion of counties, have been pointed out by Dr. Hassall. No doubt it understates the total value of the priory, but the details which can be checked are substantially accurate. S.C. 12/19/4 is a contemporary draft or copy.

⁸⁰ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 6, 12; B.M. Harl. Chart. 83 C 26.

⁸¹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 6, 11, 14-18; B.M. Campb. Chart. xxx. 2; Harl. Chart. 83 C 23; Add. Chart. 19909.

⁸² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 371.

⁸³ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 24.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 18-19, 113-15; *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.*, ed. Hardy and Page, i. 52.

⁸⁵ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 96-98.

With the church the Martels also gave lands, which were valued at 100s. in 1488 and at £10 19s. 4d. in the *Valor*.⁴ Alfred of Lincoln gave 20s. a year from the chapel of Broadway c. 1190. The chapel was temporarily in other hands, and until it became free the nuns were to draw their 20s. from the mill of Okeford Fitzpaine. Alfred's sister, also called Aubrey, became a nun. This 20s. was still received in the 16th century.⁵

In Essex Maurice de Totham gave the rectory of Great Totham with 15 acres there between 1181 and 1186.⁶ Vicars were presented by the nuns until the Dissolution, when the income from the church was £6 6s. 8d.⁷ In nearby Heybridge the nuns had a claim to the tithe, but surrendered it in 1237 to St. Paul's Cathedral.

The advowson of North Weald Bassett was given to the nuns by Cecily, wife of Henry of Essex, before 1181 and confirmed to them by her sons Henry of Essex and Hugh. The grant was confirmed by Pope Urban III in 1186, by Richard Fitzneal, Bishop of London, in 1194 and by William of Sainte-Mère-Eglise, Bishop of London (1199–1221). In 1275 John Chishull, Bishop of London, assumed the advowson but the nuns continued to enjoy the revenue. This arrangement was challenged in the early 16th century and the appointment was then shared by the bishop and the priory. The vicarage was worth £7 5s. 4d., less outgoings of 24s. 8d.⁸ In Bowers Gifford the priory held the marsh called Horshill, originally given by Simon son of Simon as a dowry for his daughter and confirmed in 1190. In 1490–1 and at the Dissolution it was worth 40s.⁹ At Dunmow a collection of property, slowly built up between 1180 and 1340, eventually came to be known as the manor of Mynchyn Dunmow. The original was the gift of Roger son of Reinfrid, made on condition that the nuns should receive Alice his wife into their convent and take care of her burial. This property was increased by various grants and purchases so that by 1500 it produced a rent of about £5.¹⁰ At Eastwood in the 16th century the nuns received a small rent of 4s. 8d., the origin of which is unknown.¹¹ Before 1179 William de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, granted certain assarts for a rent of 5s. in Hadley.¹² At Fyfield a small parcel of land was received c. 1180 from Richard the priest with the consent of Arnold de Curton, from whom he had acquired it.¹³ In the Willingales the same Richard gave several holdings to the priory. William of Spain and his two tenants, Robert son of Menges, a knight, and Eustace of Willingale, a socman, William de la Mere and Agnes his wife, and the Prior of St. John of Jerusalem confirmed these grants. William of Spain's two

tenants appear to have been in financial difficulties and to have disposed of lands to the nuns in return for their assistance. By the end of the 15th century the lands in Fyfield and the Willingales were accounted for together.¹⁴ A rent of 30s. in Langford was granted before 1176 by the three daughters and sons-in-law of Alice Capra, who became a nun at Clerkenwell. In 1534–5 quit-rents from Langford amounted to £6 3s. 1d.¹⁵ Gillian of Latton gave 12d. rent in Latton, Robert de Leyborne a similar sum in Leyton, and Cecily de Crammaville 10s. in Thurrock, all probably after 1190.¹⁶ In Mountnessing c. 1175 Robert de Munteni gave a rent of 3s. which, increased by another gift, was worth 5s. by the 16th century.¹⁷ At Shoebury Reynold de Warenne's gift of 30s., made before 1176, was still worth 30s. in 1534–5.¹⁸ At Steeple Reynold de Ginges and Emma his wife gave 2 acres, Henry Foliot and Lettice de Munteni 2 acres, and Brian son of Ralph 12 acres.¹⁹ In Wanstead Abraham de Wanstead gave the mill of Wanstead before 1176, and Robert Brito de Aldewic gave a third part of Wanstead with the capital messuage. By 1181 the nuns were drawing a quit-rent of one mark, which was still paid in 1490–1 and 1534–5.²⁰ Altogether the Essex properties were worth about £30 at the Dissolution, being next in value after those in London and Middlesex.²¹

In Kent the only important properties of the priory were in Sittingbourne, where the church was given to the nuns in the charter of 1175 and confirmed in that of 1190. In spite of some dispute about the tithes with Christ Church, Canterbury, the church was retained until the Dissolution, the prioress alone presenting to it. In 1384 it was said to be worth £23 6s. 8d., but by the end of the 15th century the value seems to have fallen to £15, the figure given by the *Valor*. The priory also collected a number of small holdings of land in the parish, valued at 40s. in 1384 but not afterwards mentioned separately from the rectory.²² In Dartford the nuns had a rent of 6s. 4d., granted to them after 1190 by Thomas the clerk,²³ which eventually fell into arrears and was lost. In Sussex John Filliol had licence in 1318 to alienate to the prioress 40s. rent in Manxey, near Pevensay, which his daughters Joan and Katherine, possibly nuns, held for their lives. By the 16th century the value of this rent had fallen to 20s. It was leased in 1536 to John Sackville, perhaps a relative of the last prioress, Isabel Sackville, for 99 years, and eventually purchased by Sir Richard Sackville for £25.²⁴

In eleven more counties the priory at some time held property but afterwards lost or alienated it. In no case was it very extensive. In Buckinghamshire

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395.

⁵ *Ibid.* 396; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 100–1.

⁶ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 35–36, 38–39; B.M. Harl. Charts. 83 C 31, 83 E 1, 84 A 58; for Essex see W. O. Hassall, 'Essex properties of the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* xxiii. 18–48.

⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395.

⁸ *Ibid.*; *Clerkenwell Cart.* pp. ix, 22–24, 251–4, 255; *V.C.H. Essex*, iv. 290.

⁹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 41–42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 66–68; *Feet of F. 10 Ric. I* (P.R.S. xxiv), 193; *Dugdale, Mon.* iv. 87.

¹¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395, wrongly listed under Mdx.

¹² *Clerkenwell Cart.* 34.

¹³ *Ibid.* 96.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 47–50, 90–95; Hassall, *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* xxiii. 18–48.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 26–27; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395, wrongly listed under Mdx.

¹⁶ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 78, 124, 121.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 52, 72.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 10.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 29, 39, 58, 59; B.M. Harl. Chart. 83 E 39.

²⁰ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 62–66; *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395, wrongly listed under Mdx.; *Feet of F. 7 & 8 Ric. I* (P.R.S. xx), 120.

²¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 395, allowing for those properties wrongly listed under Mdx.

²² For Kent see W. O. Hassall, 'Kent properties of the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell and the Sackvilles', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, lxiv. 85 sqq.; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 9, 118, 194, 211–13, 218–19.

²³ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 122.

²⁴ W. O. Hassall, 'Sussex property of St. Mary Clerkenwell and the Sackvilles', *Suss. N. & O.* xi. 38–40.

5s. rent in Cadmore End was granted by Elias and Lawrence de Scaccario, probably after 1181, and one virgate was granted by Miles de Beauchamp between 1190 and 1213.²⁵ In Cheshire Henry II confirmed a grant of Ranulf, Earl of Chester, and in 1186 Urban III confirmed the conventual church of the nuns of Chester, granted by the same earl.²⁶ In Gloucestershire Margaret, daughter of Robert son of Harding, gave the land of Baldwin de Nibley in North Nibley c. 1200 to provide an annual pittance for the nuns at Whitsun, and a few years later Maurice de Gant gave a rent in Dursley.²⁷ In Hampshire William Capra, Alice his wife, and William their son gave half a mark in Grately, and in Winchester Geoffrey Martel, donor of the church of Blandford (Dors.), gave one mark in rent.²⁸ In Croxley (Herts.) in 1218–20 Walter de Waunci, Robert de Amewill, and John de Seleford each gave 2s. 3d. quit-rent from one-third of the mill. Isabel Croxley gave a rent of 3s. in the same place for the nuns' kitchen. The mill was probably lost after a time to St. Albans Abbey. In Radwell Adam de Mandeville gave the land of Osmund c. 1180, and Ermengard his widow confirmed it. Agnes de Caune gave 13d. in rent c. 1190 in Reed. In Rushden in Henry II's reign Everard son of Ailwin gave some land called Longhecrof, and in Stanstead Abbots a rent of 10s. was given by Henry, son of Hugh, and Reynold de Ginges his brother. This rent was alienated to Waltham Abbey c. 1250.²⁹ In Lincolnshire the priory had in 1190 one sold in Boston, the gift of Robert of Leicester.³⁰ In Norfolk Michael Capra, his wife Rose, and Robert de Munteni gave 2s. rent in Burston, and Geoffrey Capra gave the mill of Tittleshall.³¹ In Oxfordshire Margaret Redvers gave 50s. rent from Heyford Warren and Newnham Murren c. 1240 to provide clothing for the convent.³² In Suffolk Pain Baril and Hubert Baril gave land of the fee of the Earl of Clare in Cockfield, for which the nuns were to render 15s. a year. Reynold de Warenne c. 1178 confirmed the grant of the mill of Weston by Robert de Verli, whose sister Maud was to be a nun. In the same place at about the same time Clemency de St. Cler gave 3s. annual rent.³³ In Surrey John de Tanton gave 3s. 1d. quit-rent in Newington Butts for a pittance on his sister's anniversary.³⁴ From the farm of the same county King Stephen granted the nunnery a penny, but no trace of payment has been found.³⁵ Finally in Worcestershire the nuns had land in the market of

Pershore by the gift of Margaret daughter of Roger, but this was perhaps sold before 1186.³⁶

The size of the community is not known save for the rare occasions when all its members are named in contemporary sources. In 1379, besides the prioress, there were fifteen nuns and one sister;³⁷ in 1383 seventeen nuns were present at the election of the new prioress;³⁸ in 1387 six novices were professed of whom three had taken part in the election in 1383³⁹ and in 1388 another two were professed.⁴⁰ In 1524 eleven nuns took part in the election of the prioress.⁴¹

The priory evidently always had a sub-prioress, and in 1490–1 there was a treasurers, but no other obedientaries are known.⁴² In 1527–8 Sir Thomas More was paid 53s. 4d. a year as steward, and the nunnery also employed a counsellor at 26s. 8d., a confessor for the like fee, an auditor at 53s. 4d., a number of chaplains, and a collector of rents from London, who was paid 40s.⁴³ In the 13th century one of the chaplains who resided in the priory was known as the master, the procurator, or even the prior.⁴⁴ Besides the nuns themselves, their chaplains, and their servants, the priory also housed from time to time corrodarians, boarders, and even persons living in tenements.⁴⁵ With so many people coming and going, the priory, situated near London and beside one of the main roads leading out of the capital, can never have been a quiet place, but nothing is known of its relations with the outside world apart from the many lawsuits which the defence of its property involved. From Henry II the nuns received a number of gifts of money, mainly, in the later years, from the lands of Henry of Essex, one of their benefactors.⁴⁶ The Bishop of London was patron with the right of visitation, and the right to visit during a vacancy of the see was the subject of an agreement in 1262,⁴⁷ but there seem to be no records of visitation either by the bishops or by the Archbishops of Canterbury, except part of a letter which indicates that the Bishop of London visited the priory in 1433, 1439, or 1444.⁴⁸ In 1396 a chantry was set up in the church of St. Mary Woolnoth in London under the will of Thomas Noket, citizen and draper of London. The Priory of Clerkenwell was given responsibility for its oversight and received half a mark yearly, while the chaplain was paid 4½ marks.⁴⁹

As one of the richer houses Clerkenwell survived

²⁵ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 8, 106–7; W. O. Hassall, 'Bucks. properties of the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Recs. of Bucks.* xiv. 365–6.

²⁶ W. O. Hassall, 'Chester property of nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Jnl. Chester and N. Wales Archit. and Arch. Soc.* xxxvi (2), 178–9; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 12.

²⁷ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 28–29, 104–6.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 119, 27; W. O. Hassall, 'Hants. property of nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Proc. Hants. Field Club and Arch. Soc.* xvi. 288–9.

²⁹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 103–4, 123, 89–90, 138–9, 106, 53–54; W. O. Hassall, 'Hertford properties of nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Trans. East Herts. Arch. Soc.* xii. 100–4.

³⁰ W. O. Hassall, 'Note on Lincs. property of nuns of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Lincs. Archit. and Arch. Soc.* n.s. iii. 137; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 8.

³¹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 119–20, 74–76; W. O. Hassall, 'Norf. properties of nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell and Capra family', *Norf. Archaeology*, xxviii. 238–40.

³² *Clerkenwell Cart.* 129–30; W. O. Hassall, 'Property of St. Mary Clerkenwell in South Midlands', *Oxoniensia*, xiii. 73–74.

³³ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 124–5, 19–20, 121–2.

³⁴ W. O. Hassall, 'Surr. property of nuns of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Surr. Arch. Soc. Coll.* i. 157; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 14, 183.

³⁵ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 14, 183.

³⁶ W. O. Hassall, 'Worcs. property of nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc.* n.s. xxiii. 75; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 3.

³⁷ E 179/42/4A.

³⁸ Guildhall MS. 9531/3, f. 267.

³⁹ *Ibid.* f. 346v.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* f. 288.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 9531/10, f. 46.

⁴² *Clerkenwell Cart.* p. xv, quoting S.C. 6/Hen. VII/396.

⁴³ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2118.

⁴⁴ *Clerkenwell Cart.* p. xii.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. xv.

⁴⁶ *Pipe R.* 1159, 53; 1162, 73; 1182, 103; 1185, 43; 1186, 198; 1187, 19 (P.R.S. i, v, xxxi, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii).
⁴⁷ Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, i. 172; ii. 49, 52.

⁴⁸ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 272.

⁴⁹ B.M. Harl. Charts. 53 H 15, 16, 40, 41; *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting* (Lond.), ii. 322–3.

until 1539. On 6 September of that year Richard Layton wrote to Cromwell 'we put the Duke of Norfolk's servant in custody of Clerkenwell and have fully dissolved it to the contentation of the prioress and her sisters'.⁵⁰ Within a year, however, the site of the priory had been sold back to the Crown by the duke, and it passed rapidly through a number of hands, the other properties being separately granted away.⁵¹ The last prioress, Isabel Sackville, received a pension of £50, which she enjoyed for over 30 years, dying in 1570; she directed that she should be buried in the church of Clerkenwell.⁵² Eleven other nuns, three of whom had also been present at the election of 1524, were receiving pensions in 1540.⁵³

The nuns' church, which was already parochial before the Dissolution, stood partly on the site of the later church of St. James, Clerkenwell. The cloister of the nunnery lay on its north side. The church and other buildings survived into the 18th century; the church, by that time much changed by alterations and additions, was demolished in 1788 to make way for the present church of St. James. By 1815 a small piece of wall to the north of the church was all that was left of the priory, and this disappeared in the course of the 19th century.⁵⁴

PRIORESSES OF CLERKENWELL

Christine, occurs between 1144 and 1161; perhaps 1186⁵⁵

Ermengarde, occurs between 1186 and 1199⁵⁶

Isabel, occurs 1206⁵⁷

Alice, occurs between 1216 and 1221/2⁵⁸

Eleanor, occurs between 1221 and 1223⁵⁹

Hawise, occurs between 1231/2 and 1244⁶⁰

Cecily, occurs 1245, 1248⁶¹

Margaret or Margery Whatvill, occurs between 1251/2 and 1264/5⁶²

Alice Oxeney, occurs between 1271 and 1276⁶³

Agnes or Anneys Marci, occurs 1283; dead by 1305⁶⁴

Denise Bras,⁶⁵

Margery Bray,⁶⁶

Joan Lewkenore, occurs 1306/7, 1328⁶⁷

Joan Fulham, occurs 1340-45⁶⁸

Idonea Lutiers or Lyter, occurs 1356, 1357, 1368⁶⁹

Katherine Braybrooke, occurs 1379-81; died 1383⁷⁰

⁵⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 39.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* xv, p. 220.

⁵² Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 78.

⁵³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 546.

⁵⁴ For description of site and conventual buildings see W. O. Hassall, 'Conventual buildings of St. Mary Clerkenwell', *T.L.M.A.S.* xiv. 234-82.

⁵⁵ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 203, 270, 281; A. Saltman, *Abp. Theobald*, 296-7.

⁵⁶ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 281.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 187, 281; *Cur. Reg. R.* 1221-2, 2.

⁵⁹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 181.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 209, 281; *Close R.* 1231-4, 139.

⁶¹ *Hist. MSS. Com. 9th Rep.* pt. 1, p. 15; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 281.

⁶² *Cat. Anct. D.* ii. A 2121; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 248, 281-2.

⁶³ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 282.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*; *Cal. Letter Bk. B.* 82; B.M. Topham Chart. 38.

⁶⁵ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 271.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* 257-8, 282.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 282; *Cal. Pat.* 1340-3, 69.

Lucy atte Wode, elected 1383; resigned 1388⁷¹

Joan Vian, elected 1388; occurs 1396, 1399, 1403⁷²

Margaret Bakewell, occurs 1406, 1414, 1424⁷³

Isabel Wentworth, occurs 1425/6, 1447⁷⁴

Margaret Bull, occurs 1464⁷⁵

Agnes Clifford, occurs 1473⁷⁶

Katherine Green, occurs 1480, 1487⁷⁷

Isabel Hussey, occurs before 1502/3⁷⁸

Rose Reygate, occurs 1507, 1519, 1522; died 1524⁷⁹

Cecily Marten, elected 1524⁸⁰

Isabel Sackville, occurs 1526 to Dissolution; died 1570⁸¹

An oval seal, 2½ by 2 in., was in use in 1231-4⁸² and still in use in 1399.⁸³ It shows the Virgin with nimbus, seated, with the Child between her knees; in his right hand a cross, in his left a book. Legend, roman:

SIGILLUM [DOMUS SANCTE MA]RIE [DE FON]TE
CLERICORUM

The oval seal of the receiver, 1½ by 1 in., shows the Virgin crowned, under a canopy, the Child on her left knee; in base under a round arch a figure (? praying), half-length, faces to the right.⁸⁴ Legend illegible, but Dugdale⁸⁵ mentions an impression with the legend:

SIGILLUM RECEPTORIS MONASTERII DE CLERKENWEL

An impression of a pointed oval seal, 1⅜ by 1 in. attached to a deed of 1530 shows the Virgin seated under a canopy, the Child on her arm.⁸⁶ Legend, lombardic:

... OFFICII ...

5. THE PRIORY OF HALIWELL

THE priory of St. John the Baptist at Haliwell, or Holywell, in Shoreditch, although often described both by contemporaries and historians as a Benedictine nunnery was, like the better-known priory of Clerkenwell, a house of Augustinian canonesses. It was one of the larger English nunneries, ranking ninth in wealth—three places higher than Clerkenwell—in the *Valor*; but as comparatively few records of the house or its property have survived it has been

⁶⁹ Corp. Lond. Rec. Off., Cal. Rolls of Assize of Nuisances, 105; *Cat. Anct. D.* ii. B 3657; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 282.

⁷⁰ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 282-3; Guildhall MS. 9531/3, f. 267.

⁷¹ Guildhall MS. 9531/3, ff. 267, 288.

⁷² *Ibid.* f. 288; B.M. Harl. Charts. 53 H 15, 16, 40, 41; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 283.

⁷³ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 283; B.M. Topham Chart. 7.

⁷⁴ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 283.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, 395.

⁷⁷ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 283.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Cat. Anct. D.* ii. B 2021; [W.A.M., 5190; *Clerkenwell Cart.* 283; Guildhall MS. 9531/10, f. 46.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* f. 46.

⁸¹ *Clerkenwell Cart.* 283; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 78.

⁸² E 42/88.

⁸³ B.M. Harl. Chart. 53 H 15.

⁸⁴ E 213/431.

⁸⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 81.

⁸⁶ E 329/93.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

largely forgotten.⁸⁷ The founder was Robert Fitz Generan (or Gelran) the second known holder of the prebend of Holywell or Finsbury in St. Paul's Cathedral.⁸⁸ Robert's name occurs from 1133 to 1150. He gave the nuns the site for their monastery, being the 'moor' in which the spring called Haliwell rose; it was reckoned to contain 3 acres, and a rent of 12d. a year was payable for it.⁸⁹ The priory precinct lay within the area now bounded by Batemans Row, Shoreditch High Street, Haliwell Lane, and Curtain Road.⁹⁰

The extent of the priory's possessions in the 12th century is shown by two royal charters of 1189 and 1195.⁹¹ Two other royal charters dated 1235, the one confirming that of 1189 and the other confirming gifts received by the priory during the intervening half century, mark the end of the period of rapid expansion of the priory lands.⁹² Edward III confirmed both charters of Richard I in 1336.⁹³ Besides the 3 acres already mentioned the nuns had in the 12th century another 3 acres, also owing a rent of 12d., the gift of Walter the precentor, who followed next but one after Robert Fitz Generan as prebendary of Holywell. They held also the land of John Hilewit or Bylewit, given by Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London 1152-62, a tithe of the household expenses of Walter Fitz Robert and his heirs, a tithe of William de Rochelle, the church of Dunton (Beds.), and lands in Bedfordshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Surrey, and the City of London.⁹⁴ After 1195 they also gained possessions in Cambridgeshire, Kent, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

In Bedfordshire the nunnery first held the church of Dunton and two half virgates in the same place. One of these, formerly held by Gregory the priest, was given to the nuns by Geoffrey the chamberlain.⁹⁵ The other was the gift of Geoffrey de Mulneho, William his brother, and Emma their sister-in-law.⁹⁶ Towards the end of Henry II's reign Roger de Brahi, having bought this half virgate, sold it back to the nuns for six silver marks, a jewel, and a ring, to hold of himself and his heirs for an annual rent of 14d.⁹⁷ In 1203 one of the half virgates was held of the priory by Robert Fitz Alfred at a yearly rent of 6s.⁹⁸ Other lands in Dunton were added to the priory's holdings during the reigns of John and Henry III.⁹⁹ The priory presented to Dunton church in 1221, 1235, and 1277.¹ Lands in Hinxworth (Herts.) and Dunton were given to the priory in 1275 by Henry of Hallingbury.² In 1372 the prioress together with the Abbots of Waltham (Essex) and Warden (Beds.)

held one knight's fee in Millow and Dunton.³ The nunnery's holdings were eventually consolidated into a single manor known as Dunton Eyeworth. By 1535 the whole of the priory's revenue in Bedfordshire amounted to £13 6s. 8d., being the price of 80 quarters of malt drawn from this manor, but the nuns had to pay £3 9s. 10d. a year out of the rectory.⁴

In Essex at the end of the 12th century the nuns had of the gift of Robert Fitz Walter all the enclosed marsh in his demesne of Burnham, except the part of the Canons of Dunmow, and in 1201 the land of Leyton, the gift of Robert's wife, Gunnora de Valoynes.⁵ In 1201 also Hugh de Marenny gave them an acre in 'Brumfeld' in Leyton, and a way by his wood called Ruckholt in order to reach their meadow called 'Sudmad'.⁶ In 1256 they had lands in Farnham from Gunnora, widow of William Lovel, and in 1261-2 in Southminster and Althorne.⁷ The marshes of Burnham, Southminster, and Althorne they retained to the end, when they formed one of the most valuable holdings, worth £39 a year. They also had a manor of Ruckholt in Leyton, worth £3 6s. 8d., and a watermill at Bromley or Stratford at Bow, worth £8.⁸

In Hertfordshire the nunnery's possessions were perhaps more varied, if less valuable. They began with the land of Gatesbury in Braughing of the gift of John of Gatesbury; the church of Welwyn, given by Gunnora de Valoynes; a virgate in Hinxworth, given by Theobald Fitz Fulc, and 6 acres there given by Elias de Essewell; 47 acres in Upwick in Albury and part of a pasture in 'Upwikesbrome' with the service and homage of Walter Bonesquiere, given by himself, and finally 12 acres in Upwick, given by Guy of Upwick.⁹ It was found in 1201 that Henry of Furnell had disseised the prioress of her free tenement in Gatesbury.¹⁰ In 1238 the prioress and convent secured a bull from Pope Gregory X confirming them in their possession of Welwyn church.¹¹ About the same time the priory had a further grant of land in Braughing, from Richard Langeford,¹² and in 1273 Henry of Hallingbury added to the nuns' holding in Hinxworth.¹³ In 1303 the prioress, together with three other landlords, also held a fee in Alswick, in Layston.¹⁴ This probably comprised both the land held by the priory in 1217 and that of Richard of Leftonchurch (Layston), acquired from the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate in 1239.¹⁵ In exchange for land in Cornhill in the parish of St. Mary Woolnoth, given by Alfred of Windsor, the

⁸⁷ An account of this house appears in L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* viii. Extracts from its charters are to be found in B.M. Cott. Vitellius, F. 8, ff. 84-86, 189-91; these entries also appear in Bodl. Dodsworth Collections, cii. 90.

⁸⁸ Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 394; Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, 30.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 372.

⁹⁰ L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* viii. 153-84 and pls. 1 and 183.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 372-3; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 393.

⁹² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 200-1.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 1327-41, 372-3.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 393.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 201; *V.C.H. Beds.* ii. 221-2; B.M. Harl. Chart. 83 A 50; *Cal. of Feet of F. Beds.*, ed. G. H. Fowler (Beds. Rec. Soc. vi), 119.

⁹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 393; B.M. Harl. Chart. 83 B 39; 83 B 40.

⁹⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 393; B.M. Harl. Chart. 83 A 47; 83 A 49.

⁹⁸ *Cur. Reg. R.* ii. 146.

⁹⁹ B.M. Harl. Chart. 83 B 10; 83 B 45; 83 B 48.

¹ *Rot. Hug. de Welles* (Cant. and York Soc.), ii. 4; *Rot. Rob. Gravesend* (Cant. and York Soc.), 304; *Rot. Ric. de Gravesend* (Cant. and York Soc.), 210.

² B.M. Harl. Chart. 83 B 32; *Cal. Mag.* 1795, lxx (1), 369.

³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xiii, p. 121.

⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 394-5.

⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 201; *Feet of F. Essex*, ed. R. E. G. Kirk, i. 22.

⁶ *Cur. Reg. R.* i. 454; *Feet of F. Essex*, i. 168 (1248).

⁷ *Feet of F. Essex*, i. 213, 249, 251, 254.

⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 394, wrongly listed under Essex; S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2396.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 393; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 201.

¹⁰ *Cur. Reg. R.* i. 400.

¹¹ B.M. Harl. Chart. 43 A 37; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 393; *Cal. Papal Regs.* i. 167, 191, 303.

¹² B.M. Harl. Chart. 52 I 12.

¹³ *Ibid.* 83 B 32.

¹⁴ *Feudal Aids*, ii. 431.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 394; H. Ellis, *Hist. St. Leonard Shoreditch*, 192.

nuns secured from Ralph, son of Ive, in Hertfordshire, his mill in 'Brambel' called Westmill with an acre of meadow between the Lea (*Luya*) and the house of Roger de Piro, and an acre upon the down.¹⁶ At the Dissolution the priory drew revenues from Welwyn, Braughing, Layston and Wyddial, Albury, part of the tithe of Westbury in Ashwell, and Farnham and Roydon (both just over the border in Essex).¹⁷ The holding in Hinxworth had become part of neighbouring Ashwell,¹⁸ and all the other places except Roydon have already been mentioned.

In Surrey the priory's holdings lay principally in Camberwell. The Haliwell estate there was founded upon lands granted by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to Robert of Rouen and Reynold Pointz and which they gave in whole or in part to the priory. During the 12th and 13th centuries the priory's holdings in Camberwell and its neighbourhood were augmented by further benefactions and by purchases and the priory successfully withstood challenges to its tenure of the Pointz lands. It would appear that from the early 14th century, if not before, these lands were leased. In 1322 the manor of Camberwell was held by John de Uvedale, who paid a rent of 12s. 8d. a year to Stephen de Bakewell, and 5s. to the Prioress of Haliwell.¹⁹ At the same time John Abel held 34 acres and 40s. rent, paying 4s. a year to Stephen de Bakewell and 20d. to the prioress.²⁰ In 1369 John Adam held 30 acres of the prioress at a rent of 12s. a year in Homefield (in Hatcham or Camberwell).²¹ The priory leased its manor of Camberwell in 1392 to Baldwin Cole, citizen and draper of London, for seven years at a yearly rent of £11 6s. 8d.²² In 1472 the prioress held lands in Peckham in Camberwell²³ and in 1539 also in Deptford. In the *Valor* rents from Camberwell were valued at £13 6s. 8d.²⁴

In Suffolk and Norfolk the priory's holdings were apparently short-lived. In 1235 the nuns had all the land of John the priest, son of Emma of Clare, of the fee of Richard John, knight, in Clare and 'Rembreg',²⁵ and c. 1261 Gillian, then prioress, made a grant of property in the parish of St. Sepulchre, Norwich, to Thomas Fitz Stannard, citizen of Norwich, for a rent of 2s.²⁶ In 1284 the priory had from John de Lovetot lands and the advowson of the church of Brampton (Suff.).²⁷ No more is heard of these properties.

Two counties into which the nunnery's possessions expanded after 1235 were Cambridgeshire and Kent. In the former the nuns acquired the church of Trumpington. The advowson of the church was given to them in 1343 by Simon, Bishop of Ely, whose sister, Elizabeth Montague, was Prioress of Haliwell at the time. The priory had royal licence to

appropriate the church,²⁸ and presented to it at least in 1389 and 1395.²⁹ In 1400 papal letters authorized the augmentation of its value,³⁰ and in 1535 the farm of the rectory with the tithes was said to be worth £23 10s.³¹ In Kent the priory obtained 180 acres of marsh in Elmley in Sheppey in 1248 from Cecily, daughter of Henry of Oxford. The grant was confirmed by Cecily and her husband, John of Durham, in 1254.³² Rents in Ash were secured from Mabel Torpel in 1269,³³ and further property in 1275 and 1315.³⁴ At the Dissolution the priory drew £5 6s. 8d. from the farm of the manor of Ash, and £4 from the farm of the marsh, then called 'Feren' or Old Marsh, in Tunstall.³⁵ In Middlesex in 1539 the priory had lands in Edmonton, as well as the site of the house in Shoreditch.³⁶

Extensive as these properties were in 1535 they were the source of little more than one-third of the priory's income, £222 out of a total of £347 coming from rents in London.³⁷ These holdings were already extensive in 1235. Serlo the Mercer gave his chief messuage in the parish of St. Antholin, his house in Milk Street in the parish of St. Lawrence, his share of a shop in the mercery in the parish of St. Mary le Bow, with various other shops and solars and 44s. rent in the parish of St. Alphage at Cripple-gate, and his share of the land, houses, and shops which he and Solomon de Basing had in Honey Lane, and of the half of a 'seld' with its shops and solars which they had in Westcheap in the parish of All Saints, Honey Lane, and two shops which he had in the goldsmiths' area in the Cheap, and all his lands and houses in Coleman Street.³⁸

Between 1259 and 1353 a large number of London citizens and their widows left small properties and rents in London to the priory.³⁹ In 1316 the prioress had a messuage near the 'Red Cross' rented to Joan de Bohun,⁴⁰ in 1318 a tenement and shop in St. Stephen's, Walbrook,⁴¹ and in 1388 a shop called 'Haliwelle Croice'.⁴² The nuns never received any great benefaction, but a very large number of small ones, so that gradually over the centuries they built up a large estate in the City of London. In the later 14th century bequests from London citizens in most cases took the form of sums of money, some of which may have been used for the purchase of City property. In 1331 the priory had a licence to acquire lands in mortmain to the value of £10 yearly,⁴³ but it is not known to what use it was put. In 1338, when religious houses with holdings in the City were taxed for its defence, Haliwell was one of two houses paying the largest sum, 100s.⁴⁴ Most of the bequests of money were made not to Haliwell alone but to a

¹⁶ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 201.

¹⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 354; S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2396.

¹⁸ Ellis, *Hist. St. Leonard*, 192.

¹⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 393-4.

²⁰ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 202.

²¹ *Pipe R.* 1177, 196; 1182, 157-8; 1185, 238 (P. R. S. xxvi, xxxi, xxxiv).

²² *Cur. Reg. R.* xi. 206, 327, 448; *Pedes Finium . . . Surr.*, ed. F. B. Lewis (Surr. Arch. Soc. extra vol. i), 12, 13.

²³ *Pedes Finium . . . Surr.* 23.

²⁴ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* v, p. 346; *Cal. Close*, 1313-18, 135.

²⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vi, p. 178.

²⁶ B.M. Topham Chart 11*.

²⁷ *Cal. of Feet of F. Suff.*, ed. W. Rye, 84.

²⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1343-5, 104.

²⁹ Ellis, *Hist. St. Leonard*, 188-9.

³⁰ *Cal. Papal Regs.* v. 280-1.

³¹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 394.

³² *Cal. of Kent Feet of F.*, ed. Irene J. Churchill (Kent Recs. xv), 206, 410.

³³ *Ibid.* 357.

³⁴ *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), i. 235; *Plac. de Quo Warr.* (Rec. Com.), 2.

³⁵ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 394.

³⁶ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2396.

³⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 394.

³⁸ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1226-57, 201-2.

³⁹ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting* (Lond.), ed. Sharpe, i, *passim*.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* vi, p. 34.

⁴¹ *Cat. Anct. D.* i. C 87.

⁴² *Cal. Close*, 1385-9, 376-7.

⁴³ *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, 216.

⁴⁴ *Cal. of Plea and Mem. R.* (Lond.), 1323-64, ed. A. H. Thomas, 101.

group of religious houses in and around London, of which it was one.⁴⁵ After 1408 such bequests seem to have ceased, but this did not prevent the nunnery from having scattered holdings in 41 City parishes at the time of the Dissolution.⁴⁶

In 1239 Henry III gave the nuns 300 tapers,⁴⁷ and in 1244 twelve marks for rebuilding their mills, which had been burnt down through the carelessness of the King's bakers.⁴⁸ In 1318 Edward II gave them six oaks from the forest of Essex.⁴⁹ But the priory owed very little to royal patronage, or indeed to any magnate before the reign of Henry VII when, according to Stow, Sir Thomas Lovell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was a great benefactor of the priory. He is said to have undertaken much building at the priory, and certainly he built a chapel in which he himself was buried in 1524 and where an inscription enjoined the nuns to pray for his soul.⁵⁰ Finally in 1522 John Billesdon, grocer, left money to maintain chantries at Haliwell.⁵¹

In 1379 there were eleven professed religious in the priory.⁵² At the election of the prioress in 1472 there were 7 nuns present and 10 novices,⁵³ and 13 professed nuns and 4 novices participated in an election in 1534.⁵⁴ Very little is known of the members of this house. Some were of London families and associations of this kind may have occasioned some of the bequests made to the priory by Londoners. An instance of this occurred in 1321 when Thomas Romeyn left to Haliwell the reversions of some London properties on the deaths of Alice and Joan, his daughters, and Christine of Kent, their aunt, all of whom were nuns there.⁵⁵ Others were from the country and they also brought lands and rents to the priory.⁵⁶

There were also lay brothers attached to the priory. In 1275 Odo the smith (*faber*) gave rents in London to the priory for his son, Peter, a lay brother there and for Maud de la Cornere, one of the nuns.⁵⁷ In 1314 Katharine de Cretinge complained that the prioress, two nuns, two lay brothers, and some other people carried off property of hers which was at Shoreditch.⁵⁸

The most distinguished prioress was Elizabeth Montague. In 1334, when the Abbot of Westminster granted her, a nun of noble birth, 100s. a year because of the poverty of the house, the prioress and nuns gave permission for her to receive the pension, and undertook that she should herself dispose of it.⁵⁹ It was confirmed in the next year both by the Bishop of London and by the king.⁶⁰ Surviving receipts prove that it was paid in 1335 and 1351.⁶¹ It is hardly surprising to find that within six years of this grant she had been elected prioress. She was the daughter of William, Lord

Montague. Her brothers were William, Earl of Salisbury, Simon, Bishop of Ely, and Edward, Lord Montague, and her sisters, besides three married ones, included Maud, Abbess of Barking, and Isabel, a nun of the same house.⁶² She was still prioress in 1355.

Of the life of the nuns and the government of the priory there seems to be no surviving record. The only known obedientaries are those mentioned at the elections of prioresses: sub-prioress, sacrist, sub-sacrist, precentrix, succentrix, and cellaress. No doubt the most important business was the collection of rents in London, but in this the prioress was assisted by male advisers and agents, clerical or lay, like Martin Jolliffe, upholsterer and citizen of London, who was described as 'the Steward and citizen of the house and Church of St. John Baptist of Holywell' and was feoffee of John Gayton who held the like position at Stratford.⁶³ In 1534 the Earl of Rutland was chief steward, John Newdigate, doubtless a relative of Sybil Newdigate, the prioress, understeward, William Berners, auditor, and Alexander Hamilton, receiver, drawing between them fees of £18, of which Hamilton took more than half.⁶⁴ In 1537 George Newdigate, '*generosus frater mei*', was appointed by the prioress to be chief steward, understeward, keeper of the courts, surveyor, and general receiver of the priory's lands.⁶⁵ With a gross income of about £300 from temporalities and £45 from spiritualities, and a net income of just under £300,⁶⁶ the priory was not poor.

As early as March 1533 the prioress, Joan Lynde, was paying the tithe of Dunton to Cromwell,⁶⁷ and in 1537 her successor made an indenture for the sale of certain of the priory lands to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley,⁶⁸ but nothing could avert the coming end. No record of the actual dissolution has been found but in 1539 the disposal of the lands was proceeding apace. Thomas Pointz wrote to Cromwell that he desired the keeping of some suppressed house, such as Haliwell, to have an honest dwelling for his family.⁶⁹ In October Sybil Newdigate,⁷⁰ the prioress, had a pension of £50, Ellen Cavour, the sub-prioress, £6 13s. 4d., and twelve nuns pensions varying from 53s. 4d. to 93s. 4d. each.⁷¹

In 1544 Queen Katherine secured the site for Henry Webbe, her gentleman usher. The priory chapel was speedily demolished to make way for houses in a growing suburb of London. The remains were popularly known as 'King John's Palace', but by the end of the 18th century there was nothing left of the buildings except some fragments of walls and a doorway.⁷²

⁴⁵ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, ii. 37-398, *passim*.

⁴⁶ S.C. 12/11/35; S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2396.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Lib.* 1226-40, 399.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 1240-5, 274.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1313-18, 542.

⁵⁰ Stow, *Survey*, ii. 73; J. Weever, *Antient Funeral Monuments*, 211; Ellis, *Hist. St. Leonard*, 193-5.

⁵¹ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, ii. 535.

⁵² E 179/42/4A.

⁵³ Guildhall MS. 9531/7, f. 5.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 9531/11, ff. 76-79.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1321-4, 11.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 1327-30, 388.

⁵⁷ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, i. 26, 29.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-16, 146.

⁵⁹ W.A.M., 5885-3.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, 93.

⁶¹ W.A.M., 5884, 29856.

⁶² *Cart. of St. Frideswide*, ed. S. R. Wigrams (Oxf. Hist. Soc. xxxi), ii. 9.

⁶³ Guildhall MS. 9171/6, ff. 234v-6v; see p. 157.

⁶⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 394-5; S.C. 12/11/35.

⁶⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 395-6.

⁶⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 394-5; S.C. 12/11/35.

⁶⁷ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, p. 412.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* xii (2), p. 359.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* xiv (2), pp. 351, 354.

⁷⁰ *Mdx. Pedigrees* (Harl. Soc. lxxv), 66-67; D. Knowles, *Rel. Orders in Eng.* iii. 226-7; see p. 166.

⁷¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 115; xv, p. 545.

⁷² Stow, *Survey*, ii. 73; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 392; Ellis, *Hist. St. Leonard*, 201.

Clemence, occurs between 1193-4 and 1203⁷⁴

Magdalen,⁷⁵

Maud, occurs 1224, 1225⁷⁶

Agnes, occurs 1239-1245/6⁷⁷

Gillian, occurs 1248, 1262⁷⁸

Benigna, occurs *temp.* Henry III⁷⁹

Isabel, occurs 1261⁸⁰

Christine, occurs between 1269 and 1284⁸¹

Alice, occurs 1293⁸²

Christine, occurs 1314⁸³

Aubrey,⁸⁴

Lucy of Colney, occurs 1329, 1330⁸⁵

Mary of Stortford, occurs 1330, 1334⁸⁶

Theophania, occurs 1335⁸⁷

Elizabeth Montague, occurs between 1334 and 1355⁸⁸

Ellen Gosham, occurs 1363; 'late prioress' 1375⁸⁹

Isabel Norton, occurs between 1387 and 1392⁹⁰

Edith Griffith, occurs between 1405 and 1409⁹¹

Elizabeth Arundel, occurs 1428; died 1432⁹²

Clemence Freeman, elected 1432; occurs 1444⁹³

Joan Sevenoke, died 1472⁹⁴

Elizabeth Prudde, elected 1472; occurs 1474⁹⁵

Joan Lynde, occurs 1515; died 1534⁹⁶

Sybil Newdigate, elected 1534; surrendered the house, 1539; still alive 1549⁹⁷

The common seal, in use in 1189-98⁹⁸ and still in use in 1262-75,⁹⁹ is round (diam. 2½ in.), and shows a man, wearing a chasuble, issuing from what appears to be a pool, his right hand raised in blessing and in his left a book. Legend, roman:

SIGILLUM CAP[ITULI SANCTI] JOHANIS DE
HALIWELLE

Another seal, also round (diam. 1 in.), shows in chief a cloud from which issues a right hand in blessing and in base a well or spring with water issuing from it; between the hand and the well there appears to be (?) a bowl or (?) a damaged figure of a dove with outstretched wings; the whole is framed in a border.¹ Legend, black letter:

⁷³ L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* viii. 160-4.

⁷⁴ Gibbs, *Early Charts. of St. Paul's*, no. 110; *Feet of F. Essex*, 22; *Cur. Reg. R.* ii. 146; *Feet of F. Mdx.* i. 8.

⁷⁵ Mentioned in a plea which may be c. 1185 but which, if later, must be *post* 1203; cf. B.M. Cott. Vitellius F. 8, f. 85v; and also in an undated deed: H.M.C., Joint Publication 1, p. 141.

⁷⁶ C.P. 25(1)/146/7/57; *Pedes Finium* . . . *Surr.* 12, 13.

⁷⁷ *Cal. Feet of F. Beds.* 119; B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 94v.

⁷⁸ *Cal. of Kent Feet of F.* 206; *Feet of F. Essex*, i. 168, 249, 251, 254.

⁷⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 392.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Cal. of Kent Feet of F.* 357; Ellis, *Hist. St. Leonard*, 200; *Cal. of Feet of F. Suff.* 84.

⁸² *Hist. MSS. Com. 9th Rep. App.*, p. 19.

⁸³ *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, 146.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 1327-30, 388, 489.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Inquisitions post mortem for Lond.*, ed. G. S. Fry, i. 68; *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, 93; W.A.M., 5885.

⁸⁷ *Year Bk. 1345-6* (Rolls Ser.), 16-19.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1354-60, 99, 213.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Letter Bk. G.*, 152-3; *Cal. of Plea and Mem. R.* 1364-81, 213.

⁹⁰ W.A.M., 30246; B.M. Add. Chart. 8444.

⁹¹ *Cal. Close*, 1405-9, 74, 76, 488.

⁹² *Cal. of Plea and Mem. R.* 1413-37, 220-1; Guildhall MS. 9531/4, f. 45.

⁹³ Guildhall MS. 9531/4, f. 45; E 303/Mdx./11/40.

⁹⁴ Guildhall MS. 9531/7, f. 5.

6. THE PRIORY OF KILBURN

THE priory of Kilburn was situated in the parish of Hampstead, between Edgware Road and the Kilburn stream at the top of what is now Belsize Road and close to Kilburn Station (B.R.). Excavations in 1850, which appear to have cut through part of the priory, revealed tiles and human bones.² A fragment of a funerary brass, found in the 1870's, was in 1965 in St. Mary's Church, Priory Road.³ The priory was a small house of Augustinian canonesses, or possibly Benedictine nuns,⁴ dedicated to St. John the Baptist and dependent on the abbey of St. Peter at Westminster which had held the manor of Hampstead from the 10th century.⁵ The nunnery was probably founded c. 1130, although a foundation may have been contemplated some years earlier by Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster, for whose soul the nuns were obliged to pray.⁶ The first nuns are said to have been three former maids of honour to Maud, wife of Henry I, named Emma, Gunilda, and Christine. Herbert, Abbot of Westminster 1121-40, gave them 30s. out of the 60s. in alms which Sweyn, father of Robert of Essex, had given to Westminster, together with a rent of 2s. from Southwark and the site of the priory; over them he set one Godwin, who had formerly built a hermitage there. The abbey of Westminster and Gilbert, Bishop of London, consented to the grant.⁷ The suggestion that the *Ancrene Riwe*, a guide-book for the spiritual and practical life of anchoresses, was written for the first nuns of Kilburn, is now discredited.⁸

A prioress eventually replaced the male head of the priory, but the house remained small, and its peculiar (but not unique) position as a priory of nuns dependent on an abbey of monks inevitably led to some friction with the bishop of the diocese. Bishop Gilbert had exempted the nunnery from his

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*; E 303/Mdx./11/3.

⁹⁶ E 303/Mdx./11/8; Guildhall MS. 9531/11, ff. 76-79. Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 392 and Ellis, *Hist. St. Leonard*, 200, from the same source, name Clemence as prioress in 1521; this appears to be an error.

⁹⁷ P.C.C. 45 Populwell (George Newdigate).

⁹⁸ St. Paul's MS. A. 19. 226.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* A. 14. 1691.

¹ Exists only as a cast from a damaged impression: B.M. Seal cxlix. 153.

² G. E. Mitton, *Hampstead and Marylebone*, 42; *Trans. Hampstead Antiq. & Hist. Soc.* (1904-5), 91-101.

³ Pevsner, *Lond.* 187; *T.L.M.A.S.* vi. 276.

⁴ It is usually assumed to have been Benedictine because of its dependence on the Benedictine Abbey of Westminster, but the very rare references to the Order call it Augustinian: J. J. Park, *Topog. and Nat. Hist. of Hampstead*, 175; *Cal. Pat.* 1350-4, 340; cf. F. G. Sitwell, 'The Ancren Riwe', *Ampleforth Jnl.* xxxvi. 161. For nuns the question was not of vital importance—compare Clerkenwell and Haliwell. Sybil Kirke, the last Prioress of the Benedictine nunnery at Stratford at Bow, but a former Prioress at Kilburn, was described in Tunstall's Reg. as Benedictine: Guildhall MS. 9531/10, f. 118.

⁵ *Dom. Bk.* (Rec. Com.), i. 128a; Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, 87-90.

⁶ J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of West.* 34.

⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 426; Westm. Liber Niger, f. 125; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, ff. 325v, 326v.

⁸ E. E. Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 528; *Ampleforth Jnl.* xxxvi. 153-67.

jurisdiction,⁹ and this exemption was confirmed by Pope Honorius III in 1225.¹⁰ In 1229, however, Pope Gregory IX found it necessary to appoint the Bishop of Rochester, the Prior of Dunstable, and Thomas, Rector of Maidstone, to hear a complaint of Westminster Abbey against interference by Bishop Eustace of Fauconberg.¹¹ Proceedings were delayed by the death of the Bishop of London, but a settlement was finally reached in 1231 between the new bishop, Roger Niger, and his chapter, and Richard of Barking, Abbot of Westminster, and his abbey.¹² This settlement provided for both a secular priest to rule over the priory and for a prioress. The priest was to be presented by the abbey to the bishop, who would admit him to office. The prioress was to be instituted by the abbey and make her obedience to the bishop. The ordering, regulation, and correction of the house, including if necessary the removal of its head, were vested in the abbot, and only if he neglected his duties would the bishop interfere. From Westminster only the abbot or prior was permitted to visit the nuns and hear confessions. The bishop might enter the house when he wished to pray and hear confessions, but he was to bless or consecrate the nuns only by invitation of the abbot. These limitations on the bishop's authority no doubt explain the lack of records of visitations of the priory and of elections of prioresses. No more is known about the secular priests who presided over the early days of the priory.

After the foundation Abbot Herbert gave the nuns the land called 'Gara' in Knightsbridge, afterwards Kensington Gore,¹³ and his successor at Westminster, Gervase (1140-60), confirmed this,¹⁴ and gave the nuns two corrodies of bread, beer, wine, mead, and meat from the abbey.¹⁵ These grants were confirmed by the next abbot, Lawrence (1160-76),¹⁶ and his successor, Walter (1176-91), assigned the manor of Paddington to the almoner of the abbey to provide a feast on his anniversary, in which the nuns of Kilburn were to share without prejudice to their regular allowance from the abbey.¹⁷ This anniversary feast was lost, but the regular corrodies continued until the Dissolution. Then the nuns were drawing a weekly allowance of 40 gallons of beer and 28 loaves of bread, which with annual money payments was worth altogether £16 1s. 4d. a year.¹⁸ In 1290-1 and 1465 there were loans and transfers of money between the abbey and the

priory,¹⁹ which controlled its own estates and financial affairs, but there is no other information about their relationship. Brother Osmund, possibly a monk of Westminster, acted as the prioress's attorney in the King's Court in 1207.²⁰

There is no further trace of the property in Knightsbridge and Southwark, but eventually the nunnery came to hold property in London, Middlesex, Buckinghamshire, Kent, Surrey, and Essex. In 1286 the nuns secured 13s. 4d. in rent from Falk de Wagefeud, known as Falk the Taverner, in the parish of Allhallows, Bread Street.²¹ From the parish of St. Mary Somerset they had a similar rent in 1302,²² and a rent of 20s. in St. Clement, Eastcheap, in 1303.²³ In 1338 religious houses with holdings in the City were taxed to put the City in a state of defence, and Kilburn paid 10s. on its property there.²⁴ In 1362 the priory drew 20s. and a mark towards a chantry for the soul of Adam de Blakeney from two tenements with cellars and five shops in Bow Lane in Dowgate ward,²⁵ and in 1423 a rent of 7s. from a tenement called 'le sterre on the hoope' in Allhallows, Dowgate.²⁶ In 1368 they had a rent of 33s. 4d. from a tavern with four shops in St. Bride Fleet Street,²⁷ and in 1419 a rent of 2s. in the same parish.²⁸ They had licence in 1375 to acquire from Thomas de Brandesby two shops with cellars in the parish of St. Nicholas in the Shambles.²⁹ In 1393 they held the tenements formerly of Thomas of Lincoln on the east side of 'Moynesokne' near 'Oldewich',³⁰ and these may have been identical with the 'Bell on the Hoop' and other property held in 1403 in the parishes of St. Mary le Strand and St. Clement Danes.³¹ These properties were all small lots acquired gradually, so that by the Dissolution the nuns drew rents from 19 parishes, amounting to £16 gross or £13 net, the collector being paid 33s. 4d. for his work.³²

In 1306 the nuns had a grant of rents in Kilburn to maintain the fabric of their church.³³ In Harrow and Hayes they acquired lands in 1242-4 from William Huscarl³⁴ and four years later from the priory of St. Helen, Bishopsgate.³⁵ In Stanwell they received property from James of Haverhill in 1235-6,³⁶ and in Hampstead in 1243-4 from Robert son of Nicholas.³⁷ In Oakington (Tokyngton in Harrow) Ralph Tokyngton gave all his lands to the priory in 1246-7. One hundred and fifty years later a dispute arose over these lands. They had been leased by the

²¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1281-92, 225; *Cal. of Wills in Court of Husting* (Lond.), ed. Sharpe, i. 74.

²² *Cal. Letter Bk. C.*, 191.

²³ *Ibid.* 192.

²⁴ *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda R.* (Lond.), 1323-64, ed. A. H. Thomas, 101.

²⁵ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xi. 322; *Cal. Letter Bk. C.*, 192.

²⁶ *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda R.* (Lond.), 1413-37, ed. A. H. Thomas, 167.

²⁷ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xii. 257.

²⁸ *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda R.* 1413-37, ed. Thomas, 73.

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1374-7, 92.

³⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1392-6, 107, 110.

³¹ B.M. Add. Chart. 5313.

³² Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, App. xviii-xx; 22 pars. according to S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2345.

³³ B.M. Harl. Chart. 53 E 17.

³⁴ *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.*, ed. Hardy and Page, i. 27; C.P. 25 (1)/147/13/20.

³⁵ *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.* i. 32.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 22.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 28.

⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 427; Westm. Domesday, f. 636v.

¹⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 427; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, f. 178; Westm. Domesday, f. 637.

¹¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 427-8; Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, App. xvi-xviii; Westm. Domesday, f. 637; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, f. 204.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 426; Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, 168-70; W.A.M., 4843 and Chart. LIV; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, f. 329.

¹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 426; Westm. Liber Niger, f. 125; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, f. 327.

¹⁴ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 427; Westm. Liber Niger, f. 125v; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, f. 328.

¹⁵ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 427; Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, App. xiii-xiv; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, f. 327v.

¹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 427; Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, App. xiv; Westm. Liber Niger, f. 125v; B.M. Cott. MS. Faustina A. III, f. 328v.

¹⁷ Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, 165.

¹⁸ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 432; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 130; xiii (1), p. 583; W.A.M., 5919* (a paper account of the corrodies, temp. Hen. VIII).

¹⁹ W.A.M., 4848, 4861, 4863, 30399.

²⁰ *Cur. Reg. R.* 1207-9, 114.

priory to William Barneville for an annual rent of 30s. After his death his widow, Maud, and his son John refused to pay this rent, whereupon the prioress and convent took possession of the lands, but were disseised by Maud and John with the help of their neighbours. The Abbot of Westminster was appointed to arbitrate on the complaint of the priory and upheld the rights of the nuns. A settlement was reached in 1400 and 1401, when all the lands of the priory in Oakington were surveyed, the boundaries and area of each field being exactly described.³⁸ This Oakington property, with the other holdings in Harrow parish, apparently in Wembley, remained with the priory until the Dissolution, together with lands in Hendon, Stanwell, Tottenham, and West End (Hampstead).³⁹

In Buckinghamshire the only holding of the priory was at East Burnham, where the nuns secured a virgate in 1207 from Henry son of Humphrey Tubelin,⁴⁰ and still drew a rent of 5s. for it in 1535. In Kent in 1376 the nuns were given an acre of land in Cudham, and the appropriation of the parish church, to enable them to find a chaplain to pray for the soul of Simon Langham, Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴¹ In Surrey, lands in Milton (Middleton) in Dorking were given to the priory in 1248 by Philip de Frauncey and in 1269 by William le Corviser and Arlin atte Hache.⁴² In 1273, 1283, and 1323 the priory was said to owe the service of half a knight's fee for the manor. John son of Roger de Somery, who gave the nuns some interest in it, died in 1321, and in 1323 his widow, Lucy, held the manor, then valued at 20s. a year, of the priory.⁴³ In 1349 it was described as a whole fee.⁴⁴ Also in Surrey in 1365 the priory had from Roger de Aperdale a messuage, 30 acres of land, 8 acres of meadow, and 13s. 4d. rent in Pachevesham in Leatherhead and Mickleham,⁴⁵ in fulfilment of a royal licence to acquire lands and rents in mortmain.⁴⁶ In Essex the only holding of the priory was a pension from Aldham rectory, worth 6s. 8d. a year in 1535.⁴⁷

From Henry II the nunnery received alms in money, 30s. in 1184 and 1185, and 15s. in 1186 and 1187.⁴⁸ The gifts of Henry III were more varied. In 1239 he gave them £4 to pay for robes for 20 nuns and two sisters,⁴⁹ in 1241 an Easter taper weighing 15 lbs.,⁵⁰ and in 1247 he pardoned them 14s. due at the Exchequer⁵¹ and 10 marks.⁵² In 1258 he gave them half the value of a ship forfeited as deadend,⁵³

in 1260 a thousand herrings,⁵⁴ and in 1265 cloth for their clothing and habits.⁵⁵ The charity of later kings consisted entirely of exemptions from the payment of taxation, tallages, and fifteenths and tenths. First granted by Edward III in 1352 for three years,⁵⁶ and made perpetual in the following year,⁵⁷ it was extended by Richard II in 1383 to cover their church of Cudham (Kent).⁵⁸ These grants were later confirmed, either for thirty years or indefinitely, by Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, and Richard III.⁵⁹

Apart from lands and rents, many of which must have been given or devised to the priory, a large number of bequests were received, mainly from London citizens. In most cases these consisted of sums of money,⁶⁰ but occasionally there were other gifts, such as the red wine bequeathed by John of Oxford in 1340, or the basin and ewer from Alice Wodegate in 1387.⁶¹ Usually Kilburn was one of a number of houses remembered by the testator, as in the cases of Robert de Plessey, Rector of Southfleet (Kent), in 1368, and John Springthorp in 1425, both of whom left 20s. to the nunnery.⁶²

In 1239 there were said to be 20 nuns and 2 sisters,⁶³ but this is difficult to believe. It seems unlikely that the number of nuns ever reached that figure. In 1381, besides Alice, the prioress, there were only four nuns: Katherine, Emma, and two called Margaret; their surnames are unknown.⁶⁴ Some, if not all of the nuns brought dowries to the priory. Before 1317 a tenant in Westminster gave a rent of 3s. on his house in Kilburn, where his daughter was a nun,⁶⁵ and in 1343 William le Gaugeour, a London vintner, left an annuity charged on all his tenements to his daughter, Isabel, a nun.⁶⁶ In 1367 two nuns, Alice and Margery Pigeon, probably sisters, had a corrody or livery of food, with money for clothes, light, and fuel, for life from the Hospital of St. Giles-in-the-Fields.⁶⁷ (In 1352 a commission had been issued to arrest Margery Pigeon, an Augustinian nun of Kilburn, but then a vagabond in secular dress, and to deliver her to the prioress for punishment).⁶⁸ In 1366 Joan daughter of Alice and Richard de Worsted, a nun at Kilburn, figured in a dispute over property.⁶⁹ In 1374 Isabel Baudon, a nun there, was in receipt of an annuity from the property of her kinsman, James Andrew, draper of London.⁷⁰ In 1393 Maud Toky, the daughter of another London citizen, a grocer,

³⁸ *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.* i. 31; C.P. 25 (1)/147/15/266; *Cal. Close*, 1399-1402, 293-7, 299.

³⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 432.

⁴⁰ *Cur. Reg. R.* 1207-9, 22, 114; *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.* i. 10.

⁴¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1374-7, 391; J. Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 264.

⁴² *Pedes Finium . . . Surr.*, ed. F. B. Lewis (Surr. Arch. Soc. Extra vol. i), 31, 44. The former not 1232 as in *V.C.H. Surr.* iii. 147, but 32 Hen. III (1247-8).

⁴³ *Cal. Inq. p.m.* ii. 14, 495; vi. 256, 258; *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, 624, 630; Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, 171; B.M. Harl. MS. 6281.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* 1348-77, 8.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1364-7, 124; *Cal. Inq. p.m.* xii. 315; *Lists of Inq. a.q.d.* (Lists and Indexes xxii), ii. 547; *V.C.H. Surr.* iii. 297.

⁴⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1361-4, 331.

⁴⁷ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 432.

⁴⁸ *Pipe R.* 1182, 98; 1185, 13; 1186, 177; 1187, 121 (P.R.S. xxxi, xxxiv, xxxvi, xxxvii).

⁴⁹ *Cal. Lib.* 1226-40, 432.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 1240-5, 37.

⁵¹ *Close R.* 1242-7, 540.

⁵² *Cal. Lib.* 1245-51, 150.

⁵³ *Close R.* 1256-9, 205.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 1259-61, 239.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 1264-8, 73.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1350-4, 250.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 539.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 1381-5, 283.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 1405-8, 470; 1413-16, 120; 1436-41, 486; 1461-7, 459; 1476-85, 510; B.M. Add. Chart. 63672.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, i and ii, *passim*.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* i. 460; ii. 271.

⁶² *Cant. Reg. Langham* (Cant. and York Soc.), 356;

Cant. Reg. Chichele (Cant. and York Soc.), ii. 306.

⁶³ *Cal. Lib.* 1226-40, 432.

⁶⁴ E 179/44/347.

⁶⁵ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* 1307-49, 71; *Cal. Close*, 1313-18,

503.

⁶⁶ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, i. 470.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1364-7, 354.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 1350-4, 340.

⁶⁹ *Cal. Fine R.* 1356-68, 326; *Cal. to Escheat Rolls*, 105.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, ii. 166.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

received permission from the mayor and aldermen to become a nun at Kilburn, and in 1402 the prioress received Maud's share of her father's fortune, amounting to over £38, from the City chamberlain.⁷¹ A few years earlier, in 1384, the Mayor of London paid 67s. to the prioress for maintaining the two daughters of the wife of John of Northampton, the famous mayor of London.⁷² Clearly there was a close connexion with the City of London, and many of the nuns were daughters of the richer citizens. In 1391, however, it was said that one of the nuns, Margaret Lanney, who had worn the habit for 29 years, was a native of Normandy, and had to have a licence to remain in England, as all foreign religious had been expelled under the statute of 1377. In consideration of her age the licence was granted during good behaviour.⁷³

The prioress in 1300 was probably a Londoner, for Jakemina Pountif, the orphan of a London citizen, was her niece and ward.⁷⁴ Most of the other prioresses are known, if at all, mainly by their first names alone. Emma de St. Omer (c. 1397–1403) was perhaps the nun Emma of 1381, but she can hardly have been born abroad like Margaret Lanney, her contemporary, or the fact would have been recorded. Probably the priory was too small to attract any great ladies. After the disappearance of the secular priest at the head of the priory there was doubtless always a chaplain. In 1297 one Thomas of Billingsgate was presented by Kilburn for ordination.⁷⁵ In 1391 the Pope granted relaxation of penance to penitents who on Midsummer Day, the feast of St. John the Baptist, visited and gave alms to the priory.⁷⁶

Among the muniments of Westminster Abbey survives a small roll of payments made by John Glover, apparently the steward of the priory, for a period of 12 weeks from 18 August to 11 November.⁷⁷ The year is uncertain, but the handwriting suggests that it was written in the late 15th or early 16th century. During this period the nunnery spent 111s. on food and drink, of which the greater part was taken by meat, 49s., and fish, 24s. Most of the rest was spent on ale (12s.), beer (17s.), and wine and spice (4s.), leaving only 2s. 6d. for bread and 12d. for salt. Other foods were presumably grown by the priory itself. Another 44s. was spent on the wages of harvest men, the repair of farm implements, and such commodities as oatmeal, candles, and lamp oil. Servants' wages took another 46s., mostly for farm-workers, carter, ploughman, barleyman, thresher, and so on, but there were also three women servants and several men whose function is not stated.

In May 1535 the priory comprised the church, the hall, the chamber next the church, the middle chamber, the prioress's chamber, the buttery, pantry, and cellar, the inner chamber to the prioress's chamber, the chamber between the prioress's chamber and the hall, the kitchen, larder, brewhouse,

and bakehouse, four rooms for the chaplain, confessor and hinds. The hall contained two tables, three trestles, three forms, one long settle, and two benches. It also had curtains and a cupboard. The chamber next the church was evidently the nuns' sitting-room, containing hangings, cushions, a little table, and two books of *Legenda Aurea*, one printed and the other manuscript, both in English. The middle chamber was their bedroom, with two wooden bedsteads, one feather bed, two mattresses, two old coverlets, three woollen blankets, and three bolsters. In the prioress's room was a fourposter and a trundle bed, eight pillows of down, and nine pairs of sheets of linen and canvas. Also in the prioress's room were fire-irons and table-cloths for the tables both in the hall and the chamber next the church. The most valuable properties, however, were in the church—curtains, cloths, hangings, candlesticks, and silver vessels. Altogether the movables, including nearly £7 in ready money in the prioress's hands, were valued at £34, with £72 for the lead and bells.⁷⁸

In 1535 the gross annual revenue of the priory was £86 7s. 11d., including nearly £8 from the leased demesne at Kilburn, £16 in corrodies from Westminster Abbey, over £20 from rents in the City of London, £11 10s. from other lands in Middlesex at Wembley, Oakington, Hendon, Stanwell, Tottenham, and Hampstead, £20 from Milton in Dorking and Leatherhead (Surr.), £9 from the rectory of Cudham (Kent), and small sums from Aldham (Essex) and East Burnham (Bucks.). The outgoings were comparatively small, £6 13s. 4d. for the stipend of the nuns' chaplain, 31s. 8d. for their receiver, 13s. 4d. for Robert Skynner, their steward in Surrey, 6s. 8d. for Thomas Roberts, their steward in Wembley and Oakington, and some pensions, amounting in all to £12.⁷⁹ Very similar figures are found in accounts of the following year, except for a sharp fall in the revenue from Milton, which may possibly have been disposed of separately.⁸⁰ Being valued at less than £200 the priory was dissolved with the smaller houses,⁸¹ and Anne Browne, the prioress, was given a pension of £10 a year.⁸²

The site of the priory was first acquired by the Knights of St. John, by an exchange with the Crown, and afterwards in 1546 by the Earl of Warwick. Some subsequent owners were listed by J. J. Park.⁸³ He also reproduced an etching of a building which stood on the site in 1722,⁸⁴ although by 1814 when he wrote there was nothing left to see except a 'rising bank' in a field near the tea-drinking house called Kilburn Wells.⁸⁵

PRIORESSES OF KILBURN

Alice, occurs 1207–8⁸⁶

Margery, Margaret, occurs 1243–8⁸⁷

Joan, occurs 1248–9 and c. 1254–7⁸⁸

⁷¹ *Cal. Letter Bk. H.*, 404, 405; H. T. Riley, *Memorials of Lond.* 535.

⁷² *Cal. Close*, 1381–5, 494.

⁷³ *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, 432.

⁷⁴ *Cant. Reg. Winchelsey* (Cant. and York Soc.), ii. 916.

⁷⁵ *Cal. of Early Mayor's Court R.* (Lond.), ed. A. H. Thomas, 76, 77.

⁷⁶ *Cal. Papal Regs.* iv. 398.

⁷⁷ *W.A.M.*, 33287.

⁷⁸ Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, 179–85; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 424–5.

⁷⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 432.

⁸⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 329–30; S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2345.

⁸¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, x, p. 515; xiii (2), p. 503.

⁸² *Ibid.* xiii (1), p. 574.

⁸³ Park, *Hist. Hampstead*, 190–1, 196–7.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* facing p. 202.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 202; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 425.

⁸⁶ *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.* i. 10.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 27, 28, 31; *V.C.H. Surr.* iii. 147; *Pedes Finium* ... *Surr.* 31; C.P. 25(1)/147/13/201; C.P. 25(1)/147/15/266.

⁸⁸ *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.* i. 32; Dugdale, *Mon.* iii. 424.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

Maud, occurs 1269⁸⁹
 Cecily, occurs 1290⁹⁰
 Alice de Pommesbourne, occurs 1339⁹¹
 Agnes, occurs 1345⁹²
 Alice, occurs 1352 and 1381⁹³
 Emma de St. Omer, occurs 1397 and 1403⁹⁴
 Alice, occurs 1423⁹⁵
 Alice Pynchepole, occurs 1440⁹⁶
 Maud Reynold, occurs 1465⁹⁷
 Katherine, occurs 1484⁹⁸
 Sybil Kirke, occurs 1528⁹⁹
 Anne Browne, (formerly prioress) 1536–7¹

The common seal as used in Prioress Alice's time (occurs 1207–8)² and still in use in 1403,³ is oval,

2½ by 1½ in., and shows St. John the Baptist standing full-face, clothed in a garment of hair or a fleece, his left elbow on a crutch. The saint holds in his left hand a scroll inscribed in roman 'Ecce Agnus Dei' to which he points with his right. Legend, roman:

SIGILLUM CONVENTUS SANCTI JOHANNIS BAPTISTE DE KENEBURN

Another seal, in use in 1290 and 1291,⁴ is a pointed oval, 1½ by 1¼ in., and shows the Paschal Lamb supporting on its left fore hoof a wand from which hangs a banner; at top-left a half-moon, at top-right a star. Legend, lombardic:

SIGILLUM SECRETI (*sic*) DE KELEBURNE

HOUSE OF BRIDGETTINES

7. SYON ABBEY⁵

THE foundation of Syon Abbey at Isleworth in 1415⁶ brought to fruition plans for the introduction of the Bridgettine Order into England that had been in the mind of Henry, Lord FitzHugh (d. 1425), Constable of England and King's Chamberlain,⁷ for over ten years.⁸ In 1406 he had visited the mother-house at Vadstena in Sweden and granted the Order his manor of Cherry Hinton (Cambs.) if some of the community could be sent to form the nucleus of a house in England.⁹ Although two Swedish brothers came in 1408,¹⁰ the project made little headway until Henry V became interested in it and, after himself laying the foundation-stone of Syon in the presence of the Bishop of London on 22 February 1415,¹¹ issued the foundation charter on 3 March.¹²

Syon was the only monastery of the Order of St. Saviour, commonly known as the Bridgettine Order from its foundress St. Bridget of Sweden (d. 1373), to be established in England before the Reformation.¹³ The Order lived under the Rule of St. Augustine, with St. Bridget's Rule of the Saviour as its constitutions. There were also Additions for each house based on those drawn up for Vadstena from her *Revelationes Extravagantes*.¹⁴ Many of the unusual features of the new Order were noted by Walsing-

ham. The community was to consist of 60 sisters, including the abbess, 13 priests, 4 deacons, and 8 lay brothers, corresponding to the 12 apostles, the 72 disciples, and St. Paul; they were to use wool, not linen; there was to be a common church, with the nuns' choir above that of the brethren; the convents must have sufficient endowment to maintain them without begging, after which they were to accept no further gifts; an audit was to be held every year on the eve of All Saints, and any surplus was to be distributed to the poor; the abbess, with the consent of the community, must choose the confessor-general, whom all the brethren must obey; and no one save doctors or workmen might enter the nun's enclosure.¹⁵ Further details of the work of the Order were given by St. Antoninus, who recorded that the sisters carried on lucrative work for the common good and provided both for themselves and the brethren, whose duties included preaching on feast days and hearing confessions.¹⁶

The habit was grey. The most distinctive part of the nuns' costume was a white linen crown with bands across the top in the form of a cross upon which five small pieces of red cloth were sewn in honour of the five wounds of Christ. The brethren wore a red cross on their habit over the heart.¹⁷ In choir the brethren chanted the office according to the diocesan use, but the sisters had a special office

⁸⁹ *V.C.H. Surr.* iii. 147 (Feet of F. Surr. 53 Hen. III, no. 25).

⁹⁰ *W.A.M.*, 4853.

⁹¹ *Cal. Letter Bk. C.* 53.

⁹² *Cal. Close*, 1343–6, 646.

⁹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1350–4, 340; E 179/44/347.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1399–1402, 293; *B.M. Add. Chart.* 5313.

⁹⁵ *Cal. of Plea and Memoranda R.* 1413–37, ed. Thomas, 167.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 26.

⁹⁷ *W.A.M.*, 30399.

⁹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1476–85, 510.

⁹⁹ Guildhall MS. 9531/10, f. 118.

¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (1), p. 574.

² St. Paul's MS. A. Box 17 (A). 354.

³ *B.M. Add. Chart.* 5313. Other impressions of this seal are E 42/438; St. Paul's MS. A. Box 17 (A). 355.

⁴ *W.A.M.*, 4848, 4853, 4860, 4861.

⁵ *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 96–100.

⁶ *B.M. Add. MS.* 22285, f. 14v. This is the *Martiloge* of Syon, and will hereafter be cited as such. It has been edited in part for the Henry Bradshaw Soc. by F. Proctor and E. S. Dewick. Cf. also R. Dunning, 'The muniments of Syon Abbey', *Bull. Inst. Hist. Research*, xxxvii. 103–11.

⁷ *Complete Peerage*, v. 422.

⁸ Cf. Margaret Deanesly, *Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle*, 91 sqq., and D. Knowles, *Rel. Orders in Eng.* ii. 176 sqq.; T. Nyberg, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*, 69–77.

⁹ *Diarium Vadstenense*, in *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, i. 123.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* 125.

¹¹ *Martiloge*, f. 14v.

¹² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 542.

¹³ *Dict. d'hist. et géog. ecclési.* x, col. 728.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Rule and Syon Additions are in Aungier, *Syon*, 294–404; critical edition in Veronica R. Hughes, 'Syon Additions to the Rule of St. Saviour' (Liverpool Univ. M.A. thesis, 1952).

¹⁵ V. H. Galbraith, *St. Albans Chronicle 1406–20*, 32. Annual distribution to the poor noted by T. Fuller, *Church Hist.* iii. 276.

¹⁶ *Divi Antonini Chron. tertia pars* (1586), 797; *Rot. Parl.* v. 551.

¹⁷ *Rule of Our Saviour* (priv. printed, Syon Abbey, n.d.), caps. iii, xi; cf. Francesca M. Steele, *Story of the Bridgettines*, 15.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

in honour of the Blessed Virgin based on St. Bridget's *Sermo Angelicus* and known as *Viridarium Beate Marie*.¹⁸

Shakespeare has immortalized the legend that the abbey was founded in expiation for the murder of Richard II,¹⁹ but there is no reference to it in the foundation charter. Henry V simply stated that he was dedicating the new monastery to the glory of the most high Trinity, the most glorious Virgin Mary, and all saints, especially St. Bridget. The nuns and brethren were to dwell in separate courts in the same monastery. They were to celebrate divine service daily for the king during his lifetime and for the salvation of his soul after death, and also for his ancestors and all the faithful departed. The abbey was to be on a parcel of land of the demesne of the king's manor of Isleworth within the parish of Twickenham. It was to be called 'The Monastery of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Syon' and the community were to have one seal for business transactions. Maud Newton was appointed abbess and William Alnwick confessor-general. On the resignation or death of the abbess the nuns were to have custody of the abbey's possessions without interference from the king or his heirs. Until the revenues had been made up to 1,000 marks a year the balance was to be paid from the Exchequer. Provision was made for a permanent endowment, mainly from the lands of the alien priories, and many of them were to come to Syon when the leases lapsed, including widely scattered properties which had belonged to St. Nicholas, Angers; Caen; Fécamp; Loders; Marmoutiers; Mont St. Michel; St. Bertin; St. Omer; and Sééz.²⁰

Henry V also sought papal confirmation for his new foundation. His *supplica*, drawn up before 1418, stated that he had endowed the monastery of Syon, with Maud Newton and William Alnwick in charge. He asked the Pope to permit these two and other religious to transfer to the new abbey, and also to allow Syon to receive laity and secular clergy until the numbers laid down by their Rule were complete. He requested confirmation of the privileges of the Bridgettine Order as granted during the schism by Urban VI and asked that they should apply to Syon.²¹

In August 1418 Martin V issued two bulls concerning Syon. *Eximie devocionis* was addressed to the King and confirmed the appropriation of the churches of Yeovil (Som.) and Croston (Lancs.) to the abbey.²² *Integre devocionis* was directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Abbot of St. Albans, and authorized them to amend any error in the foundation of Syon and to admit to regular

profession those who wished to enter the monastery so that an abbess and confessor could be elected. Moreover, the Pope gave permission for any member of an order of less strict observance to enter Syon.²³ A third bull, *Sane sicut exhibita*, issued by Martin V probably belongs to the same period, since some of its provisions were embodied in the Additions to the Rule drawn up for Syon about this time. Under its terms the abbey and all its possessions were to be under the protection of the Holy See and were to be free from all sentences of excommunication, suspension, and interdict except by special mandate of the Pope. However, the bishop of the diocese was to be the visitor as prescribed in the Rule and was also to confirm the election of the abbess and confessor-general. If the ordinary neglected this duty, the abbess and confessor-general might invite any bishop as visitor.²⁴

These bulls were, indeed, issued at a time when the future of the whole Bridgettine Order was in considerable doubt,²⁵ but in 1419 the Pope decided in its favour and also granted Syon the privileges and indulgences conferred on the whole Order by the bull *Mare magnum* of 1413.²⁶

In the meantime work on the buildings was proceeding. Safe conducts for the transport of stone from Yorkshire were sought in 1417 and 1421,²⁷ and some materials were brought from Sheen.²⁸ Recruitment also continued, as is shown by a licence for Margaret, anchoress of Bodmin, to enter Syon.²⁹ Moreover, almost as soon as the foundation-stone had been laid, Henry V applied to Vadstena for further brothers and nuns to come to England to train the recruits. The mother-house agreed to this request, which was supported by Philippa, the King's sister and Queen of Sweden, and in May 1415 a party of four professed sisters, three postulants, one priest, and one deacon left Vadstena to join the two brothers already in England.³⁰ The task of moulding the new community proved to be one of great difficulty. Disputes arose over the performance of manual work by the choir sisters and over the claim of the English recruits to be fully professed.³¹ Consultations were held with distinguished Benedictine and Cistercian theologians. One such meeting in 1416 was attended by the king himself as well as the whole community of Syon. This conference refused to agree to the proposal that the nuns should be released from domestic duties or to support Maud Newton's claim to be obeyed by the brethren.³² Shortly afterwards Maud Newton³³ and William Alnwick retired,³⁴ although before his withdrawal Alnwick helped to draft the Additions to the Rule for use at Syon.³⁵ Letters of advice

¹⁸ H. Schück, 'Två svenska Biografier från Medeltid', *Antiquarisk Tidskrift*, v. 127; a modernized version of the office is in E. Graf, *Prayers and Revelations of St. Bridget*. An edition of the Syon Breviary and a full account of the Bridgettine liturgy is being prepared by A. J. Collins for the Henry Bradshaw Soc.

¹⁹ Henry V, 4, 1; cf. Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, ii. 176.

²⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22, 34 sqq.; *Rot. Parl.* iv. 141, 243 sqq.; Aungier, *Syon*, 31, 39.

²¹ Deanesly, *Incendium*, 131 sqq.

²² Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 544.

²³ Deanesly, *Incendium*, 137 sqq.

²⁴ Copied in Guildhall MS. 9531/9, ff. 139-40; cf. Syon Additions in B.M. Arundel MS. 146, ff. 25 sqq.

²⁵ Question discussed in W. Ullman, 'Recognition of St. Bridget's Rule by Martin V', *Rev. Bénédictine*, 1957, pp. 190 sqq.

²⁶ T. Höjer, *Studier i Vadstena Klosters och Birgittinordens Historia*, 179.

²⁷ *Acts of P. C.* (Rec. Com.) ii. 360 (1417); *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22. 397.

²⁸ E 364/56/B.

²⁹ Deanesly, *Incendium*, 136.

³⁰ *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, i. 136. The priest was John of Kalmar who had already organized a monastery at Reval (*ibid.* 137).

³¹ *Diplomatorium Suecanum*, iii, no. 2524. For similar disputes at Vadstena cf. Höjer, *Studier*, 26, and for position of lay sisters, L. Hollman, *Den heliga Birgittas Revelaciones Extravagantes*, 150. ³² Deanesly, *Incendium*, 111.

³³ Her pension was granted in May 1417: *Cal. Pat.* 1416-22, 102.

³⁴ *Amundesham Annales* (Rolls Ser.), i. 27.

³⁵ Deanesly, *Incendium*, 111. The two surviving texts of these Additions are late-15th-cent. MSS.: B.M. Arundel

were sent from Vadstena in 1418. The brother who remained with the sisters in England was commended for his patience with their indiscipline. It was also stressed that the English recruits were not yet professed members of the Order.³⁶

It was not until 1420 that the community was ready and the first profession at Syon took place. The Archbishop of Canterbury presided over the ceremony, at which 27 nuns, 5 priests, 2 deacons, and 3 lay brothers pronounced their vows.³⁷ Immediately afterwards Joan North was elected the first abbess and Thomas Fishborne the first confessor-general. The Bishop of London blessed and installed the abbess, and in the same year granted the brethren the powers of minor papal penitentiaries when hearing the confessions of the community or pilgrims.³⁸

The community had little peace in which to settle into its routine. In 1422 the Pope again ruled against double orders and ordered the Bridgettine communities to separate.³⁹ Fishborne left at once for Rome and with difficulty secured exemption for Syon from this decree.⁴⁰ In England the accession of Henry VI meant application for confirmation of the abbey's charters. This was granted early in 1424, although without the exemption from taxes allowed by Henry V.⁴¹ The community continued to grow, and in 1428 consisted of 41 sisters, 7 priests, a deacon, and 6 lay brothers.⁴²

During the 1420s the abbess was occupied in gaining possession of the estates as leases lapsed or the grantees died. In 1424 lands at Isleworth and in Essex were handed over.⁴³ In 1428 the Prior of Lancaster died, and the abbess had to engage in long negotiations over the tithes and arrangements for the vicarage with the Archdeacon of Richmond before she finally secured possession in 1431.⁴⁴

Further privileges were also obtained from Rome. In 1425 Martin V issued an important bull which, besides forbidding the abbess to alienate property without the majority consent and commanding her to see promptly to the needs of the brethren, granted the brothers the power to release penitents from vows of pilgrimage and to grant the *Vincula* indulgence to pilgrims visiting Syon.⁴⁵ In the same year the Pope also granted complete independence from Vadstena and freedom from the decrees of the general chapters of the Order, to which the abbey might send delegates or not as the abbess judged best.⁴⁶

In 1426 the community decided that their original quarters on the site later known as Isleworth or

Twickenham Park⁴⁷ were unhealthy and too cramped for their growing numbers. Preparations for a move began. The first stone of the new buildings was laid on 5 February in the presence of Cardinal Beaufort and the Duke of Bedford.⁴⁸ The duke also presented all the sisters of the first profession with rings and service books.⁴⁹ In June surveyors were appointed for the king's works at Isleworth with powers to requisition labour and materials.⁵⁰ The new buildings were ready for occupation by September 1431, when Syon petitioned the king for permission to move.⁵¹ On 11 November the Archbishop of Canterbury solemnly re-enclosed the community, to which he also presented the vestments used during the ceremony.⁵²

Although the buildings were occupied, repairs and improvements went on throughout the century. In 1443 the abbess obtained letters patent granting her freedom for ten years from molestation by the king's purveyors, who were not to remove building materials on the site or interfere with them on the highways.⁵³ Again in 1468 letters of protection were issued for the *Mary* of Caen carrying Caen stone for Syon.⁵⁴ The scale of the operations may be judged from the fact that between 1461 and 1479 the sum of £6,226 was spent on church, cloister, dormitory, chapter-house, and smithy.⁵⁵

The most important part of the work was the new church, on which £4,138 had been spent by 1480.⁵⁶ During the building a serious difficulty arose. Syon was apparently following the plan used at Vadstena where the altar had been placed at the west end on account of the slope of the ground.⁵⁷ A sign of papal approval was sought for this because it was contrary to the custom in England.⁵⁸ The new church was completed and consecration took place on 20 October 1488.⁵⁹ This was a day of rejoicing in an otherwise sad year for the community, which had suffered severely from the plague, losing seven sisters and three brothers, including the confessor-general.⁶⁰

Very little remains of the abbey buildings, which have been thoroughly reconstructed by later owners.⁶¹ It is thought that part of one of the two original cloisters remains in the courtyard, and part of the 15th-century undercroft of the west range is incorporated in the west range of the house.⁶² A carved stone reputed to have been a pinnacle over the gate-house is still preserved by the present community.⁶³ An inventory taken at the Dissolution lists many of the rooms: domestic offices and store houses, rooms

MS. 146 for sisters, and St. Paul's MS. W.D. 24 for lay brothers; cf. Hughes, 'Syon Additions', xviii.

³⁶ *Dip. Suec.* iii, nos. 2521, 2522, 2524.

³⁷ *Martiloge*, f. 6v. For forms of profession cf. *York Pontifical* (Surtees Soc. lxi), p. xli, and St. John's Coll. Camb., MS. 11.

³⁸ Ellis, *Original Letters*, ii (1), 91, giving the date as 1421.

³⁹ E. Nygren, *Lib. Privilegiorum Mon. Vadstenensis*, 236. Text also in *Revelationes Celestes S. Birgittae* (1624 edn.).

⁴⁰ *Scriptores Rerum Suecicarum*, i. 143; H. Cnattingius, *Studies in the Order of St. Bridget*, i. 131-55.

⁴¹ Höjer, *Studier*, 184.

⁴² *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, 205 sqq.

⁴³ *Cat. Anct. D.* ii. B 3819; i. B 1530.

⁴⁴ F. Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, f. 100; W. O. Roper, *Materials for Hist. of Church of Lancaster*, iii. 576.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Cal. Papal Regs.* xii. 340; Nygren, *Lib. Priv.* 277.

⁴⁶ Höjer, *Studier*, 193.

⁴⁷ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 83; *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii, *passim*.

⁴⁸ *Martiloge*, f. 14v.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Dedication of Syon is noted in the Bedford Hours, cf. *B.M. Qrly.* iv. 63.

⁵⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1422-9, 539.

⁵¹ *Rot. Parl.* iv. 395.

⁵² *Martiloge*, f. 10.

⁵³ *Cal. Pat.* 1441-6, 159.

⁵⁴ Aungier, *Syon*, 70.

⁵⁵ J. R. Fletcher, *Story of the English Bridgettines*, 28. This work, although published without critical apparatus, is based on full transcripts of sources now deposited at Syon Abbey, Devon.

⁵⁶ E. Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 92.

⁵⁷ J. Jørgensen, *St. Bridget of Sweden*, 233.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Papal Regs.* xiii. 789.

⁵⁹ *Martiloge*, f. 96.

⁶⁰ Thomas Westhaugh d. 1 June: *ibid.* f. 41 and *passim*.

⁶¹ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 87.

⁶² *Hist. Mon. Com. Mdx.* 86.

⁶³ At Marley. Reproduced in A. Hamilton, *Angel of Syon*, 85, and Fletcher, *Eng. Bridgettines*, 35.

for officials such as the butler, receiver-general, and auditor, and guest chambers including one for the king.⁶⁴ Of the few surviving vestments the Syon cope is of outstanding workmanship.⁶⁵

During the 1440s Henry VI's search for funds for his new foundations at Eton and Cambridge caused Syon great anxiety. Stringent inquiries were made into the titles of grants of lands of the alien priories made by Henry V.⁶⁶ As a result orders were given in June 1440 for an extent to be taken of St. Michael's Mount (Cornw.), as it was to be taken into the king's hands.⁶⁷ About the same time Syon also lost the manor of Tilshead (Wilts.), possessions in Spalding (Lincs.), and revenues of Corsham church (Wilts.). The abbey hastily sought confirmation of other possessions where there might be a flaw in the title, and in 1443 obtained letters patent concerning their property in Sussex and Gloucestershire.⁶⁸

Henry VI showed his goodwill towards Syon in other ways. Complaints had been made in Rome that, owing to the conduct of the abbess, some of the brethren wished to leave the monastery and no recruits were coming forward to replace them. The Pope ordered the Archbishop of Canterbury to make inquiry, and, if necessary, take disciplinary action.⁶⁹ It was probably in connexion with this that the abbess complained that she had been wrongly cited before the archbishop's court, and she secured from the king exemption from the primate's jurisdiction.⁷⁰ Furthermore, in 1448 the king issued a charter granting extensive legal privileges to the abbey and its tenants. They were to be almost completely exempt from royal justice, the abbess holding all courts on her estates and taking all the profits of justice, whether administered in her own or in the royal courts, if any of her own tenants was concerned.⁷¹

Nevertheless Syon welcomed the accession of Edward IV, whose reign opened with the restoration of its lost estates. In 1461 the old charters were confirmed, with the exemption from taxes.⁷² In 1463 the right to four tuns a year of Gascon wine, granted in the original endowment, was restored with arrears from the beginning of the reign.⁷³ In 1464 Parliament confirmed to Syon the charter of liberties of 1446-7, the letters patent issued in 1461-2, the Act of 1421-2 separating Isleworth from the Duchy of Cornwall, and all the privileges granted by Pope Martin V.⁷⁴ Finally, in 1465 the abbess procured a further charter confirming all her possessions and granting her licence to acquire further lands.⁷⁵

Routine confirmations were obtained on the restoration of Henry VI in 1470, in 1486 after the accession of Henry VII, and from Henry VIII in

1512.⁷⁶ In 1513 the right to appoint a coroner at Isleworth⁷⁷ and in 1520 the exemption of Syon tenants from all tolls were confirmed.⁷⁸ In 1503 a minor adjustment took place when Syon gave up the original site of the abbey at Isleworth to Henry VII and received in exchange the advowson of Olney (Bucks.).⁷⁹ The only set-back was at Wolsey's visitation under his legatine powers in 1523, when the abbey had to pay £333.⁸⁰ This visit, made 'wrongfully and suddenly', was one of the charges brought against the cardinal after his fall from power.⁸¹

The scattered possessions presented complicated problems of management, and the administrative staff of Syon may be taken as an unusually complete and elaborate example of the usual system adopted by nunneries.⁸² The business affairs of the abbey were the responsibility of the abbess, who delegated the administration to the treasurers and under-treasurers.⁸³ The nuns were advised and assisted in their work by a lay staff whose functions may be most clearly seen in the valuation of 1535.⁸⁴ At the head of the central staff was the chief steward.⁸⁵ Two distinguished men held this post early in the 16th century. Sir Richard Sutton, a lawyer in the Inner Temple, probably carried out his duties in person, since he had a room at Syon and took great interest in the Order.⁸⁶ Some time after Sutton's death in 1524 Thomas Cromwell held the office, although the actual work was performed by Thomas Watson, steward of the household and steward-general of all the lordships of the monastery.⁸⁷ The central staff was completed by a receiver-general and an auditor and a clerk.⁸⁸

Apart from a home farm at Isleworth, which was controlled through a bailiff by the cellaress and provided her with supplies in kind as well as money, most of the lands were farmed through bailiffs.⁸⁹ The lands in Middlesex were managed by the steward of Isleworth, assisted by a steward of the courts and a bailiff. In most counties a steward was in charge and supervised the work of the minor officials for each manor, but in some counties, such as Devon where the lands were extensive, two chief stewards were appointed.⁹⁰ The abbess also needed legal advice and a few scattered references suggest the existence of such a staff. In 1455 Robert Kent B.C.L. was appointed proctor of Syon in all suits.⁹¹ Three doctors of laws, Thomas Jan, Richard Lichfield, and Walter Knightley, were prayed for as special benefactors because they had acted as advocates for the abbey without fee.⁹²

Expenditure was in the hands of the obedientaries who, apart from the cellaress who had her own

⁶⁴ L.R. 2/112.

⁶⁵ Now in V. & A. Mus. It was not made at Syon, cf. *Burlington Mag.* vi. 278 sqq.

⁶⁶ Cf. Rymer, *Foedera*, x. 802.

⁶⁷ G. Oliver, *Mon. Exon.* 414.

⁶⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1441-6, 234; cf. Aungier, *Syon*, 58, 68.

⁶⁹ Höjer, *Studier*, 258.

⁷⁰ Aungier, *Syon*, 58.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 60; *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 91 sqq.

⁷² Aungier, *Syon*, 68; *Syon Ho.*, MS. D. xxiv. 2d.

⁷³ *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, 175.

⁷⁴ *Rot. Parl.* v. 551 sqq.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 206.

⁷⁶ Aungier, *Syon*, 71; *Hist. MSS. Com. Exeter*, 433;

L. & P. Hen. VIII, i, p. 567.

⁷⁷ *Syon Ho.*, MS. D. xiv. 2 F.

⁷⁸ *Hist. MSS. Com. 9th Rep. Plymouth Recs.* 273.

⁷⁹ Aungier, *Syon*, 531; *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 96.

⁸⁰ Fletcher, *Eng. Bridgettines*, 31.

⁸¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), p. 2551.

⁸² Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 99.

⁸³ *Rule of Our Saviour*, cap. xii.

⁸⁴ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 424 sqq.; Aungier, *Syon*, 439 sqq.; cf. Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 99-100.

⁸⁵ Aungier, *Syon*, 445.

⁸⁶ L.R. 2/112; *D.N.B.* He paid for the printing of *Orchard of Syon* for the nuns.

⁸⁷ Aungier, *Syon*, 445.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 446.

⁸⁹ J. E. Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices*, iii. 2; Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 99, 136.

⁹⁰ Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 99, 136.

⁹¹ *Lancs. Rec. Off.*, DD. Cl. 1053.

⁹² *Martiloge*, f. 72v.

resources, drew their funds from and accounted for them to the treasurers.⁹³ At Syon the account rolls show that the Rule was followed strictly, no money being given to the sisters, but everything being provided by the officials responsible.⁹⁴ The chief of these were the cellaress, the chamberess, in charge of clothing for both the sisters and the brethren, and the sacrist.⁹⁵ The summary of the accounts drawn up for the fiscal year 1509–10 by the abbess and treasurers showed an income of £1,635 and expenditure of £1,275. The cellaress spent £974, the remainder going to the chamberess, sacrist, and 'various necessary expenses', leaving a surplus of £359.⁹⁶ The work of the cellaress, as revealed by her accounts, was of the most varied nature, partly farming, partly catering. She had not only to buy such items as bread locally and to deal with brewers in London, but also to send her agents to Oxford and Uxbridge to buy sheep and oxen. Livery had to be provided for the servants and payments had to be made for hedging and for attention to sick animals. Even the boats serving the ferry across the Thames came under her charge.⁹⁷ Among the officials helping her were the under-steward for the farm and the clerk of the kitchens for catering.

It was not only through its wealth and widespread lands that Syon became famous. The abbey was widely known for the *Vincula* indulgence and other pardons obtainable by pilgrims. The Pardon of Syon to be gained by pilgrims at Lammastide and Mid-Lent Sunday was publicized by the poet Audelay about 1426. His 'Salutation to St. Bridget' recounted how the saint originally obtained the indulgence for Vadstena and Henry V later gained the privilege for Syon.⁹⁸ Sermons at the abbey often mentioned these grants, and one composed by Simon Winter, one of the earliest members of the community, has been preserved. Expounding the text *Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum* (Matt. 16. 19) he first explained the doctrine of indulgences in general and then detailed those to be obtained at Syon.⁹⁹ An added attraction for pilgrims was the special faculty of the brethren for blessing rosaries, granted in 1500 by Pope Alexander VI.¹ The yearly offerings at St. Bridget's shrine were estimated at £6 13s. 4d. in 1535, the fourth highest in the country, although small compared with Walsingham's £260 or Canterbury's £32.² This, however, may have been a bad year, or else receipts were undervalued for the surveyors, as the figure in 1510 was nearly £29.³

Sermons at Syon were also an attraction. It was the duty of the brethren to expound the Gospel in the vernacular on Sundays and festivals,⁴ and several of them must have been well fitted for this task since they held office as university preachers before entering Syon.⁵ Several volumes of sermons composed by the brothers were in the library in addition to others which no doubt served as models.⁶ Simon Winter himself composed a further book of sermons in English on indulgences as well as one on penance, besides sermons in Latin for Sundays and festivals. Thomas Bulde (d. 1476) wrote a similar work, and Brother Roger one in English.⁷

Besides sermons the brethren produced many spiritual treatises which, although primarily composed for the benefit of the nuns, enjoyed a wider circulation. The first of the authors among the brethren, Clement Maidstone,⁸ formerly at Hounslow Priory, wrote on varied themes. His works included an account of Archbishop Scrope⁹ and a volume of devotional works which was presented to Vadstena.¹⁰ He also wrote several liturgical treatises, of which the most important was the *Ordinale Sarum sive Directorium Sacerdotum*. This proved to be a most useful work since, despite attacks by the Canons of Salisbury, nine printed editions were called for between 1487 and 1503.¹¹ Contemporary with Maidstone was the minor author Thomas Ismaelite, who wrote at least two devotional tracts, *Speculum humilitatis* and *De Ortu Virginis et Miraculis Christi*.¹² Two further works composed by brothers were a commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew by Nicholas, deacon of Syon,¹³ and a manual of instructions for novices in English by Thomas Prestius.¹⁴

The introduction of printing gave the brethren the opportunity of reaching a wider public, as contemporary taste favoured devotional literature.¹⁵ The first published work from Syon seems to have been *A Profitable treatise to dispose men to be virtuously occupied* by Thomas Betson and printed by De Worde in 1500.¹⁶ Amid the troubles preceding the Dissolution and probably while he was seriously ill, and confessor-general, John Fewterer, translated the *Mirror of Christ's Passion*, issued by Pynson in 1534.¹⁷ He obtained his working copy from and dedicated his translation to Lord Hussey, an opponent of Henry VIII's religious policy and guardian of Princess Mary.¹⁸ Already in 1530 he and Agnes Jordan, the abbess, had commissioned the printing

⁹³ Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 136. ⁹⁴ Ibid. 137.

⁹⁵ Aungier, *Syon*, 392. ⁹⁶ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2184.

⁹⁷ Account for 1535/6 in S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2283.

⁹⁸ 'Salutation to St. Bridget' in W. P. Cumming, *Revelations of St. Birgitta* (E.E.T.S.), pp. xxxi sqq.

⁹⁹ B.M. Harl. MS. 2321, ff. 17–62v.

¹ F. W. von Nettelbladt, *Nachricht von eigenem Klöstern der Heiligen Schwedischen Birgitta* (1764), 12.

² A. Savine, *Eng. Mon. on Eve of Dissolution*, 103.

³ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2184.

⁴ *Rule of Our Saviour*, cap. xiii.

⁵ William Bond in 1509, cf. A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, 72. Richard Reynolds in 1513, cf. Hamilton, *Angel of Syon*, 30.

⁶ Mary Bateson, *Syon Mon. Libr. Cat. passim*. N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (2nd edn.).

⁷ Ibid. 125, 126, 173, 181.

⁸ Died 1456: *Martiloge*, f. 55. Cf. C. L. Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Lit. in Fifteenth Cent.* 38.

⁹ Printed in H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 269 sqq. (of little historical value); cf. Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Lit.* 38.

¹⁰ Now Upsala Univ. Libr. MS. C. 159; cf. M. R. James, *Wanderings and Homes of Manuscripts*, 71.

¹¹ *Tracts of Clement Maidstone and Ordinale Sarum sive Directorium Sacerdotum*, both ed. by C. Wordsworth for Henry Bradshaw Soc.; *Short Title Cat.* nos. 17, 721–8.

¹² Aungier, *Syon*; T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 447.

¹³ Prob. Nicholas Peyntor, d. 1473, cf. *Martiloge*, f. 326, and Bateson, *Syon Cat.* 235.

¹⁴ 'Formula Novitiorum', now Camb. Univ. Libr. MS. Dd. 33. 65; Bateson, *Syon Cat.* xxxvi. He was pensioned in 1539; Aungier, *Syon*, 89; and died at Stanwell in 154 (4), B.M. Add. MS. 22285, f. 57 (an erasure).

¹⁵ P. Janelle, *L'Angleterre catholique*, 15.

¹⁶ *Short Title Cat.* no. 1978. He also drew up table of signs for use during times of silence, cf. Aungier, *Syon*, 495 sqq.; A. I. Doyle, 'Thomas Betson', *Library*, 5th ser. xi. 115–18.

¹⁷ *Short Title Cat.* no. 10838.

¹⁸ Hist. MSS. Com. 4th Rep. 410; G. Mattingly, *Catherine of Aragon*, 320.

of the *Mirror of Our Lady*, which was a commentary on the sisters' office composed by a brother of the house.¹⁹ William Bond wrote the *Pilgrimage of Perfection*, published by Pynson in 1526 and reissued by De Worde in 1531, and a *Devout treatise for those that are timorous and fearful in conscience*, published posthumously in 1534 by Fawkes with a second edition in 1535.²⁰ An anonymous *Directory of Conscience* by a father of Syon was published in 1527.²¹

By far the most prolific of the Syon authors was Richard Whitford, who often signed himself 'The Wretch of Syon'.²² Three translations and six original works which appeared between 1514 and 1541 have been attributed to him. All were concerned with the monastic or the spiritual life and some ran to several editions. The translations were of a *Commentary on the Rule of St. Augustine*, the *Martiloge*, and a volume of extracts from the *Revelations* of St. Bridget. The original works were *Work for householders*, a treatise on the Eucharist which ran to seven editions, *Daily Exercise or Experience of Death*, *Fruit of Redemption*, *Divers holy instructions necessary for the Health of a man's Soul*, a version of the *Jesus Psalter*, and the *Pipe or Tun of Perfection*.²³

There is a strong contrast between the type of literature produced by the brethren and the books available for study in their well-stocked library, although our knowledge of its contents is imperfect.²⁴ There were, however, more than 1,400 volumes of exegesis, theology, and canon law, kept up to date with printed works especially from continental presses, including Italian renaissance works.²⁵ Most of the books were gifts, many being brought by the brothers themselves on their profession and many being given by London clergy.²⁶ Five of the brethren gave 400 books between them and six others brought 30 to 40 each.²⁷ The value the community attached to its books may be seen by the good condition in which many are still to be found in their present homes.²⁸ Great precautions were taken against damage through age and use and arrangements were made for repairs and binding.²⁹ In gratitude to donors a special annual obit was decreed in 1471, when it was decided that the librarian should say a special office for the dead for Thomas Grant, his parents, and all donors to the brothers' and sisters' libraries.³⁰ Yet the brothers allowed others to use their books and possibly even to borrow them.³¹ Certainly Thomas Gascoigne worked there and had a copy of St. Bridget's *Canonization Process*.³² Occasionally indeed gifts of books were made. An *Horae* with Bridgettine additions

was given to the Franciscans of Exeter³³ and in 1501 a printed volume of the *Revelations* was presented to John Doo of Fotheringhay College (Northants.) in return for prayers.³⁴

This literary and intellectual activity was natural for the type of man who entered Syon. The brothers were more mature than the ordinary monastic recruit, since they could not be professed under the age of 25.³⁵ The main recruiting ground seems to have been among the secular clergy, often men who had held benefices in the London area, and, in the 16th century, among Cambridge graduates.³⁶ Three cases have been traced of brethren leaving the Order. Two of these were for health reasons and the third entered a mendicant order more suited to his temperament.³⁷

A common intellectual interest of the brethren and sisters lay in the study of the works of Richard Rolle, whose concentration on the affections of the Saviour provided suitable material for meditation in the Order. The brothers had thirteen volumes of his works in their library, including the exuberant *Melos*,³⁸ while the sisters had an unknown number. In the 16th century Joan Sewell owned a copy of the *Incendium*,³⁹ and at least eleven other sisters owned books, mainly the works of Walter Hilton and similar devotional writings.⁴⁰ Yet the evidence of the *Mirror of Our Lady*, the translation of the *Martiloge* into English by Whitford, and the insertion of English rubrics into the Processional, suggests that although the sisters were well read in vernacular spiritual literature they may not have been so familiar with Latin and may have had difficulty in understanding the liturgy.⁴¹

The social standing of the nuns was exceptionally high. The choir sisters were drawn from the nobility, the gentry, and London merchant families, whilst the few lay sisters probably came from the London area.⁴² No scandal has come to light about the abbey, save the early disputes between the sisters and brethren over obedience, and the unreliable reports of the commissioners shortly before the Dissolution. This may well be due to the comparative maturity of the novices, who had to be eighteen on profession, and to the system of training under which the postulant had to be sent away for a year after her application to make sure of her vocation before entering the enclosure.⁴³ The rule of strict enclosure seems to have been well observed. In 1416 the Swedish sisters had to be released from a rash vow that they would make a pilgrimage to Canterbury in thanksgiving for a safe passage to England.⁴⁴

The same mixture of aristocratic and mercantile

¹⁹ *The Mirror of Our Lady*, ed. J. H. Blunt (E.E.T.S.). Passages in text show that the author was a brother and not Thomas Gascoigne as suggested by Blunt, cf. pp. ix, 164.

²⁰ *Short Title Cat.* nos. 3275, 3277.

²¹ *Ibid.* no. 6904.

²² *D.N.B.*

²³ *Short Title Cat.* nos. 13925, 17532, 23961, 25412-26. The problem of the 'Jesus Psalter' is discussed by F. Wormald in *Laudate* (1936). For extracts from the *Revelations* see G. E. Klemming, *Heliga Birgittas Uppenbarelser*, 232.

²⁴ Bateson, *Syon Cat.* although earlier entries have been erased to make room for additions (ex inf. A. I. Doyle); Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 184-7.

²⁵ Bateson, *Syon Cat. passim*.

²⁶ *Ibid.* pp. xv, xxiii sqq.

²⁷ Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, ii. 347.

²⁸ Opinion of N. R. Ker in notes now at Syon Abbey.

²⁹ R. J. Whitwell, 'An Ordinance for Syon Library', *E.H.R.* xxv. 121.

³⁰ *Martiloge*, ff. 4, 17v.

³¹ Bateson, *Syon Cat.* p. x.

³² *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. J. Thorold Rogers, 170.

³³ Now Bodl. MS. Bodley 62.

³⁴ Lambeth Palace, 1500 91 (pr. bk.).

³⁵ *Rule of Our Saviour*, cap. xix.

³⁶ Opinion based on *Martiloge* and Camb. Grace Bks.; cf. Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, ii. 347.

³⁷ *Cal. Papal Regs.* viii. 174; xi. 151, 638.

³⁸ Hope E. Allen, *Eng. Writings of Richard Rolle*, pp. ix, lvi.

³⁹ Deanesly, *Incendium*, 79; and see N. R. Ker's notes now at Syon Abbey.

⁴⁰ Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 253-4.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 4, 10; J. Bazire and E. Colledge, *Chastising of God's Children*, 77.

⁴² Aungier, *Syon*, 51.

⁴³ *Rule of Our Saviour*, caps. ix, xix.

⁴⁴ *Reg. Chichele* (Cant. and York Soc.), i, p. lxxvii.

families found among the choir sisters appears also in a list of special benefactors in the *Martiloge*,⁴⁵ which contains a hundred names made up chiefly of groups of the nobility, royal officials, and London merchants. The list reflects Syon's influence in court circles which was maintained up to the Dissolution. Beginning with many who had played a part in the founding of the abbey, such as FitzHugh himself, Clifford, and Chichele, the roll ends with Syon in exile. For the inclusion of some names no reason at all is given, but many were included for gifts of money, ranging from £200 from Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, to five marks from Sir William Banes. Two made valuable gifts—Thomas Chandler gave a jewelled reliquary and William Hemming a missal worth ten marks. Some were monastic officials—Henry Normanton, auditor, who also gave £100, John Sprotte, and Thomas Muston, steward.⁴⁶

Although not included among the special benefactors, other names are mentioned in the *Martiloge* for gifts and favours, whilst others who left bequests to the abbey, including even such a famous lady as Margaret Beaufort, were not mentioned at all.⁴⁷ There were, however, obits for Edward IV 'who restored possessions which had been taken away unjustly', Thomas, Earl of Derby (1435–1504), benefactor, and Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon (d. 1556), who gave £40 a year.⁴⁸

In contrast to the lengthy list of benefactors, letters of confraternity seem to have been issued only rarely. The sole known case in favour of an individual was to John Talbot, 2nd Earl of Shrewsbury (1413–60).⁴⁹ Two other cases were of interchange of confraternity—in 1420 with St. Albans⁵⁰ and in 1455 with the Prior and community of Durham.⁵¹ In 1536 the monastery of Syon was granted confraternity with All Souls College, Oxford, but there appears to be no record of a corresponding grant by Syon.⁵²

Several devout lay people lived close to the enclosure in order to gain the spiritual ministrations of the brethren. In the early 16th century Sir Richard Sutton had as his confessor one of the brothers, Alexander Bell.⁵³ Lady Kingston, widow of the steward of Syon's manor of Minchinhampton (Glos.), occupied a chamber in the precincts.⁵⁴ At an earlier date Margaret, Duchess of Clarence, specially sought the guidance of Simon Winter and indeed obtained permission from Rome for him to leave the enclosure to minister the sacraments to her.⁵⁵

Before Syon was implicated in the case of the Holy Maid of Kent, the intellectual atmosphere seems to have been tolerant and the community ready to follow the official policy over the king's matrimonial troubles. Richard Pace, an Imperialist,

was apparently confined by Wolsey at Syon because he opposed the annulment suit, and in 1527 wrote from the abbey saying that he had changed his mind.⁵⁶ In 1528 a London citizen, Humphrey Monmouth, when accused of heresy because of certain books in his possession, pleaded that he had shown the works to the confessor-general who had found little wrong with them.⁵⁷

The position changed in 1533. At the trial of Elizabeth Barton, the Holy Maid of Kent, it was stated that her 'revelations' had been shown to many at Syon, including the abbess, confessor-general, and Richard Reynolds.⁵⁸ This would be natural, as she was alleged to have been influenced by St. Bridget's writings and to have been supplied with some of the material of her visions by the Syon community.⁵⁹ Moreover Sir Thomas More had been told of her visit, had seen her in the chapel there, and later discussed her visions with the brethren, warning them against her.⁶⁰

Syon had attracted the attention of the government, and the precincts were frequently invaded by royal officials. In January 1534 Stokesley, Bishop of London, and Mores, surveyor of Syon and a supporter of Henry VIII, were very anxious to secure the signatures of the community on a document concerning the marriage question. The first draft was duly signed, but the wording was not sufficiently explicit to secure the approval of the Council. Mores produced a second draft, but this time the brethren refused to sign and advised the sisters to follow the same course.⁶¹

In 1535 a further crisis developed. The central figure was the most renowned of the brethren, Richard Reynolds,⁶² who was charged with treason and suffered along with the Carthusian priors in April and May. Although they pleaded that there was no malice in their denial of the royal supremacy, the prisoners were found guilty and sentenced.⁶³ Immediately after the verdict Cranmer wrote to Cromwell on 30 April marvelling that such a learned man as Reynolds should argue against the supremacy of the king and urging that, if this were the only issue, it would be better to convert him.⁶⁴ The plea was of no avail and on 4 May 1535 Reynolds and the other accused were executed.⁶⁵

If Cromwell had hoped to secure submission by terror, he was disappointed. In July his visitor, Bedyll, reported that the sisters and most of the brethren were willing to conform but there were still two who refused and might have to be expelled.⁶⁶ By the end of the year opinion among the community had hardened against the government. Bedyll made a further visit in December and found opposition even among the sisters.⁶⁷ Many theologians were sent to persuade the brethren, but despite threats and promises, two of them, Whitford and Little,

⁴⁵ *Martiloge*, ff. 70–72v.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Collegium Divi Johannis Evangelistae*, 121.

⁴⁸ *Martiloge*, ff. 15, 39v, 56.

⁴⁹ Clerk Maxwell, 'Some Further Letters of Confraternity', *Archaeologia*, lxxix, 209.

⁵⁰ *Reg. Abb. Johannis Whethamstede* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 372.

⁵¹ *Durham Obituary Rolls* (Surtees Soc.), 111, 118.

⁵² J. Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, ii, 268–72.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 532.

⁵⁴ *L.R.* 2/112.

⁵⁵ *Cal. Papal Regs.* viii, 63.

⁵⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv, p. 1472.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 83.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* vi, p. 587.

⁵⁹ L. E. Whatmore, 'Sermon against the Holy Maid', *E.H.R.* lviii, 469.

⁶⁰ *Corresp. of Sir Thomas More*, ed. E. F. Rogers, 484, 486.

⁶¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vii, pp. 8, 12.

⁶² Cf. E. Graf, *Blessed Richard Reynolds*; Hamilton, *Angel of Syon*; Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, iii, 215.

⁶³ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii, p. 213; 3rd Dep. *Kpr's Rep.* 237–9.

⁶⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, viii, p. 229.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* p. 249.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 441.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* ix, p. 332.

Alure in
Sane lunc.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

A



Itumatio dñi in ihu xpi. Rome.
natus sã almachii mris. Qui
iubente vrbis p̄feto cñ dicitur
hodie octane dñice diei sūt. et
sūt a sup̄stia omibz idolonum.

a gladiatoribz occisus est. Via aqua. corone militi
triginta. sub diocliano impatore. Item Rome. sã
martine virginis. Que sub alexandro impatore.
diuisis tormentorū genibz cruciata. tãdē gladio decollata.
martiri palmam adq̄ta ē. Apud spoliā: sã con-
cordi p̄siteri i mris. tempore antonini impatoris.
Qui p̄mo fustibz refus. de hinc edileo suspensus.
ac secro post in carcere m̄q̄atus. ibiq̄ anglicā vi-
sitationē consolatus. denū gladio vitā finivit. In
clarea capatione: deponit sã basilij ep̄i. an̄o celebri-
tas. octavo decimo kalendas iuli. p̄tissimū re-
lucit. In affrica: b̄i fulgentij. ep̄i. virginis ep̄i. Qui
ob catholicam fidem. et crimmam doctriam. exilio re-
legatus. tandem ad p̄pam cathiam redire p̄misi. vi-
ta in lo davis. sã sine quicunt. In tertio lugdu-
nensi: sã augendi abbis. an̄o vita. iustitia. iustitia.
lis plena refullit. Alexander: sã custodine iugis.
Et aliorū p̄ior s̄cōz mris confessor atq̄ dignū.

Obitus
1.

A

Adversos tōsura. quodā signū est quod in corpore. s̄cōz
aio agitur. sicut et hoc signū in religione vna refectur. et
crimibz carnis nre quasi crumbz exanuit. ita inde reuocatur
sensibz ut conus rudibus emetramus. expoliante nos. in
veterē hoīem tñ actibz suis. et induentes nouū hoīem q̄ reuocant
in agnitione dei. Tu aut dñe miserere nri. Deo glarias.

HOSPITALARIORVM MILITVM S^{AN}CTI IOH^{ANNIS} HIEROSOL^{YMITANI}.
 Domus olim exco^{mmuni}ssa in suburbo ciuitatis LONDIN^{ENSIS}.
 porte Australis & Circio prospectus.



Eiusdem Domus
 facie
 ab Attico, prospectus
 quasi nunc lapidatus cum occidentali Capella



Praefata Domus à retro ab Euro-aquilone prospectus



RELIGIOUS HOUSES

and a lay brother, Turlington, remained obdurate.⁶⁸ It may well have been about this time that another lay brother, Thomas Brownell, was imprisoned at Newgate. His death on 21 October 1537 is recorded as due to the squalor of the prison. Opposite his name the marginal note 'martyr' has been inserted in the *Martiloge*.⁶⁹

In 1536, however, Syon was seemingly restored to favour, possibly because the disaffected had been expelled. In November the abbess was commissioned to take charge of Lady Margaret Douglas, later Countess of Lennox, who was bent on marrying against the wishes of the court.⁷⁰ Earlier in the year the brethren had been engaged in persuading the London Carthusians to agree to the royal supremacy, and Copinger reported to Cromwell that he thought he had been successful.⁷¹ In September the secretary had a further opportunity of securing his grip on the abbey when he attended the election of Copinger as confessor-general.⁷²

Again Syon's fortunes underwent a sudden change. In May 1538 Cromwell noted that Syon must be suppressed⁷³ and put into motion a scheme for gaining his object. The Bishop of London was charged with *praemunire* for using a papal formula at professions in 1537 and 1538 and with superstitious practices when blessing vestments at the abbey.⁷⁴ Stokesley replied immediately that since the statute he had used an amended formula and stressed the zeal he had shown in persuading the community to accept the king's supremacy. His plea was borne out by a Syon manuscript of the profession service which had the text amended with the formula '*quatenus illustrissimi regis et iuribus regni non repugnat*'.⁷⁵ Although the bishop was acquitted, Cromwell had made his point and was merely biding his time. Several times in 1539 he noted that Syon was to be suppressed by *praemunire*,⁷⁶ and more definitely in November 'among the houses to be suppressed is Syon'.⁷⁷

The blow fell the same month. There is no surrender deed for the abbey and no official record of its suppression. Shortly beforehand many of the books in its library were removed.⁷⁸ In 1539 pensions were assigned for the community on a generous scale,⁷⁹ probably owing to the influential connexions of the sisters. Agnes Jordan, the abbess, was granted £200 a year,⁸⁰ but the confessor-general, Copinger, was already dead.⁸¹ On the same day as the pensions were granted the community was expelled with its keys and seals.⁸² Thus the 'most virtuous house of religion in all England'⁸³ was brought to a temporary end. With the exception of Amesbury (Wilts.), Syon was the last of the great nunneries to be dis-

solved.⁸⁴ In all, pensions were granted to 52 choir nuns (including the abbess), 4 lay sisters, 12 brothers, and 5 lay brothers.⁸⁵

According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the principal possessions of the Abbey, besides its own site, were rents from Brentford, Heston, Isleworth, Sutton, Twickenham, Whitton, and Worton (Mdx.); the rectories of Chilham, Molash, and Throwley (Kent); rents and other payments from Aldrington, Brede, Charlton Ashurst, Ecclesden, Fishbourne, Littlehampton, Sompting, Steyning, Toddington, Warmingham, Wiggonholt, and Withyham (Suss.); the manor of Cherry Hinton (Cambs.); the rectories of Martock and Yeovil (Som.); Olney rectory (Bucks.); rents and farms in Bothenhampton, Bradpole, Loders, and Upton (Dors.); rents and other incomes from Axmouth, Budleigh, Donnington, Harpford, Haderland (Otterton par.), Otterton, Sidmouth, and Yacombe (Devon); Poulton rectory and pensions from the vicarages of Croston and Eccleston and rents from Lonsdale (Lancs.); pensions from Boothby, Navenby, and Spalding and the farm of Aungree fee (Lincs.); tenements in the parish of St. Benet near Paul's Wharf, London; rents in Avening, Cheltenham, Slaughter, and the manor of Minchinhampton (Glos.); Felstead lordship (Essex); the lands of St. Michael's Mount (Cornw.); Corsham rectory and Tilshead manor (Wilts.). There were also sundry small rents and other payments. The total income was £1,944 11s. 5d., expenses were £213 5s. (*sic*) and the net income £1,731 8s. 4d. (*sic*).⁸⁶ Syon was the richest of the non-Benedictine houses and the largest and richest of the nunneries.⁸⁷

Some of these lands, including the abbey buildings and demesne at Isleworth, remained in the king's hands, while the rest were disposed of in small parcels.⁸⁸ In Devon, for example, Otterton, Axmouth, and Haderland were leased to court officials, while the remainder stayed in the king's hands.⁸⁹

The community did not disperse after the Dissolution but, apparently in the hope that the schism was only a temporary matter, remained in groups until they could return to Syon. Abbess Jordan rented a farmhouse near Denham (Bucks.), and with her went nine of the community.⁹⁰ Another group, led by Catherine Palmer, went abroad, staying first at Antwerp and later at Termonde in Flanders until the restoration.⁹¹ The accession of Queen Mary brought the fulfilment of their hopes. Naturally it took some time to gather together the scattered community, but some were enclosed by Cardinal Pole at Sheen in November 1556.⁹² The official re-establishment of Syon was confirmed by

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *Martiloge*, f. 60v.

⁷⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 406.

⁷¹ Ibid. p. 197. Cf. Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, iii. 213 sqq.

⁷² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 202.

⁷³ Ibid. xiii, p. 322.

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 398.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 399; St. John's College, Camb., MS. 11.

⁷⁶ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 150.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 192.

⁷⁸ Bateson, *Syon Cat.* p. xvii.

⁷⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 192.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ See below p. 190, n. 40.

⁸² Cf. *Gesammelte Nachrichten über die einst bestandenen Klöster der hl. Birgitta*, 161; E. L. Cutts, *Dict. of Church of Eng.* 96.

⁸³ *Wriothesley's Chron.* (Camd. Soc. N.S. xi), i. 109.

⁸⁴ H. T. Jacka, 'Dissolution of the English Nunneries', (Lond. Univ. M.A. thesis, 1917), 120.

⁸⁵ Aungier, *Syon*, 89. In 1518 the community included 56 sisters and 3 priests who were scrutineers at the election (ibid. 81).

⁸⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 424-8.

⁸⁷ P. Hughes, *Reformation in Eng.* i. 2; Power, *Med. Eng. Nunneries*, 2.

⁸⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, p. 53.

⁸⁹ J. Youings, *Devon Monastic Lands*, 9, 94, 108, 134.

⁹⁰ Abbess Jordan and several other nuns died at Southlands in Denham par. (Bucks.): *Martiloge*, ff. 25, 47, 58 (erasures). For Southlands see *V.C.H. Bucks.* iii. 257-8, and cf. R. H. Lathbury, *Hist. of Denham, Bucks.*

⁹¹ Fletcher, *Eng. Bridgettines*, 37 sqq.

⁹² *Cal. S.P. Ven.* 1556-7, 791.

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the cardinal on 1 March 1557,⁹³ and in April letters patent were issued granting the site and more than 200 acres of land at Isleworth.⁹⁴ The community then consisted of 21 sisters and 3 brothers, with Catherine Palmer as abbess and John Green confessor-general.⁹⁵ A further grant of lands at Isleworth was made in January 1558.⁹⁶

Meantime the work of refitting the buildings for monastic life had been going on, the cost being borne by Sir Francis Englefield who, through his wife, formerly Catherine Fettyplace, was related to two of the sisters.⁹⁷ The re-establishment was completed by the solemn enclosure of all who had rejoined by the Bishop of London, assisted by the Abbot of Westminster.⁹⁸ Both the queen and Cardinal Pole were rewarded for their favours by obits at the abbey.⁹⁹

The community was not to remain long in enjoyment of its peaceful round. In May 1559 Parliament decreed the dissolution of the re-established monasteries, pensions being granted only to those religious willing to take the Oath of Supremacy.¹ Once again the community at Syon decided to continue its monastic life and it was arranged that the retiring Spanish ambassador, Feria, should take them and other religious abroad with him.² The community moved to Flanders, where it began a long exile in the Bridgettine house at Termonde.³ Despite many difficulties and hazards it continued to exist in Flanders, France, and Portugal until its return to England in two groups, one in 1809 and the other in 1861, and it has been settled since 1925 at Marley, South Brent, Devon.⁴

⁹³ Original in muniments of Syon Abbey, Devon.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1555-7, 290 sqq.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 1557-8, 295.

⁹⁷ Fletcher, *Eng. Bridgettines*, 41.

⁹⁸ Aungier, *Syon*, 97.

⁹⁹ *Martiloge*, f. 63v.

¹ *Cal. S.P. Ven.* 1558-80, 79.

² *Ibid.* 95, 105.

³ R. Persons, 'Preface to Hist. of Wanderings of Syon', in Hamilton, *Angel of Syon*, 194.

⁴ Fletcher, *Eng. Bridgettines*, *passim*.

⁵ *Martiloge*, f. 2. Maud Newton, Abbess, *hac vice*, 1415-c. 17, is not included in the list in the *Martiloge* and has never been recognized as the first abbess by Syon: Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 542; see p. 183.

⁶ B.M. Cotton MS. Cleo. E. II, f. 352.

⁷ *Martiloge*, f. 58.

⁸ Guildhall MS. 9531/4, f. 45.

⁹ *Martiloge*, f. 57v.

¹⁰ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1427-1516, 91.

¹¹ *Martiloge*, f. 43.

¹² *Ibid.* f. 36.

¹³ *Ibid.* f. 52v.

¹⁴ *Collectanea Topographia et Genealogia*, i. 325-6.

¹⁵ Guildhall MS. 9531/9, ff. 128v-30.

¹⁶ *Martiloge*, f. 46v.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* f. 25; P.C.C., F. 4. Alen; *V.C.H. Bucks.* iii. 260 gives the date on her tomb as 1544.

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1555-7, 290-2.

¹⁹ *Martiloge*, f. 68.

²⁰ *Ibid.* f. 2. William Alnwick, Confessor-General, *hac vice*, 1415-c. 1417-20, is not included in the list in the *Martiloge* and has never been recognized as the first confessor-general by Syon: Knowles, *Rel. Orders*, ii. 307-8; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 542; see p. 183.

²¹ He was a monk of St. Albans who later became a secular priest; cf. *Amundesham Annales* (Rolls Ser.), i. 27; Cnattingius, *Studies*, i. 131-55.

²² B.M. Cotton MS. Cleo. E. II, f. 352.

²³ *Martiloge*, f. 55v.

²⁴ Guildhall MS. 9531/5, ff. 69-72.

²⁵ *Martiloge*, f. 33.

²⁶ Emden, *Biog. Reg. Cambridge*, 630.

ABBESSES OF SYON⁵ (TO 1576)

Joan North, elected 1420;⁶ died 1433⁷

Maud Muston, elected 1433;⁸ died 1447⁹

Margaret Ashby, occurs 1448¹⁰ died 1456¹¹

Elizabeth Muston, died 1497¹²

Elizabeth Gibbs, died 1518¹³

Constance Brown,¹⁴ elected 1518;¹⁵ died 1520¹⁶

Agnes Jordan, died 1545¹⁷

Catherine Palmer, instituted 1557;¹⁸ died 1576¹⁹

CONFESSORS-GENERAL OF SYON²⁰ (TO 1557)

Thomas Fishbourne,²¹ elected 1420;²² died 1428²³

Robert Bell, elected 1428;²⁴ died 1460²⁵

Thomas Westhawe,²⁶ occurs 1472;²⁷ died 1488²⁸

Walter Falkley, died 1497²⁹

Stephen Saunders,³⁰ occurs 1498;³¹ died 1513³²

John Trowell,³³ elected 1513;³⁴ died 1523³⁵

John Fewterer,³⁶ died 1536³⁷

John Copinger³⁸ occurs 1536;³⁹ died 1539⁴⁰

John Green,⁴¹ instituted 1557⁴²

No common seal is known. The seal *ad causas*, which was in use as early as 1426⁴³ and as late as 1529,⁴⁴ shows the Virgin, crowned, supporting the Child, with nimbus, seated beneath a canopy; she holds in her left hand a sceptre; at base under a four-centred arch a female figure (? St. Bridget) supports a king (? Henry V) in prayer; to the right a shield emblazoned with the arms of England, to the left a shield emblazoned with a cross. Legend, black letter:

²⁷ P.C.C. Sperhauke, 19 Wattys.

²⁸ *Martiloge*, f. 41.

²⁹ *Ibid.* f. 55v.

³⁰ William Saunders, B.D., Confessor of Syon, is said to figure in a deed dated Syon, 1498 (Aungier, *Syon*, 110, n.), but the Christian name of Saunders, the confessor-general, seems certainly to have been Stephen.

³¹ Aungier, *Syon*, 110, n.

³² *Martiloge*, f. 33v.

³³ A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register to the University of Oxford to 1500*, iii. 1910; T. Wright, *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camd. Soc. xxvi), 44-46.

³⁴ Guildhall MS. 9531/9, f. 40v.

³⁵ *Martiloge*, f. 35v. Aungier's reference to him as alive in 1536 is an error for John Fewterer: Aungier, *Syon*, 533.

³⁶ Emden, *Biog. Reg. Cambridge*, 226-7.

³⁷ *Martiloge*, f. 57; no year is given in this reference to Fewterer's death but an underlying entry which has been erased but is still partly legible reads . . . *vij Confessor generalis Anno dm 1536*; since he was accounted the 7th confessor-general the erasure clearly refers to Fewterer; *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 202.

³⁸ J. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, I. i. 396.

³⁹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xi, p. 197. This letter, which is endorsed 'The confessor of Syon', is dated 23 Sept. 1536. Fewterer died 3 days later. He may already have resigned or the letter may have been endorsed after it was dated. It is also possible that Fewterer was incapacitated and that Copinger was acting in his place.

⁴⁰ *Martiloge*, f. 58. This notice of his death omits the year but an underlying erasure is partly legible and suggests that he died in 1539. The penultimate line ends 'ge =' and the last line reads '(neral)is Anno dni 1539'; and cf. *Letters re. Suppression of Monasteries*, 44-46.

⁴¹ His name is 'N. Grene' in the list in the *Martiloge* and the entry is in a different hand. His death is not noticed in the obituaries in that book. He was probably the same person as the John Green who at the Suppression was a priest in Syon and who received the highest pension (£10) after David Curson (£15). He was still in receipt of his pension in 1555-6: Aungier, *Syon*, 99.

⁴² *Cal. Pat.* 1555-6; 290-2.

⁴³ E 326/8121; Aungier, *Syon*, *106 and plate.

⁴⁴ E 326/11229.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

SIGILLUM COMUNE MONASTERIE SANCTE SALVATORIS
DE SYON LONDONENSIS DIOCESIS AD CAUSAS

The confessor-general's seal was round (diam. $1\frac{7}{8}$ in.), and showed Christ with cruciform nimbus rising three-quarter length from a rectangular tomb

with a carved front. His right hand is raised in blessing and in His left hand is a long cross; at each side at back is a recumbent soldier.⁴⁵ Legend, black letter:

SIGILLUM GENERALIS CONFESSORIS DE SYON

HOUSE OF TRINITARIAN FRIARS

8. THE PRIORY OF HOUNSLOW

THE earliest mention of a religious house at Hounslow occurs in the charter roll in 1200.⁴⁶ Twenty-five years later William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, included a gift of ten cows to Hounslow in his long list of bequests to religious houses.⁴⁷ In 1242–3 the 'Master' of Hounslow held one knight's fee of John de Neville, who held it of the king.⁴⁸ This fee was probably the manor of East Bedfont, which with the advowson was given by Neville to the hospital. His gift was eventually confirmed by Edward II in 1313.⁴⁹ Early sources give no indication of the order, if any, to which the hospital belonged. Later it was a house of the Friars of the Holy Trinity, an order founded in France in the closing years of the 12th century. It is possible that Hounslow belonged from the start to the Trinitarians, but it is more likely that it was given to them in the mid-13th century by Richard, King of the Romans, brother of Henry III. Richard founded a house of Trinitarians at Knaresborough (Yorks. W.R.),⁵⁰ and at Hounslow he was the greatest benefactor, if not the second founder. To the friars there, whether newly-introduced or long-established, he gave his lands of Babworth in Isleworth, except the fishpond. These friary lands later comprised over 80 acres by or near the Crane above Baber Bridge, and in the enclosure cut out of Hounslow Heath further north.⁵¹ In 1314 Richard's grant was confirmed by Edward II.⁵² These lands of the friars were first described as the manor of Hounslow in 1296, when the minister and friars were granted a weekly market and an annual fair of eight days beginning on the vigil of the feast of Holy Trinity.⁵³

Meanwhile in 1252 Henry III gave the minister and friars a silver cup for the eucharist, and also a silver thurible or censer, which second gift was confirmed in the following January.⁵⁴ Before 1275 Pain de Cleremont had given them 40 acres in Stanwell and in the 14th century the friars acquired further property outside Hounslow.⁵⁵ In 1338 and 1358 this included lands in East Bedfont from William de Odiham and Thomas Lenece under a

licence to acquire in mortmain, which had been granted in 1320.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, having secured the advowson, they had been allowed to appropriate the church of East Bedfont in 1314, and were pardoned the fine for the appropriation in the next year.⁵⁷ They presented vicars to East Bedfont from 1325 until the Dissolution.⁵⁸ In 1353 and 1428 the East Bedfont holding was still returned as one knight's fee.⁵⁹ In accordance with the will of John of Gloucester, Rector of Harlington, dated 1332, the friars received a tenement in the parish of St. Botolph without Bishopsgate so that they should celebrate for him and his family at Hounslow and Harlington; and after the extinction of a life interest they received a further messuage and three cottages in the same place in 1369.⁶⁰ In 1338 and 1358 the friars received lands in Stanwell and Harlington, under the licence of 1320 already mentioned.⁶¹ In 1367 they were licensed to acquire in mortmain further property in Staines and Stanwell, namely a mill, 34 acres, and 5s. in rent, worth altogether 27s. 9d. a year, from the vicar of Heston;⁶² and in 1353 they also held a fifth of a fee in Acton.⁶³ In 1358 William Fitzwaryn had licence to make them a grant in mortmain to the value of £10.⁶⁴ From the same vicar of Heston the friars received in 1362 a messuage, a mill, two gardens, two fisheries, 27 acres, an ait in the Thames, and 4s. 4d. in rent, all in Kingston-on-Thames (Surr.).⁶⁵ They secured the advowson of Littleton from Guy de Brienne in 1372, and presented to Littleton rectory from 1395 until the Dissolution.⁶⁶ In 1370 they also presented to Feltham.⁶⁷

In 1376 some buildings were erected at Hatton Grange on the land of the friars of Hounslow, so that the king might stay there. These buildings were to revert to the friars after his death.⁶⁸ At the same time the friary was granted £20 a year at the Exchequer that prayers might be said for the king, and to provide a chaplain to celebrate at Hatton Grange. In 1400 this grant was replaced by one of £10 a year from the fee farm of Kingston, which was confirmed at the beginning of the next two reigns and increased to £20 in 1462 but reduced to £10 again in 1468.⁶⁹ In 1382 the houses at Hatton Grange were leased to

⁴⁵ Aungier, *Syon*, *106 and plate.

⁴⁶ *Rot. Chart.* (Rec. Com.), 98.

⁴⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 71.

⁴⁸ *Bk. of Fees*, 897.

⁴⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1307–13, 578; 1313–17, 36.

⁵⁰ *V.C.H. Yorks.* iii. 297. ⁵¹ *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 106.

⁵² *Cal. Pat.* 1313–17, 78.

⁵³ *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257–1300, 463.

⁵⁴ *Close R.* 1251–3, 65, 306. ⁵⁵ *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 41.

⁵⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1317–21, 453; 1338–40, 159; 1358–61, 56.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 1313–17, 210.

⁵⁸ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 575; *Lond. Reg. Gravesend* (Cant. and York Soc.), 277; *Lond. Reg. Sudbury* (Cant. and York Soc.), i. 238, 264.

⁵⁹ *Feudal Aids*, iii. 374, 380.

⁶⁰ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting* (Lond.), ed. Sharpe, i. 382; *Cal. Pat.* 1367–70, 250.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 1317–21, 453; 1338–40, 159; 1358–61, 56.

⁶² *Ibid.* 1364–7, 380.

⁶³ *Feudal Aids*, iii. 375.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1358–61, 44.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 1361–4, 256.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 1385–9, 462, 478; Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 689.

⁶⁷ *Lond. Reg. Sudbury* (Cant. and York Soc.), i. 273.

⁶⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1374–7, 256.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 401; 1399–1401, 290; 1414–16, 42; 1422–9, 71; 1461–7, 222; 1467–77, 67.

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Richard II for his life at an annual rent of 50s. payable by the king's bailiffs of Kingston-on-Thames.⁷⁰ Hounslow was conveniently situated about half way between Westminster and Windsor, the most usual of all royal journeys, and from the time of Edward III, who gave them 10 marks to pray for the soul of Queen Philippa,⁷¹ the friars enjoyed royal patronage. As late as 1530 they received 20s. in royal alms on Good Friday.⁷² In 1349 Margery Barat bequeathed to the friars an ox and four bushels of corn, and in 1377 John Tornegold, merchant, bequeathed the reversion of certain sums of money to Hounslow and other religious houses.⁷³ In 1434 John Franks, Master of the Rolls, left 20s. for the repair of the fabric of their conventual church.⁷⁴ The friars had a brewhouse in Uxbridge which in 1523 was leased to Thomas Nicholas and figures in his will.⁷⁵

The rules of the Friars of the Holy Trinity laid down that each house should have a minister, or prior, three clerks, and three lay brothers.⁷⁶ But, although occasional ordinations are recorded,⁷⁷ there is no evidence of numbers at Hounslow until 1537, when the minister, three friars, and one George Symson signed a lease.⁷⁸ Their revenues were supposed to be devoted to the relief of the poor and the redemption of captives. About 1352, when the Friars of the Holy Trinity at Oxford had died out, the Minister of Hounslow sent one of his friars to celebrate there.⁷⁹ The friars also seem to have provided a warden for the Hospital of St. Lawrence, Crediton, and a chaplain for Warland, near Totnes, both in Devon.⁸⁰ Fraternity was granted to prominent laymen, including, in 1508, Henry, Prince of Wales, who was to dissolve all the friaries thirty years later.⁸¹ In 1406 the Minister was a collector in the deanery of Middlesex of the subsidy of 6s. 8d. granted by the clergy, and in 1440 of a half-tenth.⁸² In the 15th century Robert of Hounslow, a friar of the house, became Provincial of the Order in the British Isles, and Clement Maydestone, who was a friar at Hounslow for a time before moving to Syon Abbey, wrote an account of the martyrdom of Archbishop Scrope.⁸³ It would appear from the will of Alice Lupton, who died in 1530/1, that Hounslow was at that time the residence of the minister provincial.⁸⁴ The will (proved in 1521) of John Gefferoy, a sergeant of the king, suggests that the house had a lay officer in some capacity and that he resided there.⁸⁵

In 1535 the demesne of the house at Hounslow was said to be worth £5 2s. 6d. and other property

there brought in £22 1s. 8d.. Rents from other places were worth £34, the rectory of Bedfont £8 13s. 4d., and that of Hatton in the same parish £4. Altogether with the mill and the market the revenue of the friary was said to amount to £80, which was reduced to £74 by certain rents which it had to pay.⁸⁶ Nearly 200 ounces of plate were collected from Hounslow by the royal commissioners.⁸⁷

In 1537 the minister and friars leased all their lands and possessions except the church and buildings of their convent but including the outhouses, gardens, and stables, to Robert Cheeseman of Southall for 80 years, at a rent of £26, of which £10 was to be paid to the minister and the remainder to the friars. The lease was signed by William Hyde, minister, three friars, and George Symson.⁸⁸ But the end was already at hand, and the lands in Hounslow, Heston, Harlington, East Bedfont, Littleton, Stanwell, Hatton in Hounslow, and St. Botolph, as well as the advowson and glebe of Littleton, the rectory of East Bedfont, the brewhouse in Uxbridge, and a water-mill at Kingston called 'Hogesmylle' were, with the perquisites of the courts, almost all annexed to the royal honor of Hampton Court,⁸⁹ Richard Forster being appointed bailiff and collector.⁹⁰ The manor of Harlington was then valued at just under £15, of which 3s. came from the manor court and the remainder from rents.⁹¹ Richard Layton had reported to Thomas Cromwell about the leasing of the friary to Robert Cheeseman. In 1539 he wrote again that he was going to Hounslow to pay the debts of the friars who, he alleged, 'drank weekly all the town dry'.⁹²

Parts of the friary buildings with the chapel survived as the manor-house and parish church of Holy Trinity until 1816, when they were demolished to make way for a new parish church, later erected on the old site.⁹³

MINISTERS OF HOUNSLOW

Nicholas, occurs 1257-8⁹⁴
Robert, occurs 1296-7⁹⁵
John de Stanes, occurs 1320⁹⁶
Bartholomew, occurs 1363⁹⁷
William, occurs 1369⁹⁸
Walter, occurs 1401⁹⁹
John Mulsey, occurs 1437¹
John Wodhalle, occurs 1446²
John, occurs 1466³
William Marchall, late minister 1477⁴
William, occurs 1477-8,⁵ 1479⁶

⁸⁷ Aungier, *Syon*, 492.

⁸⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (2), p. 268; Aungier, *Syon*, 489-90.

⁸⁹ S.C. 6/Hen. VIII/2396.

⁹⁰ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xii (1), p. 772.

⁹¹ S.C. 12/19/17.

⁹² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), p. 185.

⁹³ *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 127.

⁹⁴ *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.*, ed. Hardy and Page, i. 38.

⁹⁵ *Ministers' Accounts of Earldom of Cornwall* (Camd. Soc. 3rd ser. lxxvi), 122.

⁹⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1318-23, 329.

⁹⁷ *Lond. Reg. Sudbury* (Cant. and York Soc.), i. 238.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 264.

⁹⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, 478.

¹ Aungier, *Syon*, 486.

² B.M. Topham Chart. 48.

³ C 47/15/6/29.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1476-85, 29.

⁵ *Feet of F. Lond. and Mdx.* i. 209.

⁶ C 47/15/6/14.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, 131; *Cal. Close*, 1381-5, 135.

⁷¹ *Issue Roll of Thomas de Brantingham*, ed. F. Devon, 428.

⁷² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, v, pp. 749, 754.

⁷³ *Cal. Wills in Court of Husting*, i. 693; ii. 200.

⁷⁴ *Cant. Reg. Chichele* (Cant. and York Soc.), ii. 592.

⁷⁵ P.C.C. 11 Bodfelde.

⁷⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi. 1558.

⁷⁷ *Lond. Reg. Sudbury* (Cant. and York Soc.), ii. 12, 97; *Cant. Reg. Chichele* (Cant. and York Soc.), iv. 322.

⁷⁸ Aungier, *Syon*, 490.

⁷⁹ *Cal. Close*, 1389-92, 472-3.

⁸⁰ Aungier, *Syon*, 492.

⁸¹ B.M. Topham Chart. 48; Stowe Chart. 617.

⁸² *Cal. Close*, 1405-9, 59; Aungier, *Syon*, 486.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 545; C. L. Kingsford, *Eng. Hist. Lit. in Fifteenth Cent.* 38.

⁸⁴ Guildhall MS. 9171/10, f. 161.

⁸⁵ P.C.C. 18 Maynwaryng.

⁸⁶ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 402.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

John, occurs 1503⁷

Ralph Beckwith, occurs 1508-20⁸

John Hammond, occurs 1520⁹

William Hyde, occurs 1537¹⁰

The common seal, in use as early as 1266¹¹ and as late as 1382,¹² is a pointed oval, 1¾ by 1 in., and shows a seated figure with a cruciform nimbus, the right hand raised in blessing; under an arch is a figure, apparently that of an ecclesiastic, in prayer, facing right; at each side canopied niches. Legend, lombardic:

SIGILLUM MINISTRI DOMUS . . . HUNELawe

Another seal, round (diam. 1½ in.), shows the

Father holding before Him a crucifix (there is no representation of the Holy Spirit); above is a canopy and at the sides canopied niches, each containing a shield emblazoned with a cross.¹³ Legend, black letter:

SIGILLUM FRATERNITATIS DOMUS DE HOUNSLOW

In another version of the same seal the Father holds before Him a crucifix with His left hand, His right hand raised in blessing above the right-hand limb of the cross (there is no representation of the Holy Spirit); the canopy and the niches, which are empty, are highly decorated.¹⁴ Legend, black letter:

SIGILLUM FRATERNITATIS DUMUS DE HUNDSLOW

HOUSE OF KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

9. PRIORY OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, CLERKENWELL¹⁵

THE priory of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell was the head house of the Hospital of St. John in England. This Order was closely-knit and also highly centralized and the history and function of Clerkenwell first calls for an account of the Order itself.

The Order of Hospitaliers was founded in the 11th century and recognized by Pope Paschal II in 1116.¹⁶ Centred upon the great hospital in Jerusalem, its original object was to provide succour for pilgrims to the Holy Places. But Raymond du Puy (master, 1119-24) permitted the Order to undertake military activities and these soon began to take precedence over the charitable work from which it took its name.¹⁷ Upon the surrender of Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187 the hospital there was lost and the Order became completely military. Its headquarters remained in the Holy Land until removed to Rhodes in 1310 and thence in 1530 to Malta.

The Order was divided into three categories, chaplains, knights, and *servientes*,¹⁸ of which the first was, at least until 1236, accorded formal precedence. For their regulation statutes were drawn up by Gilbert d'Assailly (1162-70) and Roger des Moulins (1177-87). Those of the latter show us the administrative system when fully developed.¹⁹ They lasted in this form until 1310.

Supreme authority was vested in the master,²⁰

appointed for life, and advised by a permanent body of counsellors—the Convent—resident in the Holy Land. In all legislative and disciplinary matters the general chapter (which met, in theory, every five years) was sovereign. It elected the master and the conventual bailiffs—the commander, marshal, hospitaller, draper, and treasurer. As endowments accumulated in the West, priories, with subordinate houses called commanderies, and smaller units, known as *camere* and bailiwicks, were established in various countries to facilitate the collection of arms and to further recruiting. The priors were appointed by the general chapter on the advice of the provincial chapters. They were responsible for sending to headquarters the annual 'responsions', which represented originally the entire revenue of the priory, after the deduction of necessary expenses. Later, responsions, although liable to fluctuate, were generally reckoned at a third of the net income. A valuable supplementary source of income was provided by the *frarie* contributed by the members of the fraternities attached to the various houses. They shared in the good works and spiritual benefits of the Order, and enjoyed the right, confirmed by papal privilege, of burial in its churches and graveyards in return for protecting its interests and contributing to its support.²¹

Each prior was assisted by a provincial (sometimes called a 'general') chapter which met annually, and which all bailiffs and commanders were in theory bound to attend. Its consent was required for all

⁷ W.A.M., 6653.

⁸ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i, p. 261; B.M. Stowe Chart. 617; Aungier, *Syon*, 488.

⁹ Aungier, *Syon*, 488.

¹⁰ Ibid. 490.

¹¹ St. Paul's MS. A. Box 76, 2015.

¹² E 42/422.

¹³ B.M. Seals lxvii. 89 and clxx. 22; Aungier, *Syon*, 493-4.

¹⁴ B.M. Seal clxiv. 1; Aungier, *Syon*, 493-4.

¹⁵ An account of Clerkenwell, or of the English Priory, is incomplete without reference to the Order's archives in Malta. Prof. L. H. Butler is compiling a comprehensive history of the Hospitaliers, including the English tongue, based on Maltese as well as English sources.

¹⁶ Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Générale des Hospitaliers*, i. 29.

¹⁷ Cf. letter (1178-80) from Alexander III to Rog. des Moulins: *Cartulaire*, i. 360. For Raymond's Rule see *ibid.* i. 62.

¹⁸ This word probably had different meanings at different stages of the Order's development. It might here be translated as 'serjeant', which has a sufficiently wide connotation to include all the different shades of meaning.

¹⁹ For a description of the Order's early constitution see le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, vols. ii-iv.

²⁰ The title of Grand Master is said to have been first assumed by Peter d'Aubusson (1473-1503).

²¹ For conditions governing the enrolment of *confratres* see E. J. King, *The Rule Statutes and Customs of the Hospitaliers, 1099-1310*, 194-5; A. Mifsud, *Knights Hospitaliers of the Venerable Tongue of England in Malta, 84-85*. The Merchant Taylors' Co. of London, which, like the Hospitaliers, had John the Baptist as its patron, was admitted to confraternity with the Hospital in the 14th cent.: G. M. Clode, *Early Hist. of the Merchant Taylors' Co.* i. 111-12; but the dating here is suspect.

important decisions relating to the priory. The priors owed no homage or fealty to temporal authorities, and their temporalities were not taken in hand during voidances. Instead, the Convent claimed as a 'mortuary' the entire revenues of a priory from the death of a prior until the following 1 May, and as a 'vacancy' the net revenues of the succeeding year. In addition, the prior's effects were claimed as 'spoils' and shared between the master and the conventual bailiffs.²² Priors were supposed to present themselves at regular intervals at the Convent to give an account of their stewardship, although in practice such appearances were rare. They were also subject to periodical visitation by the master or his representatives, and themselves had the duty of visiting, in person or by their accredited agents, the commanderies under their jurisdiction. All the brethren were liable to be called up periodically for service in the Convent, and from time to time a 'general passage' (*passagium*) involving the whole fighting force of the priory was ordered. The principle was early asserted that priors and commanders should normally be natives of the country in which their houses were situated.²³ Later it was found convenient to divide the entire Order into 'tongues' (*langues*). Of these there were at first probably only four, the English and Irish priories (the latter founded in 1174) being associated with the priories of France; but before 1300 the number had been increased to seven, of which the English and Irish priories, including the commanderies in Wales and Scotland, formed one.²⁴ In 1338 there were in England 41 commanderies, eight of which had been houses of the Templars.²⁵ Clerkenwell was the only one in Middlesex at that time while Hampton²⁶ and Harefield were *camere*, although the latter had been a commandery in the previous century.²⁷

The constitution of the Order underwent further development after the conquest of Rhodes in 1310. The general chapter of Montpellier in 1330 organized the brethren there according to their respective tongues, to each being assigned as 'pillar' one of the conventual bailiffs. To the English tongue was allotted the Turcopolier, who had originally commanded the light cavalry recruited from the native population, which had formed a normal part of the Latin forces in Palestine.²⁸ The 'pillar' presided over the assembly at which the affairs of the tongue in Rhodes were discussed and was expected to provide the knights with an 'inn' or 'auberge' in which to live.²⁹ He was in theory perpetually resident in the Convent; but in practice frequently visited England,

where he was from time to time employed by the master as a check on the prior—a proceeding which resulted, not unnaturally, in bad blood between them.

Under the new constitution commanderies were reserved to the use of the tongue to which they belonged and after 1354 commanders were normally nominated by the tongue. The master could appoint to one commandery in each priory (in England West Peckham (Kent) enjoyed this 'magisterial' status); and every five years he might also appoint to one other commandery in every priory. Each prior was also permitted every five years to appoint to one commandery in his own priory. When a commander had served for fifteen years, ten of which had been spent in the Convent, he became eligible, if a knight, for a conventual or capitular bailiwick or a priory, carrying with it the title of '*crucifer*' or Grand Cross. In the English tongue there were four Grand Crosses—the priors of England and Ireland, the Turcopolier, and the bailiff of Eagle.³⁰

From the first recognition of the Order successive Popes granted it a number of privileges. Its members were exempted from the authority of the local ordinaries and from payment of tithes, and enjoyed extensive rights of sanctuary. They were authorized to maintain in all their houses, in addition to secular clerks, as many lay servants as were needed to care for the poor and the sick. All were subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Hospital.³¹

The process by which the English priory was established is obscure. Such early grants as have been recorded are difficult to date; but the Order had received some endowments before the foundation of Clerkenwell. The appearance in surviving lists of benefactors of the names of, for example, Gilbert, Earl of Hertford (d. 1152),³² Robert, Earl of Derby (d. 1139),³³ Adeliza de Clermont,³⁴ wife of Richard fitz Gilbert, (d. 1123), and mother of the Earl of Pembroke (d. 1148) suggests the reign of Stephen or possibly Henry I.³⁵ Before 1154 the Templars were a more favoured Order than the Hospitallers; they received generous benefactions from Stephen and his queen. With the accession of Henry II, however, the fortunes of the Hospitallers began to improve, and in 1155³⁶ and 1177–8³⁷ they were granted charters. It was the mission of the master, Roger des Moulins, to England in 1185, in company with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, to seek help for the Latin Kingdom,³⁸ that brought the Order to the fore. The Master of the Temple, who had been the third member of the embassy, died in Italy on the way, leaving Roger without a rival.

²² J. E. Nisbet, 'Treasury Records of the Knights of St. John', *Melita Historica* [Jnl. Malta Hist. Soc.], ii (2), 95 sqq.

²³ The earliest surviving deeds show that there was at first a large foreign element among the brethren comprising the English priory: *Cartulaire*, i. 851–2; iv. 319–27. As late as 1235 a German, Thierry de Nussa, was appointed prior.

²⁴ E. J. King, *Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Eng.* 49–50.

²⁵ *Knights Hospitallers in England*, ed. L. B. Larking (Camd. Soc. lxxv), *passim*.

²⁶ *V.C.H. Mdx.* ii. 324–6, 327, 371.

²⁷ T. Hugo, 'Moor Hall in Harefield; a Camera of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem', *T.L.M.A.S.* iii. 2–30; *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 238, 241, 243; S. E. Rigold, 'Two Camerae of the Military Orders', *Arch. Jnl.* cxxii. 86–132.

²⁸ On the Turcopolier and his office see Mifsud, *Hospitallers in Malta*, 87 sqq.

²⁹ The English 'auberge' in Rhodes is still in existence. It was bought by a member of the English Order in 1919, and carefully restored.

³⁰ Eagle (Lincs.) had been given to the Templars in Stephen's reign. It passed to the Hospitallers in 1312.

³¹ For these, and other privileges, see *Cartulaire*, i. 95, 107, 173, 350, *passim*.

³² *Ibid.* 298.

³³ *Ibid.* 236.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Cf. Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 802–3, 804, 834. All these datings are open to question.

³⁶ *Cartulaire*, i. 180.

³⁷ L. Delisle and E. Berger, *Recueil des Actes de Henri II, roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie*, ii. 258–60.

³⁸ *Gesta Hen. Sec.* (Rolls Ser.), i. 335–6.

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Richard I, who held the Order in affection as a result of services to him on Crusade, granted the English Hospitallers a charter in 1194 enlarging their privileges, and handed over to their care hospitals at Worcester and Hereford.³⁹ John, too, extended his patronage to them.⁴⁰ His relations with the Order remained amicable throughout, although, like other religious orders, they suffered from his exactions. They rallied to the support of Henry III against Louis VIII of France⁴¹ and frequently undertook financial and diplomatic business for him.⁴² Edward I appointed Prior Joseph de Chauncy as Treasurer of the kingdom (1273–80),⁴³ but in 1295 financial stringency encouraged the king to sequester the revenues of both the English and the Irish priories, although under pressure from the Pope he later restored them.⁴⁴ The subordination of the priory to the Crown began in the 14th century, when, as the sequel to the appointment of an alien prior, the king twice took the temporalities into his hands and compelled the newly-appointed prior to take the oath of fealty.⁴⁵ Philip de Thame, elected in 1335, secured from the king a formal recognition of the exemption of the Hospital from all such feudal obligations,⁴⁶ but they were in fact constantly reimposed and in the later Middle Ages it became normal procedure for newly-elected priors to perform fealty, although they always did so under protest. Obstacles were also frequently placed by the Crown in the way of the payment of responsions, and communication between the priory and the Convent suffered many interruptions.

The numbers and social status of the brethren at the different stages in the history of the priory are not easy to determine, although it is probable that the total was never large. The extent of 1338⁴⁷ gives 119, of whom 34 can be identified as chaplains, 34 as knights, and 48 as *servientes*; the status of 3 others is unknown. There were in addition 4 *donati*. No mention is made of those resident in the Convent or of those still unprofessed. In general the English knights seem to have been recruited from the country gentry rather than from the aristocracy. Moreover, the same names recur from time to time, frequently place-names—often of property belonging to the Order—and they can safely be accepted as indicating a family relationship.⁴⁸

After the dissolution of the Templars the English tongue was supposed to contribute 28 of the 200 men comprising the enlarged establishment at Rhodes.⁴⁹ Although, however, the numbers resident

in the Convent were later increased on several occasions, and in 1514 reached a total of 550, the English contribution remained unchanged, and there is good reason to believe that it often fell below the prescribed total. There is no direct evidence of the toll taken by the several visitations of the plague in the 14th century, but it is significant that in 1361 the complement of clerks and chaplains at Clerkenwell was well below strength,⁵⁰ and that sixty years later only two or three brethren were resident there.⁵¹ That a general decline in numbers had long been in progress is, moreover, strongly suggested by the fact that in the later Middle Ages the commanderies were frequently grouped together in twos and threes under the control of a single individual,⁵² despite statutes to the contrary. While this can undoubtedly be ascribed in part to economic causes, it suggests also a shortage of men eligible for the rank of commander. The growing practice of leasing commanderies points in the same direction.⁵³

In the later Middle Ages the priors sat in parliament as 'premier barons' of England,⁵⁴ and were members of the king's Council,⁵⁵ while from time to time they held ministerial and military office under the Crown. They were directly and disastrously involved in the civil disturbances of the 15th century, but recovered their social and political prestige, although not their independence, with the accession of the Tudors.

It was the loss of Rhodes in 1522 that first seriously shook the stability of the Order in England by enabling the king to bring pressure to bear both on the priory and on the Convent. He was popularly credited with a plan to 'nationalize' the priory and utilize the knights for the defence of Calais. A personal visit to England by the master, de Lisle Adam, in 1528 temporarily saved the situation,⁵⁶ but the raising next year of the 'great matter' of the king's divorce sealed the fate of the English priory. In 1538 Henry, as Supreme Head of the Church in England and Protector of the Order—a title first conferred by the master upon his predecessor—took over control of the English Hospital. He licensed the prior to receive English subjects to the habit, provided that they had previously taken the oath of allegiance. Brethren appointed to commanderies must obtain royal confirmation, and formally repudiate papal authority and jurisdiction. The first year's revenue in such cases was to go to the Crown; the second year's to the Convent, after deduction of the new tenth. The collection of alms, save by

³⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 839; *Cartulaire*, ii. 604; W. Rees, *Hist. of Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Wales*, 22.

⁴⁰ *Cartulaire*, iv. 271; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 808–9. For the early foundations see D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in Eng. and Wales*, 241 sqq.

⁴¹ *Pat. R.* 1216–25, 291.

⁴² *Ibid.* 1225–32, 558; *Cal. Pat.* 1232–47, 126, 130, 220–1, 432, 465, 490–1; 1247–58, 326; 1266–72, 459; *Close R.* 1237–42, 52, 190–1; 1251–3, 108; 1253–4, 191.

⁴³ *Cal. Close*, 1272–9, 32; *Cal. Pat.* 1272–81, 382. For his activities as treasurer see *Close* and *Pat. Rolls passim*.

⁴⁴ Rymer, *Foedera*, i (2), 817; *Cartulaire*, iii. 666.

⁴⁵ On the death of Prior l'Archer in 1330, and of his successor, Leonard de Tibertis, formerly Prior of Venice, in 1335: *Cal. Close*, 1330–3, 67, 154–5.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 1333–7, 363, 453, 501–2.

⁴⁷ *Hospitallers in England, passim*.

⁴⁸ William Tong, Turcopolier in 1433, Robert Tong, Turcopolier in 1468; William Middleton held Eagle in 1366, Hugh Middleton, Turcopolier, 1422–29; John Weston, Prior of England, 1476–89, William Weston,

Prior of England, 1527–40. Two members of the Newdigate family (cf. p. 166) and four of the Babington family were Knights of the Order in the 16th cent.

⁴⁹ King, *Grand Priory in Eng.* 37.

⁵⁰ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 832.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 839.

⁵² Cf. the list of Commanders in the provincial Chapter held at Clerkenwell in 1417: Mifsud, *Hospitallers in Malta*, 153; Knowles and Hadcock, *Med. Religious Houses*, 241–9 on Beverley, Carbrooke, Mount St. John, Skirbeck, Temple Grafton, Willoughton.

⁵³ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 404–5; Knowles and Hadcock, *Med. Religious Houses*, 242; *V.C.H. Mdx.* ii. 525.

⁵⁴ A. F. Pollard, *The Evolution of Parliament*, 382; O. Pike, *Constitutional Hist. of the House of Lords*, 162–3, 218, 346–7.

⁵⁵ J. F. Baldwin, *The King's Council during the Middle Ages*, 122–3, 129, 165, 197, 202.

⁵⁶ E. Galea, 'Henry VIII and the Order of St. John' *Jnl. Arch. Assoc.* xii (1949), 59 sqq.

express royal warrant, was forbidden. Offences were to be dealt with in the first instance in provincial chapter, with right of appeal to the Crown.⁵⁷

The King's demands were submitted to the general chapter in September 1540 and rejected. The master wrote to the King expressing the views of the general chapter, but the English tongue had already been dissolved by statute five months earlier on the ground that the brethren had 'sustained and maintained the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome...'.⁵⁸ The possessions of the priory, valued at some £2,385, were conferred on the Crown. This sum was exclusive of Clerkenwell itself but it included London rents worth £241 and an annual revenue of £163 from the Temple.⁵⁹ Pensions were awarded to the four Grand Crosses, and a total of 22 English knights, and four chaplains.⁶⁰ To Prior Weston was assigned the handsome sum of £1,000 a year, but he died on the very day of the dissolution.⁶¹ Most of the brethren in England appear to have acquiesced without protest in the changed situation, and the sub-prior, John Mablestone, who had recently built himself new quarters at Clerkenwell, was even allowed to retain possession of them for life.⁶² Four, perhaps five, ventured to oppose the King, and paid the penalty with their lives.⁶³

Mary's accession in 1553 created a new and more promising situation. The Queen at once sent an agent to Malta to open negotiations for the restoration of the priories of England and Ireland. In April 1557 she authorized Cardinal Pole, as papal legate, to reinstate the Order, and restore it to such of its former possessions as had not been alienated. The next month he issued a decree restoring the priory at Clerkenwell and the bailiwick of Eagle, with eight of the former commanderies.⁶⁴ Richard Shelley became Turcopolier and Thomas Tresham prior.⁶⁵ Neither had been professed before their appointment as Grand Crosses, but a number of Henrician knights who had been pensioned in 1540 now rejoined the Order. The death of Mary in 1558, however, meant the end of the high hopes raised by the Catholic restoration. Elizabeth I's accession was followed

promptly by the confiscation of the property of the reconstituted priory,⁶⁶ although a dwindling number of knights remained in Malta until the final extinction of the English tongue in 1631.

The hospital's house at Clerkenwell appears to have been founded some time in the reign of Stephen. Rejecting earlier theories, J. H. Round showed that the founder was Jordan de Bricet, younger son of Ralph fitz Brian, a tenant of the Bishop of London and of the honor of Peverel.⁶⁷ Jordan married Muriel de Monteny, a member of the prominent Essex family, from whom he probably obtained his land. The documents relevant to the foundation of Clerkenwell are two deeds preserved in the cartulary of St. Mary's, Clerkenwell, of which Jordan was also the founder. In the first (c. 1148) Walter, 'prior of the brothers of the hospital who are in England', quitclaimed to the nuns his rights in the ten acres of land in dispute between them, in return for the grant to him of five acres by Jordan, '*dominus eiusdem fundi*'.⁶⁸ In the second (1184-5) Arnold, Prior of Saint-Gilles (Gard) upon which the English priory was then dependent, ratified Walter's act.⁶⁹

Clerkenwell was a commandery; it was also the headquarters of the Order in England and the residence of the prior, a combination which complicates the task of unravelling its particular history. The prior occupied private quarters in the close, and in the early 14th century received an allowance of 20s. a day except on the 121 days when he was supposed to be on visitation and in receipt of a similar sum as procurations.⁷⁰ In the later Middle Ages he was also assigned an 'appanage', comprising a group of commanderies, of which Clerkenwell was one, together with their 'members' and a number of appropriated churches.⁷¹ An annual sum was allotted him for the robes of his household and dependants.⁷²

He was assisted in the work of administration by the provincial chapter, which met annually at Clerkenwell or Melchbourne (Beds.) usually about the feast of St. Barnabas (11 June)⁷³ or the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24 June).⁷⁴ A provincial chapter held at Melchbourne in 1328 is described as

⁵⁷ Mifsud, *Hospitallers in Malta*, 200, n. 1; *Book of Deliberations of the Venerable Tongue of Eng.* 1523-67, ed. H. P. Scicluna, preface, p. ix. In Aug. 1539 Thos., Lord Audley, reported to Cromwell that Prior Weston had applied to him for Commissions to gather 'the frary': *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiv (2), p. 10.

⁵⁸ Act concerning lands of St. John's Hospital, 32 Hen. VIII, c. 24.

⁵⁹ *Valor Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 206, 403; M. C. Rosenfield, 'The Disposal of the Property of London Monastic Houses' (Lond. Univ. Ph.D. Thesis, 1961).

⁶⁰ *Stats. of the Realm*, iii. 779-80. The pensions were proportioned to the declared net value of the commanderies held, and fees of office were continued.

⁶¹ Weston was already reported dangerously ill in Oct. 1538. The Grand Master wrote to Cromwell begging him, in case of a vacancy, to do his best 'for the honour of the Religion': *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xiii (2), p. 277.

⁶² *Stats. of the Realm*, iii. 779-80. A similar concession was in fact made to all four chaplains, who were to retain their fees, together with the houses they occupied, 'for the term of their natural life'.

⁶³ They were Adrian Fortescue, Thomas Dingley, Weston's nephew, David Gunstone, and John Forest. H. W. Finchem, *The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem* (2nd edn.), 23, adds the name of Marm. Bowes (cf. W. Porter, *Hist. of the Knights of Malta*, 574). Sir Wm. Salesbury, described in the *Bk. of Deliberations* as 'the poore knyght', is commonly thought to have died in prison; but it seems that he died on the way to Malta in 1539, while bringing letters from the Prior to the Grand

Master: *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xv, pp. 232-4, 237-8, 321.

⁶⁴ 'Six Documents relating to Queen Mary's Restoration of the Grand Priories of England', ed. E. J. King (Libr. Cttee., Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Hist. Pamphlets, no. 7).

⁶⁵ M. E. Finch, 'The Wealth of Five Northants Families', *Northants. Rec. Soc.* xix, sub. the Tresham family.

⁶⁶ *Stats. of the Realm*, iv. 527.

⁶⁷ J. H. Round, 'The Foundation of the Priories of St. Mary and St. John, Clerkenwell', *Archaeologia*, lvi (2), 223 sqq.

⁶⁸ *Cartulary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell*, ed. W. O. Hassall (Camd. Soc. 3rd ser. lxxi), no. 205.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* no. 206. Cf. the reference, in a grant by Bricet to Robt. the chaplain of land in the field adjoining 'the Clerkenwell', to the acre given by him to the Hospitallers in the same field in lieu of 13d. which he had promised to give yearly as alms to the Hospital of Jerusalem: *Cartulaire*, i. 1-2. The deed has been dated to 1144.

⁷⁰ *Hospitallers in Eng.* 211.

⁷¹ *Cal. Papal Regs.* ix. 3; King, *Grand Priory in Eng.* 83.

⁷² *Hospitallers in Eng.* 211.

⁷³ e.g. in 1338 a chapter was held at Melchbourne on Tues. before the feast of St. Barnabas (9 June), and in 1339 on Tues. after (16 June): *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, 303-4, 330.

⁷⁴ In 1335 there was a meeting at Clerkenwell on Tues. after Midsummer (27 June): *ibid.* 1334-8, 351. Cf. *ibid.* 1340-3, 224, 230. In 1336 the chapter met on Tues. before the feast of St. John (18 June): *ibid.* 352.

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composed of 'commanders, proctors and syndics', but the only commanders named are those from Ansty (Wilts.), Clerkenwell, Dinmore (Herefs.), Hogshaw (Bucks.) and Stavely (Derb.).⁷⁵ In 1338 one hundred and twenty marks were allowed for the expenses of the chapter held on the feast of St. Barnabas, and the 'assembly' held at the end of Lent.⁷⁶ The chapter which met at Clerkenwell in 1417 to elect the new commander of Buckland (Minchin Buckland or Buckland Sororum, Som.) included, besides the prior, the sub-prior, thirteen commanders, and five other brethren.⁷⁷ The weekly chapters originally held in the individual houses seem to have fallen into abeyance with the decline in the number of the brethren in the later Middle Ages, but the custom may have survived at Clerkenwell, where some kind of community life was probably maintained until the end.

The financial affairs of the priory were normally in the hands of the treasurer, an official who often played an important role in the affairs of the kingdom, as well as of the Order, since, especially in the 13th century, the treasury had frequently to provide safe custody for the jewels and treasure of the king.⁷⁸ Robert the treasurer who was prior between 1204 and 1214 had previously been 'treasurer of the Hospital in England'.⁷⁹ Gilbert the treasurer, who appears in 1226,⁸⁰ certainly held that office, and so did Benet, who occurs in 1232.⁸¹ In 1269 Stephen de Fulbourne seems to have doubled the roles of commander of Clerkenwell and treasurer,⁸² as did an unnamed brother who is mentioned with Prior Hanley in 1286;⁸³ but in the early 14th century, which was a time of grave financial crisis, supreme control appears to have been exercised by the prior,⁸⁴ and the treasurership to have been temporarily in abeyance.⁸⁵

The only reasonably full description we possess of the composition and organization of the medieval community at Clerkenwell is that provided by the extent made in 1338 by Prior Philip de Thame for the information of the master.⁸⁶ The head of the house was the commander. Next in rank was the prior of the church, commonly called the sub-prior to distinguish him from the Prior of England. He controlled the clergy, who in 1338 included three brother-chaplains, ten secular priests, a deacon, a sub-deacon, two chaplains serving newly-founded chantries, and a third ministering in a quasi-parochial capacity in the chapel assigned to the use of the lay members of the household. The secular chaplains were paid by the sub-prior from the issues of a church specially appropriated for the purpose. Since most of them served chantries, their numbers increased as new foundations were made. In 1242, for instance, three were added in pursuance of

bequests by Andrew Bukerell (Mayor of London, 1231-7) and Peter de Elilond, bringing their number to seven.⁸⁷ In 1361 the master reminded the prior that there should be at least fifteen secular chaplains, as well as a number of clerks, on the establishment.⁸⁸ Some of the latter, like the deacon and sub-deacon in the extent, would no doubt be ordained to the title of the priory church, while others filled various administrative posts. In 1338 three were employed in collecting the *frarie*, and one, with two *garciones*, assisted Master William de Whiteby, who is described as *procurator generalis privilegiorum* of the priory.⁸⁹ A *serviens* acted as general proctor to the hospital, assisted by a clerk who represented the interests of the brethren in the Exchequer, and an attorney who was 'continually present' on their behalf in the Common Pleas. One of the brothers filled the office of cellarer (*claviger*) to the community. A knight, William Brex, who had earlier been commander of Yeaveley (Derb.) and had been granted for life the *camera* of Harefield (Mdx.), but is not otherwise described in 1338, brought the total of the professed members of the Order resident in Clerkenwell up to seven.⁹⁰

The resident lay servants of the house (*liberi servientes, servientes officii*) included two serving in the store-room (*dispensa*), a porter, a cook, a brewer, and the chamberlain of the commander, all of whom were entitled to robes and wages. Of lesser rank were the two millers, a 'killeman', a bolter, a groom, a door-keeper, kitchen-boy, and a washer-woman, who received a daily livery and an annual stipend. Meals were taken in common in the great hall of the priory; but a careful distinction was drawn between the *mensa conventus* or *mensa fratrum*; the *mensa liberorum servientium* at which the upper servants ate; and the *mensa garcionum* or 'Danyebord'. The numerous corrodarians were normally entitled to eat at the *mensa fratrum*, or to receive the equivalent allowance of food and drink, if unable for any reason to take their meals in hall. The women and married couples who were included among them were usually supplied for private consumption with an allowance of bread and ale. They included superannuated servants of the hospital and of the king, but also many lay persons who had given land or money on condition that they should be provided by the brethren with bed and board for life. The provision made for them varied with the amount of their 'investment'. The most lavish was that made for William Langford, who had served as steward under three successive priors during the financial crisis of the early 14th century, and undoubtedly merited the title bestowed on him by the brethren, '*servitor religionis nostre precipuus*'.⁹¹

Clerkenwell was near enough to the court and the

⁷⁵ *Hospitallers in Eng.* 215.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 211.

⁷⁷ Mifsud, *Hospitallers in Malta*, 153.

⁷⁸ e.g. *Close R.* 1237-42, 190-1; 1253-4, 191; *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 220-1, 432; 1272-81, 215. Cf. E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, 204.

⁷⁹ *Cartulaire*, ii. 344.

⁸⁰ *Pat. R.* 1225-32, 24, 27.

⁸¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1266-72, 348.

⁸² *Ibid.* 1281-92, 244.

⁸³ Cf. the statement in the 1338 extent that any deficit in the annual account is made good by the prior from the treasury: *Hospitallers in Eng.* 101.

⁸⁴ In the report on the finances of the priory in 1328 references occur to '*thesaurarius nuper defunctus*', '*bone memorie dictus thesaurarius*', etc.: *Hospitallers in Eng.*

passim. The office had been restored by 1341. In 1502 Thos. Newport is described as treasurer: *Cal. Pat.* 1494-1509, 285. In 1526 John Babington held the office: *Bk. of Deliberations*, 9. The sub-prior, John Mablestone, is called at the Dissolution 'assistant treasurer'.

⁸⁶ *Hospitallers in Eng. passim*.

⁸⁷ *Cartulaire*, iv. 348 sqq.

⁸⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 832.

⁸⁹ Whiteby is described elsewhere as *procurator generalis Hospitalis in Curia Christianitatis* (*Hospitallers in Eng.* 178) and as being given a robe '*de secta clericorum*' at Christmas (*ibid.* 206).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 44, 79, 207.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 96-97, 205; *Cal. Pat.* 1334-8, 352; *Cal. Close*, 1333-7, 708.

centre of government to be favoured with frequent visits from the king and the magnates, distinguished foreign visitors, and royal officials. It had also to keep open house for brethren in, or passing through, London on business, and for agents of the master crossing to England on the affairs of the Order. In 1185 it was at Clerkenwell that a council of magnates met to consider a reply to the appeal of the Patriarch of Jerusalem for support for the Latin Kingdom. In 1212, although excommunicate, John spent March at Clerkenwell, and knighted the heir to the King of Scots there on Easter Day.⁹² Henry of Lancaster was a guest for the fortnight preceding his coronation in 1399⁹³ and the Emperor Manuel was entertained there on his visit to England in 1400.⁹⁴ The Turcopolier's frequent visits were a constant drain on the resources of the priory, as well as a source of irritation to the prior; and in 1440 Prior Botyll, while recognizing his right and that of all commanders to hospitality, required them to contribute to the cost of their maintenance. The Turcopolier was assigned special quarters '*in parte vocata turcopleirisside*', with stabling, hay, and straw for one horse, but was to pay for his keep and for that of his servants and grooms. Commanders were charged for their board and for that of their servants. A commander wishing to provide his own accommodation was to be offered a site, and supplied with timber for building purposes.

Hospitality to wayfarers in all houses of the Order was placed under the supervision of a 'wise and discreet knight'.⁹⁵ Nothing is known of any such supervisors at Clerkenwell but in the 16th century 20s. a week was expended on alms bestowed at the door and in the hall of the priory, *ex antiqua fundacione et consuetudine accustomata*, besides 6s. 8d. given to the poor on Prior Docwra's anniversary, and £4 4s. 5d. distributed on Maundy Thursday in money, food, woollen and linen clothing, and shoes among thirteen poor persons.⁹⁶

The plan of the hospital cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, since few traces of the buildings remain.⁹⁷ It was probably roughly rectangular, the boundary wall of the precinct running east from the gate-house to St. John's Street, then north almost to the corner of Aylesbury Street, where it turned west to Clerkenwell Green. Loseley's 'Survey of Lead',⁹⁸ compiled at the time of the Dissolution, mentions besides the church with its two chapels, Docwra's chantry, vestry, and 'steeple', the gate-house, the 'priests' dorter' (which has been identified with the dormitory of the knights, but which was much more likely the sleeping quarters of the secular priests attached to the priory); the 'yeoman's dorter' (possibly where the *liberi servientes* slept); the armoury, distillery, and counting-house; 'my lord's chamber' and other 'chambers' (many probably

formerly occupied by lay corrodarians); the great chamber door and the great stairs; and the hall, the length of which is given as 105 ft. In 1546 there are mentioned the church and burial ground, three gardens, an orchard with a fishpond—traces of which have been discovered—the sub-prior's lodging and garden, the 'schoolhouse' adjoining it, the great and little courts, the Turcopolier's garden, the wood-yard, the slaughter-house, plumber's house, woolhouse, laundry, counting-house, the porter's house, and the gate-house, with the conduits, water pipes, and springs,⁹⁹ which were supplied by leaden pipes running from the meadows at Barnsbury known as 'Commandry Mantells'. None of the buildings can be precisely located, but it is probable that the main block, including the prior's lodging, lay immediately north of the choir of the church. In St. John's Lane lay the house of the bailiff of Eagle, and on the west side of the river Fleet were the two water-mills belonging to the priory.

The first church, which had a round nave, was consecrated by the Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1185.¹ During the next hundred years a number of additions and extensions were made to it. Prior Joseph de Chauncy built the prior's chapel before 1280² and his successor, William de Hanley (c. 1281–90), left as his memorial the cloisters on the south side of the church.³ In 1381 the whole priory was sacked and set on fire and, according to Stow, burnt for three days.⁴ It is not clear how soon the devastation was repaired. Clapham considered that most of the buildings shown in Hollar's drawings, published in 1661, suggested the 15th century,⁵ but under Priors Redington (1381–95) and Grendon (1396–1417) the work must have made considerable progress, since Henry of Lancaster stayed in the priory in 1399.⁶ Redington was probably responsible for rebuilding the church, in which the original round nave was replaced by a rectangular one with three aisles; but it is possible that the great tower at the west end of the north aisle, so much admired by Stow, was begun by Prior Weston (1476–89) or Prior Kendal (1490–1501) and completed by Prior Docwra (1502–27), or at least embellished by him.⁷ Docwra was certainly responsible for many improvements and for new work, including the great gate-house which is still *in situ*.⁸ There are several references to the chapter-house in 15th-century Close Rolls.⁹ In 1439 Prior Robert Mallory dedicated a chapel at Clerkenwell to St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Ursula.¹⁰ The ecclesiastical ornaments and other goods belonging to the church had been carried off by the rebels in 1381. They were, however, recovered by the Crown and restored by Richard II to the prior in 1393.¹¹ It may have been Prior Mallory who presented the church with a

⁹² Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 16.

⁹³ King, *Grand Priory in Eng.* 63.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 63–64.

⁹⁵ Mifsud, *Hospitallers in Malta*, 47, n. 1.

⁹⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 832.

⁹⁷ A. W. Clapham, 'St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell', *Trans. St. Paul's Eccl. Soc.* vii. 37–49; brought up to date by Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 25–31, 47–53, 60–70, 71 (plan).

⁹⁸ 'The Surveye of Lead belongyg to Seyent Joens in Smythfeild': *Trans. St. Paul's Eccl. Soc.* vii. 47–49.

⁹⁹ Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 27–28.

¹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 805.

² King, *Grand Priory in Eng.* 23.

³ E. J. King, *Knights of Malta in the British Empire*, 38.

⁴ Stow, *Survey*, ii. 84.

⁵ *Trans. St. Paul's Eccl. Soc.* vii. 37. See illustration facing p. 189.

⁶ Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 16.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ For details of Docwra's career see *D.N.B.* and F. Duncan, 'Sir Thomas Docwra, Prior of England', *Gent. Mag.* 1881, ccl (1), 102 sqq.

⁹ e.g. *Cal. Close*, 1447–54, 173; 1476–85, no. 734.

¹⁰ King, *Grand Priory in Eng.* 49.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, 236–7, 241; Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 839.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

fine silver processional cross,¹² now in the possession of the English Order of St. John at Clerkenwell Gate. Later, Prior John Weston (1476-91) presented a triptych of Flemish workmanship, of which two panels still survive.¹³

In 1546 the Crown granted the site of the Hospital to John Dudley, Viscount Lisle, later Duke of Northumberland. Under Edward VI the nave of the church and the great tower were blown up to provide material for Somerset's house in the Strand; but the buildings were granted, in accordance with the will of Henry VIII, to the Princess Mary, and so could be restored to the Order in 1557.¹⁴ In Elizabeth I's reign the priory became the headquarters of Edmund Tydney, Master of the Revels.¹⁵ Later it came into the possession of William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and passed from him to the Earl of Aylesbury.¹⁶

In considering the landed endowments of the English Hospital, it is necessary to distinguish those belonging to the priory as a whole, and thus subject to the general supervision of the prior, and those held by him as his appanage, from those belonging immediately to the commandery of Clerkenwell. The greatest single accession of territory by the priory as a whole followed the suppression of the Templars in 1311, when, by order of the Pope, all the possessions of the suppressed Order were transferred to the Hospitallers.¹⁷ The enforcement of their claim cost the priory dear, however, and, combined with the financial stringency caused by the loss of Rhodes and the administrative inefficiency of Prior l'Archer (1321-9), resulted in an acute financial crisis in the twenties and thirties of the 14th century. The sequel was the compilation in 1338 by order of Prior Philip de Thame (1335-53) for the information of the master, of the extent, already referred to, which remains the most important single source for the history of the Order in England.¹⁸ In it the income of the Clerkenwell commandery is estimated at £400 a year.¹⁹ This comprised, in addition to the revenue from Clerkenwell itself, property in Middlesex at Cranford, Edgware, Friern Barnet, Hackney, Hampstead, Hampton, Harefield, Harrow, Hendon, Kingsbury, and 'le Boys' (? Edgware); as well

as at St. John's Wood (? the Lakeswode of the 1338 return)²⁰ and Ficketts Fields,²¹ and from lands and tenements at Wycombe (Bucks.), Chingford, Ingatestone, Rainham, and West Hanningfield (Essex), Broxbourne (Herts.), North Ash (Kent), Addington and Merrow (Surr.), Sodington (Worcs.) and elsewhere, together with the income from appropriated churches at Bisham (Berks.), Roydon and Thurrock (Essex), Standon (Herts.), and Rodmersham (Kent), and from five mills. The *frarie* in London, Middlesex, and Surrey contributed an estimated total of 40 marks a year.

COMMANDERS OF CLERKENWELL

Stephen de Fulbourne, occurs 1268²²
 Thomas de Enderby, occurs 1297²³
 Robert de Somerdeby, occurs 1328²⁴
 Alan Macy, occurs 1338²⁵
 Nicholas de Hales, occurs 1351²⁶
 Miles Skayff } occur together 1469,
 Marmaduke Lumley } 1470; ²⁷ Lumley occurs
 1473²⁸

PRIORS OF ENGLAND²⁹

Walter, occurs from 1142³⁰ to 1162³¹
 Richard de Turk, occurs before 1173³²
 Ralph de Dive, occurs 1178³³
 Garnier de Nablus, occurs from c. 1184 to c. 1190³⁴
 Alan de St. Cross, occurs 1190,³⁵ 1195³⁶
 Gilbert de Vere, occurs 1195³⁷
 William de Villiers, occurs c. 1199,³⁸ 1202³⁹
 Robert the treasurer, c. 1204-c. 1214⁴⁰
 Henry of Arundel, occurs 1215,⁴¹ 1216⁴²
 Hugh d'Aunay, occurs c. 1216-1222⁴³
 Robert de Dive, occurs from 1223 to 1234⁴⁴
 Thierry de Nussa, occurs from 1235 to 1246⁴⁵
 Robert de Manby, occurs 1249⁴⁶
 Elias de Smetherton, admitted 1253;⁴⁷ occurs
 1256⁴⁸
 Robert de Manby, occurs from 1257⁴⁹ to 1265⁵⁰
 Roger de Vere, occurs from 1267⁵¹ to 1272⁵²
 Joseph de Chauncy, occurs 1273,⁵³ to 1280⁵⁴

Eng. in a 14th-cent. hand but it is clearly unreliable; it appears to have been compiled from obituary notices.

³⁰ *Cartulaire*, i. 120-1.

³¹ *Ibid.* iv. 247.

³² *Ibid.* 333; i. 685-6 is a charter of this prior wrongly attributed to c. 1200-4.

³³ *Ibid.* iv. 364-5.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 321-7, 329.

³⁵ *Ibid.* i. 570.

³⁶ Bp. of Bangor, 1195.

³⁷ *Cartulaire*, iv. 332.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 318.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 334.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 334-8.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 338-9.

⁴² *Ibid.* 339.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 341-3.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 347-9.

⁴⁶ *Close R.* 1247-51, 251.

⁴⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1247-58, 171.

⁴⁸ *Cartulaire*, iv. 350, 351.

⁴⁹ *Close R.* 1256-9, 62.

⁵⁰ *Cartulaire*, iv. 288-9; Manby may still have been prior in 1266; cf. *Close R.* 1264-8, 274.

⁵¹ *Cartulaire*, iv. 253.

⁵² *Close R.* 1268-72, 590.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 1272-9, 32.

⁵⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, 382.

¹² Ex inf. Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell.

¹³ Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 58.

¹⁴ Stow, *Survey*, ii. 84-85; Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 30.

¹⁵ Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 30-31.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 31.

¹⁷ For the results of the suppression see C. Perkins, 'The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of it after the Dissolution', *American Hist. Rev.* xv. 252-64; 'The Knights Hospitallers in England after the Fall of the Order of the Temple', *E.H.R.* xlv. 285 sqq. Cf. A. M. Leys, 'The Forfeiture of the Lands of the Templars in England', *Essays presented to H. E. Salter*, ed. F. M. Powicke, 155 sqq.

¹⁸ See *Hospitallers in Eng.* for a complete transcript of the extent, with an introduction, now somewhat dated. It contains also the financial report sent to the master in 1328, when the finances of the priory were at their lowest ebb.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 95.

²⁰ *P.N. Mdx.* (E.P.N.S.), 139.

²¹ C. W. Heckethorn, *Lincoln's Inn Fields*, 48-50.

²² *Cal. Pat.* 1266-72, 190.

²³ Lond. Rec. Soc. i. 85-86.

²⁴ *Hospitallers in Eng.* 215.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 101.

²⁶ *Cal. Papal Regs.* iii. 380.

²⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1467-77, 231-2.

²⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1468-76, no. 1377.

²⁹ B.M. Cott. Nero E VI 467 contains a list of Priors of

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

William de Hanley, occurs from 1281,⁵⁵ to 1290⁵⁶
 Peter de Haghham, occurs from 1293⁵⁷ to 1297⁵⁸
 William de Tothale, occurs from 1297⁵⁹ to 1315⁶⁰
 Richard de Pavely, occurs 1315⁶¹
 Thomas l'Archer, occurs from 1321⁶² to 1329⁶³
 Leonard de Tibertis, appointed 1330;⁶⁴ died 1334⁶⁵
 Philip de Thame, occurs from 1335⁶⁶ to 1353⁶⁷
 John de Pavely, occurs 1354⁶⁸
 Robert de Hales, occurs 1372;⁶⁹ slain 1381⁷⁰
 John de Redington, occurs 1381,⁷¹ 1395⁷²
 Walter Grendon, occurs 1396⁷³
 William Hulles, appointment confirmed 1417;⁷⁴ dead by 1433⁷⁵
 Robert Mallory, occurs 1435,⁷⁶ 1439⁷⁷
 Robert Botyll, occurs 1444,⁷⁸ 1467⁷⁹
 John Langstrother, appointment confirmed 1468;⁸⁰ executed 1471⁸¹
 William Tournay, occurs 1472,⁸² 1473⁸³
 Robert Multon, occurs from 1473⁸⁴ to 1475⁸⁵

John Weston, 1476⁸⁶–89⁸⁷
 John Kendal, occurs 1490;⁸⁸ died 1501⁸⁹
 Thomas Docwra, 1502⁹⁰–27⁹¹
 William Weston, 1527⁹²–40⁹³
 [Thomas Tresham, appointed 1557;⁹⁴ died 1559]⁹⁵

No impression of a common seal is known to survive. The seal *ad causas* is a pointed oval, 3 in. by 1½ in., and shows St. John the Baptist standing under a canopy pointing with his right hand to the Paschal Lamb supported on his left arm.⁹⁶ Legend, lombardic:

SIGILLUM AD CAUSAS HOSPITALIS SANCTI JOANNIS
 JER'M IN ANGLIA

The personal seals of eighteen priors⁹⁷ and one sub-prior⁹⁸ have been identified together with that of the conservator of the rights of the Hospital in England in 1524–5.⁹⁹

ALIEN HOUSES

10. THE PRIORY OF HARMONDSWORTH

IN 1069 William the Conqueror gave the land and church of Harmondsworth to the Benedictine Abbey of Sainte-Trinité du Mont, by Rouen, afterwards known as St. Catherine's.¹ In 1086 the abbey held this manor of the king in chief.² Two years later a priory dependent on this abbey was founded at Blyth (Notts.). This house became a conventual priory and owing to its size escaped dissolution in 1414, surviving until 1536.³ Blyth was not entrusted with the administration of the rest of the abbey's property in England, and no doubt a cell, consisting of a prior with one monk as his companion, was very soon established at Harmondsworth for this purpose,

although no mention of a prior has been found until 1211.⁴ This property was soon widely scattered. About 1090 Ilbert de Lacy and his wife gave their manor at Tingewick (Bucks.) with the land, waters, meadows, and wood belonging to it to the Abbey of Holy Trinity and the priors of Harmondsworth were often called lords of the manor of Tingewick.⁵ In 1209 Gilbert de Finemere quitclaimed to the abbey his right in the manor of Tingewick, and Richard de Cruce his rights in Harmondsworth.⁶ The rectory and demesne of Saham Toney (Norf.) with rents and services were given to the abbey in John's reign.⁷ Later the abbey acquired the church of St. Leonard's by Hastings (Suss.) and it was attached to Harmondsworth.⁸ In 1246 both this abbey and the priory of Bradenstoke (Wilts.) claimed the patronage of the

⁵⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1272–81, 424.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 1281–92, 403.

⁵⁷ *Cartulaire*, iii. 619–20.

⁵⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1292–1308, 256.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* 312.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 1313–17, 277.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* 345.

⁶² *Ibid.* 1317 21, 575.

⁶³ B.M. Cott. Nero E VI 467; *Cal. Close*, 1330–3, 154–5 names him as dead by 4 Sept. 1330.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1330–3, 154–5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 1333–7, 563.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ B.M. Cott. Nero E VI 467, f. lxiii (66).

⁶⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1354–60, 54.

⁶⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1370–4, 188.

⁷⁰ C. Oman, *The Great Revolt of 1381*, 67.

⁷¹ *Cal. Close*, 1381–5, 208.

⁷² *Cal. Pat.* 1391–6, 622.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 1396–9, 112.

⁷⁴ *Cal. Papal Regs.* vii. 59.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1429–36, 296.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 452.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* 1436–41, 290.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 1441–6, 260.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 1461–7, 567.

⁸⁰ *Cal. Papal Regs.* xii. 234–5.

⁸¹ King, *Grand Priory in Eng.* 73.

⁸² *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 306.

⁸³ *Cal. Papal Regs.* xiii (1), 216.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1468–76, 380.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 386.

⁸⁶ *D.N.B.*, sub Sir Wm. Weston.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* But Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, 243, has 'vacates, 1485'.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Papal Regs.* xiv. 273.

⁸⁹ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 799.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (2), p. 3208.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 799.

⁹⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1557–8, 313; cf. p. 96 n. 65, above.

⁹⁵ *Diary of Henry Machyn*, ed. J. G. Nichols (Camd. Soc. xlii), 192.

⁹⁶ Fincham, *Order of St. John* (2nd edn.), 79 and pl. 24: he was mistaken in reading 'JER'L'.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 80–83 and pls. 23, 24. The personal seals of other priors will be found in the P.R.O.: E 40/2416; E 42/49; E 329/15; E 327. B. X. 593 (S. 93); S.C. 13/036.

⁹⁸ John Sumpton's, as used in 1389: E 213/360.

⁹⁹ E 21/1 (3), (5); 2 (7); 3 (13), (15).

¹ *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité du Mont de Rouen*, ed. A. Deville (Coll. de Documents Inédits, Coll. de Cartulaires de France, iii), no. lxxvii, p. 455; *Cal. Doc. France*, ed. J. H. Round, 21; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ed. H. W. C. Davis, i. 9.

² See p. 109.

³ D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English possessions*, 44–51; V.C.H. Notts. ii. 83–84; Dugdale, *Mon.* iv. 620–5.

⁴ *Pipe R.* 1211 (P.R.S. N.S. xxviii), 136.

⁵ *Early Yorks. Charters*, ed. W. Farrer, iii. 176; V.C.H. Bucks. i. 212; iv. 249–50; *Arch. Jnl.* iv. 249–51.

⁶ *Pipe R.* 1209 (P.R.S. N.S. xxiv), 37.

⁷ F. Blomefield, *Hist. of Norf.* ii. 321.

⁸ V.C.H. Suss. ix. 27.

church of Easton (Wilts.), but St. Catherine's, which said that the church was a gift from Anselm, Earl of Pembroke, who had died in the previous year, failed to establish its right.⁹ Eudes Rigaud, the indefatigable Archbishop of Rouen, carried out several visitations of St. Catherine's Abbey in the years 1265-8. Each time he found that the abbey had about 30 monks at Rouen, 14 at Blyth, and 2 at Harmondsworth. He had no faults to find, but suggested that the abbot should visit his priories more often, a suggestion which he also made to other abbots.¹⁰

Like other landlords the abbey began to have trouble with its tenants in the 13th century. In 1233 the abbey experienced difficulties in exacting customary dues from its free tenants in Harmondsworth.¹¹ In 1275 the tenants impleaded the prior that he should not exact from them customs and services other than those which were due when the manor was held by the Crown.¹² Next year one Richard le Taylor, probably one of the abbey's tenants, was killed at Harmondsworth, whereupon the manor and that of Tingewick were taken into the king's hands. The manors were restored to John de Walemond, the prior, as proctor of the Abbot of St. Catherine's, for a fine of £20.¹³ The abbey was pardoned this fine, or a similar one, in 1280.¹⁴ While the manors were in the king's hands certain muniments were stolen by the tenants,¹⁵ but despite the loss of his records the prior apparently won his case, being able to show from Domesday Book that the manor was not ancient demesne, and quoting the rolls of William de Raleigh, a justice of Henry III, to show that the tenants could be tallaged at will by the abbot.¹⁶ The public record had triumphed. The Domesday entry was so important to the abbey that in 1341 the prior paid for an exemplification of it, a copy which still survives among the muniments of Winchester College.¹⁷ But the tenants still held the prior's own records, and threatened to burn him in his house. Apparently they defied the sheriff's attempt to carry out the judgement of the royal courts.¹⁸ In 1279 the next prior, Richard, was complaining of similar troubles at Tingewick,¹⁹ and in 1281 twelve persons, including the widow of Richard le Taylor, were in gaol, charged with burning the houses of the priory at Harmondsworth.²⁰ Perhaps it is not surprising to find that the prior had incurred several heavy debts.²¹

The Abbot of St. Catherine's secured a confirmation in 1285 of a charter of Henry II granting the abbey all liberties and free customs in its possessions, which were not specified.²² No doubt the confirmation was a precaution following the troubles

of the previous decade, and it was to be used nearly a century later in 1372, when the prior was accused of failing to distribute a weekly dole of bread to the poor. It was alleged that he was bound to do this under the terms of the original grant of the church and land at Harmondsworth, but he produced the charter to show that he held in free alms.²³

In 1291 the goods of St. Catherine's at Harmondsworth were valued at £48 and the church at £20, while the rents and mill at Tingewick were valued at £15 10s. and the church there at £7.²⁴ Three years later when Edward I seized alien priory lands in consequence of the French war the manor of Harmondsworth was valued at over £60. Of this sum more than one-third came from rents and services, a little under one-third from tithes, and the remainder from the profits of the demesne, the court, and two water-mills. At the same time the stock, including the prior's palfrey, the farm animals, and the furnishings of the priory were valued at £25. Tingewick manor was said to be worth £25, made up of £16 for the annual value and £9 for the stock.²⁵ Under Edward II the priory was again taken into the king's hands, and restored to the prior in 1324, when a detailed inventory of its stock and goods was again made. There was a large store of grain, some thirty head of cattle, a few pigs, and an assortment of poultry. Inside the priory were the bare necessities for the lives of the monks: two beds, three tables, chests, cloths, silver vessels, two cups, pewter pots, a wash-basin, fire-dogs, a pestle and mortar, and other utensils.²⁶ An inquisition of 1340 found that the manor of Harmondsworth was worth nearly £26 a year, the church £20, and Tingewick £8—perhaps an example of the tendency of such inquisitions to undervalue.²⁷ There is a note of about the same date of the names of deceased tenants from whom the prior should have heriots.²⁸

In the 14th century all alien priories were constantly taken into the king's hands on account of the war with France. The priors of Harmondsworth seem to have retained control by paying a rent to the Crown, which remained unchanged at the very high figure of £80 a year from 1338 to 1369, and was then reduced to 80 marks.²⁹ The king, however, usually kept the advowsons belonging to the priory in his own hands, presenting at various times to Harmondsworth, Tingewick, St. Leonard's by Hastings, and Saham Toney.³⁰

The last prior was Robert Beauchamp, who held the office for almost forty years from March 1352. In 1371 there was at least one other monk, John Hawnsevyll.³¹ In 1390 William of Wykeham, Bishop

Kirby, 'Charters of Harmondsworth, Isleworth, Heston, Twickenham, and Hampton-on-Thames', *Archaeologia*, lviii. 341.

²⁴ *Tax. Eccl.* (Rec. Com.), 14, 17, 20, 32, 47.

²⁵ E 106/2/1.

²⁶ E 106/7/18 (8).

²⁷ *Cal. Inq. Misc.* ii. 418, 455.

²⁸ Winchester Coll., 11438 (Harmondsworth 74b).

²⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1338-40, 56; 1343-5, 547; 1388-92, 434; *Cal. Close*, 1337-9, 336; *Cal. Fine R.* 1337-47, 28, 262; 1347-56, 314, 325; 1369-77, 22; 1377-83, 24.

³⁰ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 633-4; *London Reg. Sudbury* (Cant. and York Soc.), i. 281; Blomefield, *Norf.* ii. 320; *Cal. Pat.* 1330-4, 534; 1343-5, 41, 537; 1345-8, 216, 348, 364; 1348-50, 263; 1370-4, 154, 344; 1374-7, 35-36, 201; 1377-81, 63, 286; 1381-5, 20; 1385-9, 241; 1388-92, 190.

³¹ C 76/61, m. 6.

⁹ *Sarum Charts. and Docs.* (Rolls Ser.), 301-2; *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 324.

¹⁰ *Reg. Visitationum archiepiscopi Rothomagensis*, ed. T. Bonnin, 530, 568, 611.

¹¹ *Close R.* 1231-4, 294; M.R.O., Acc. 446/98/4.

¹² *Cal. Close*, 1272-9, 247.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, 166.

¹⁴ *Cal. Close*, 1279-88, 70.

¹⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, 236.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 290.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 1340-3, 253; Winchester Coll., 11338 (Harmondsworth 5).

¹⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, 292.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 346.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 467.

²¹ *Cal. Close*, 1279-88, 44, 139.

²² *Cal. Chart. R.* 1257-1300, 302-3; the original charter is in Winchester Coll., 11335 (Harmondsworth 2).

²³ Winchester Coll., 11337 (Harmondsworth 4); T. F.

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of Winchester, secured both papal and royal authority to acquire the lands of alien priories for his colleges,³² and in the following year he obtained from Richard II a licence for St. Catherine's Abbey to sell him all its possessions in England, apart from the Priory of Blyth. These possessions comprised the manor of Harmondsworth with the advowson of the church and vicarage, the manor of Tingewick with its advowson, the advowsons of Saham Toney and St. Leonard's, and certain yearly pensions.³³ Meanwhile Wykeham sent a member of his household, Richard Altryncham, to Rouen to negotiate with the abbey. The sale was agreed, the price being fixed at 8,400 gold francs, which were paid in 1392 through a firm of Genoese bankers. The bishop also undertook to provide for Robert Beauchamp and for John le Cellier, his companion, all such things in the way of wine, food, clothing, and lodging as befitted religious of their estate for the rest of their lives. He would also furnish a chapel for the abbey.³⁴ The property became part of the endowment of his two colleges at Winchester and Oxford.³⁵ The priory stood to the west of Manor Farm and the tithe barn.³⁶

PRIORS OF HARMONDSWORTH

William, occurs 1260³⁷
 John de Walemond, occurs 1276³⁸
 Richard, occurs 1279³⁹
 William, occurs 1297⁴⁰
 Humphrey le Conte-Poyntour, occurs 1317⁴¹
 John de Fraunkevyle, occurs 1321⁴²
 William de Pestlamore, occurs 1329⁴³
 Roger Sorel, occurs 1342, 1345; recently dead in 1351⁴⁴
 John Cibe, occurs 1351⁴⁵
 Robert Beauchamp, occurs 1352; 'late prior' in 1392⁴⁶

II. THE PRIORY OF RUISLIP

THE manor of Ruislip was given to the Abbey of Bec by Ernulf de Hesdin shortly after the making of Domesday Book, and his gift was confirmed in a general charter granted by William I between June 1086 and September 1087.⁴⁷ No conventual priory was ever founded there. The bull issued by Lucius

III in 1144, which contains a general confirmation of English property, lists Ruislip among the manors of Bec and does not describe it, like St. John of Clare, St. Neots, and Goldcliff, as a priory,⁴⁸ and it was still classed as a manor in another confirmation of Honorius III in 1223.⁴⁹ It became, however, an important administrative centre for the English lands of the abbey, and for a time in the late 12th and early 13th centuries a prior and probably one companion were sent out from the mother house to form a tiny cell.⁵⁰ A Prior of Ruislip is first named towards the end of Henry II's reign;⁵¹ he acted as representative of the abbot, presenting to churches in his gift,⁵² and frequently acting as attorney in legal proceedings. Between 1200 and 1230 priors of Ruislip appeared in suits concerning land and rights in Ardleigh (Essex),⁵³ Knotting (Beds.),⁵⁴ Milborne (Dors.),⁵⁵ Blakenham (Suff.),⁵⁶ Ruislip,⁵⁷ Steventon (Berks.),⁵⁸ Weedon (Northants.),⁵⁹ Atherstone (Warws.),⁶⁰ and Swyncombe (Oxon.).⁶¹ Other representatives also acted from time to time on the abbot's behalf; in the late 12th century various monks of Bec are mentioned without ascription to any particular cell, and from 1206 the Prior of Ogbourne (Wilts.) appears in the public records as a proctor of growing importance. For a time the priors of Ogbourne and Ruislip acted together and shared the administration of all the estates of Bec directly dependent on the abbey and not assigned for the support of any one of its subject priories.⁶² When John seized the goods of the abbey after the death of Abbot William in 1211 the priors of Ogbourne and Ruislip jointly offered a fine of 700 marks to have custody of the lands and churches belonging to their priories.⁶³ Royal protection was issued to the two priors jointly in 1234,⁶⁴ and when the Prelates' Aid of 1235-6 was collected the Prior of Ogbourne paid 50 marks for himself and the Prior of Ruislip.⁶⁵

The English property of the Abbey of Bec included 24 manors widely scattered over southern and eastern England, and a very great number of tithes.⁶⁶ During the early part of the 13th century there seems to have been a rough grouping of manors so that dues were collected at both Ruislip and Ogbourne. According to a custumal made in the mid-13th century the Prior of Ruislip then received, amongst other dues, 20 marks for the tithes of

³² *Archaeologia*, lviii. 342-5.

³³ *Cal. Pat.* 1388-92, 374, 434.

³⁴ *Archaeologia*, lviii. 343-5.

³⁵ *Cal. Papal Regs.* 1362-1404, 441.

³⁶ *V.C.H. Mdx.* ii. 6.

³⁷ *Close R.* 1259-61, 182.

³⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1272-81, 166.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 346.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 1292-1301, 270.

⁴¹ Blomefield, *Norf.* ii. 320.

⁴² *Ibid.*; *London Reg. Gravesend* (Cant. and York Soc.), 268.

⁴³ Blomefield, *Norf.* ii. 320.

⁴⁴ *Cal. Fine R.* 1337-47, 262; 1347-56, 314; *Cal. Close*, 1343-6, 636.

⁴⁵ *Cal. Fine R.* 1347-56, 314.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 325; 1369-77, 22; 1377-83, 24; *Cal. Papal Regs.* 1342-1419, 310; *Cal. Close*, 1377-81, 212; 1385-9, 500; 1389-92, 248, 265; Winchester Coll., 11356, 11278 (Harmondsworth 16g, 23).

⁴⁷ See p. 126; H. E. Salter, 'Two deeds about the Abbey of Bec', *E.H.R.* xl. 74-75; M. Chibnall, 'Relations of St. Anselm with Eng. Dependencies of Abbey of Bec', *Spicilegium Beccense*, i. 521-30.

⁴⁸ J. Ramackers, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, neue Folge, ii (Normandie), no. 21.

⁴⁹ A. A. Porée, *Histoire de l'Abbaye du Bec*, ii. 570-1.

⁵⁰ M. Morgan, *Eng. Lands of Abbey of Bec*, 23-24; *T.L.M.A.S.* viii. 203-4.

⁵¹ *Select Documents of Eng. Lands of Abbey of Bec*, (Camd. Soc. 3rd ser. lxxiii), 8.

⁵² Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii. 230, note a.

⁵³ *Cur. Reg. R.* i. 311, 443, 477.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 313 (here, however, the representative is described as 'Adam, monk of Ruislip').

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* x. 186.

⁵⁶ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 411; ii. 43.

⁵⁷ *C.P.* 25(1)/146/70.

⁵⁸ *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 97-98: the Prior of Ruislip here acted on behalf of the Priory of Pré, a French cell of Bec.

⁵⁹ *Pat. R.* 1225-32, 288.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 167; *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 117-18.

⁶¹ *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 518.

⁶² *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 395.

⁶³ *Pipe R.* 1211 (P.R.S. n.s. xxviii), 136. The pipe roll begins 'Prior de Okeburne et de Reslepp' and then continues in the plural; the chancellor's roll more accurately states 'Prior de Okeburne et Prior de Rislep'.

⁶⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1232-47, 69.

⁶⁵ *Bk. of Fees*, 563.

⁶⁶ Morgan, *Eng. Lands of Bec*, 138-50.

Chaureth (Broxted parish, Essex), 6 marks for the manor of Broughton (Bucks.), 22s. for tithes of Westcliff-by-Dover (Kent), 44 marks from the Abbot of Cleeve (Som.) for the prebend of Cleeve, 25 marks for the tithes of Glynde (Suss.), and 14 marks from the Prior of Wilsford (Lincs.) for the farm of Hykeham (Lincs.).⁶⁷ The same custumal shows that carrying services from manors as far away as Swyncombe (Oxon.) and East Wretham (Norf.) might be to Ruislip.⁶⁸ But already by this date the abbots of Bec were reducing the number of their monks charged with administrative duties in England. Their motives seem to have included concern for discipline in the cells; in 1210 Abbot William sought and obtained from Innocent III permission to recall the two or three monks settled in any cell where the Rule was not properly observed and to unite its lands with those of another cell.⁶⁹ He does not seem to have availed himself of this permission immediately in England, but there is no evidence that a separate Prior of Ruislip was ever appointed after 1236. Temporal considerations also prompted the centralizing of administration in the hands of a single man; increased litigation made the appointment of separate attorneys in every suit inconvenient, and in 1225 a proctor-general of the Abbot of Bec is mentioned for the first time.⁷⁰ In February 1242 brother William de Guineville, proctor-general of the abbot, was admitted as general attorney in all suits concerning the abbey's lands and rights in England;⁷¹ he was plainly a man of energy and organizing ability, and there is no doubt that during his term of office the amalgamation of the 'priors' of Ogbourne and Ruislip became complete. His normal title was 'Prior' or 'Proctor' of Ogbourne,⁷² but he was called 'Proctor of Ruislip' in one charter concerning land in Swyncombe;⁷³ and this ambiguity of title persisted into the time of a later Proctor of Ogbourne, Richard de Flammaville, who was described in one judgement of 1259 as 'Prior of Ruislip'.⁷⁴ Thereafter the English proctor of the Abbot of Bec was normally known as Prior of Ogbourne.

Ruislip manor, however, remained an important administrative centre, and the Prior of Ogbourne frequently resided there. Its size, wealth, and proximity to London no doubt helped to account for its importance. Of the 907 acres in demesne in 1294, 675 acres, comprising nearly three-quarters of the total, were under cultivation.⁷⁵ The land appears to have been fertile and was exploited for market production as well as the support of a large household. London provided an additional and attractive market, where both corn⁷⁶ and timber⁷⁷ might be sold. During the 13th century cultivation increased:

⁶⁷ *Docs. of Eng. Lands of Bec*, 81–82.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 89, 115.

⁶⁹ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. A. Potthast, i. 358; *Patrologia latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, ccxvii. 275 (no. 236).

⁷⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 67.

⁷¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1232–47, 272, 291.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ King's Coll. Camb., MS. Q. 7.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Q. 4.

⁷⁵ Morgan, *Eng. Lands of Bec*, 47. A very high proportion of leguminous crops was grown: *ibid.* 52; *Docs. of Eng. Lands of Bec*, 140.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 74.

⁷⁷ King's Coll. Camb., C. 7.

⁷⁸ Morgan, *Eng. Lands of Bec*, 86, 93.

⁷⁹ *Docs. of Eng. Lands of Bec*, 82–83. Labour dues were potentially heavy, but comparison of rents owed by work-

the demesne was enlarged, and peasant assarting took place in the wooded region round the park.⁷⁸ Active exploitation of the demesne with a large paid labour force⁷⁹ continued well into the 14th century,⁸⁰ and after it ceased to be a monastic cell Ruislip retained many of the features of a prosperous home farm in a good marketing region. At no time had it any conventual buildings. An inventory made in 1294 mentions a chapel in the manor-house;⁸¹ another inventory of 1435 shows that the house was a spacious one, containing a hall, chamber, counting-house, prior's chamber, lord's chamber, forester's chamber, and chapel, as well as bakehouse and scullery.⁸² The site of this building was possibly on the lawn of the present Manor Farm at Ruislip, where early masonry has been dug up.⁸³ Other evidence from an earlier period suggests that it supported a sizable household. The food supplies sent to the larder in 1289–90 included 20 cattle, 22 sheep, 36 roebuck, and 418 quarters of wheat for bread;⁸⁴ among the servants named in 1294 were a mace-bearer, a door-keeper, a cook, a baker, a gardener, and a carpenter.⁸⁵ Table silver to the value of £17 9s. and two beds worth £2 were mentioned in an inventory of 1324, and at the same date the account of the guardians of alien property in Middlesex for the nine weeks they had held the manor shows that the Prior of Ogbourne and his companion monk, with their horses and grooms, had resided at Ruislip throughout that period.⁸⁶ Towards the end of the 14th century the audit of manorial accounts from the Abbot of Bec's property seems to have been held at Ruislip.⁸⁷ Up to that date the economic evidence suggests that it remained a centre of administrative importance, and may well have been the normal residence of the Proctor of Ogbourne when he was not travelling about the country attending to his numerous duties. When in the early 15th century the demesne began to pass into the hands of the peasantry⁸⁸ this is a sign that the function of the manor had changed, and it was ceasing to be an important centre even as an estate office.

After the death of the last Prior of Ogbourne in 1404 the dispersal of the manors of Bec in England began, and Ruislip was one of the group that ultimately made up the endowment of St. Nicolas (later King's) College, Cambridge.⁸⁹ John, Duke of Bedford, enjoyed the custody of all the manors until his death in 1435; in 1437 Ruislip, then worth £60 yearly, was assigned to John Somerset for life.⁹⁰ A year later, however, the king granted the reversion of the manor to the chancellor, masters, and scholars of the University of Cambridge;⁹¹ and finally on 12 ing tenements c. 1248 with rents collected in 1289–90 indicates that at that date most works were sold: *ibid.* 75 81, 130.

⁸⁰ Morgan, *Eng. Lands of Bec*, 113–15. The subsidiary manor of Northwood in Ruislip was farmed out before 1384.

⁸¹ E 106/2/1.

⁸² S.C. 6/917/26.

⁸³ *T.L.M.A.S.* viii. 205; *V.C.H. Mdx.* ii. 9.

⁸⁴ *Docs. of Eng. Lands of Bec*, 130, 140.

⁸⁵ E 106/2/1.

⁸⁶ S.C. 6/1126/5.

⁸⁷ Morgan, *Eng. Lands of Bec*, 59.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 118.

⁸⁹ *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 396.

⁹⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1436–41, 46.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 187.

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February 1441, with their consent, it was regranted to the rector and scholars of the king's new foundation, St. Nicolas College.⁹² In spite of disturbances to the endowment after the deposition of Henry VI, Ruislip was regranted to the provost and scholars of the College by Edward IV, and remained thereafter in their possession.⁹³ It is noteworthy that although the royal letters patent granting the properties sometimes refer to the 'manor or priory of Ogbourne'

Ruislip is never, at this date, called anything except a manor.

PRIORS OF RUISLIP

Richard, occurs between 1176 and 1182⁹⁴
 Richard, occurs between 1195 and 1198⁹⁵
 William, occurs 1224⁹⁶
 Ralph, occurs 1226-8⁹⁷
 Michael, occurs 1229, 1230⁹⁸

HOSPITALS⁹⁹

12. ALDERSGATE HOSPITAL

TWO 16th-century authorities¹ refer to a medieval hospital for the poor outside Aldersgate. This Cluniac foundation was suppressed by Henry V as an alien house, and its lands and goods granted to the parish of St. Botolph, Aldersgate. In place of the hospital William Bever founded a brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, which was in turn suppressed by Edward VI. The endowments, consisting of property worth £18 16s. a year in the parish of St. Botolph Aldersgate, were granted at an annual rent of 13s. 4d. in 1548 to William Harvyne or Somerset, one of the king's heralds-at-arms.²

MASTER

Alexander Chapman, master of the guild, occurs 1547³

13. THE HOSPITAL OF THE VIRGIN MARY AND THE NINE ORDERS OF HOLY ANGELS, BRENTFORD

BEFORE 1446 the main Bath road at Brentford End had been diverted to the north when a stone bridge over the Brent was built here. Between the old and new roads stood this hospital, just inside the parish of Isleworth and not far east of Syon Abbey. The hospital, founded in 1446 by John Somerset, the royal physician and chaplain, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, incorporated a wayside chapel already built by Somerset. The hospital community consisted of a chaplain and his clerk, nine poor afflicted men, and two servants. A guild, called the Guild of the Nine Orders of Holy Angels by Syon, and consisting of a master, brethren, and sisters, was set up to administer the hospital and chapel, and this corporate body was empowered to hold land in

mortmain to the value of £40 a year and to have a common seal. Each year a guildsman was to be elected master of the guild, chapel, and hospital.⁴

The original endowment consisted of 260 acres at Northwood in Ruislip parish and nearly 500 acres in the parishes of Isleworth, Brentford, and Heston.⁵ By a curious arrangement made in 1463 most of this property was transferred to new feoffees under a twelve-year agreement to pay ten marks a year to the chaplain celebrating divine service in the chapel at Brentford Bridge, four marks a year to the chapel clerk, and 7½d. a week to the five poor persons in the almshouses. In addition, every second year, at Christmas, each resident was to receive two cart-loads of fuel, and the five poor persons were each given a robe. The new owners were to keep the chapel and houses in repair, and fill any vacancies among the fraternity.⁶ Arrangements after the expiration of the twelve-year term are not recorded, but in 1479 John Saverrey, the master, obtained an exemplification of the letters patent setting up the hospital in 1446.⁷

By 1498 much of the endowment had been alienated.⁸ Early in the 16th century, however, the manors of Osterley and Wyke were returned to the hospital.⁹ They had been purchased by Hugh Denys, a London citizen,¹⁰ who bequeathed them in 1511 to Sheen Priory (Surr.) in trust to enlarge, or perhaps refound, the Hospital of All Angels beside Brentford Bridge for seven poor men, and to found a chantry for two secular priests. The foundation was to be called 'the chapel and almshouses of Hugh Denys'. The priests were to be resident and hold no other benefices, and they were to receive nine marks a year and free fuel. The poor men, all resident, were each to have 7½d. a week, free fuel, and a gown worth 4s.¹¹ In 1530 the Prior and Convent of Sheen transferred the manors of Osterley and Wyke to the Abbess and Convent of Syon under

¹ J. Leland, *Collectanea* (1770 edn.), i. 113-14; Stow, *Survey*, ii. 80, 144, 395.

² *Cal. Pat.* 1547-8, 271; 1548-9, 99.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.* 1446-52, 29; 1476-85, 138. The foundation charter is printed in Aungier, *Syon*, 215, 459-65.

⁵ *Cat. Anc. D. v. A* 13445; *Cal. Close*, 1441-7, 147-8.

⁶ *Cat. Anc. D. v. A* 13416.

⁷ *Cal. Pat.* 1476-85, 138.

⁸ *Cal. Close*, 1485-1500, 334.

⁹ For details of the descent of these manors see *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 109, 110.

¹⁰ He is sometimes identified with Hugh Denys, verger of Windsor Castle (d. 1511): *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i. p. 483.

¹¹ *Syon Ho.*, MS. A. xv. 5. a (the 1608 survey of Syon); Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 91-92, 96; Aungier, *Syon*, 221-2, 465-78.

⁹² *Cal. Pat.* 1436-41, 521-2.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 1461-7, 74; *V.C.H. Cambs.* iii. 379-80.

⁹⁴ *Docs. of Eng. Lands of Bec*, 8.

⁹⁵ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii. 230, note a. He is here described as 'monk of Ruislip, administrator of the property of Bec in the diocese of London'. For the date of this deed see H. G. Richardson, 'William of Ely, the King's Treasurer', *Trans. R.H.S.* 4th ser. xv. 47. Adam, monk of Ruislip, who occurs in 1203 (see p. 202, n. 54, above) may have had the status of Prior. ⁹⁶ *Feet of F. Oxon.* 72.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 76; *Pat. R.* 1225-32, 167; *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 97-98, 117.

⁹⁸ *Cur. Reg. R.* xiii. 518; C.P. 25(1)/146/7/70. This may possibly be Michael de Turnebu, who was Proctor of Bec in 1232 (Morgan, *Eng. Lands of Bec*, 43).

⁹⁹ For more detailed accounts of the hospitals in this section see Marjorie B. Honeybourne, 'The Leper Hospitals of the London Area', *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 3-61.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

a covenant to administer these estates for the hospital's benefit.¹²

The hospital was suppressed in 1547, and the site and its other lands were granted to the Duke of Somerset,¹³ who also received Syon Abbey. On Somerset's fall in 1552 the property reverted to the Crown, and in 1557–8 the hospital precinct, including the chapel and eight almshouses, was granted to the newly-restored convent of Syon.¹⁴ The bulk of the original endowment, including the manors of Osterley and Wyke, had already been alienated.¹⁵

After the second dissolution of Syon Abbey Elizabeth I leased the chapel and the hospital with its appurtenances to Richard Burton, and he or his successors demolished the chapel and two of the almshouses and converted the site into a garden.¹⁶ In 1608 five almshouses were being used for the poor of Isleworth. Some of these were still there in 1649 but are said to have been rebuilt about four years later.¹⁷ In 1729 they were again rebuilt as the parish workhouse.¹⁸

No detailed description of the hospital has survived. The premises were of brick¹⁹ and in the 16th century comprised two priest's houses, with small gardens, and seven 'bedehouses' or almshouses with similar gardens. The almshouses adjoined the south aisle of the chapel,²⁰ which had a 'steeple'.²¹ Within the precinct was a small pond called the Chapel Pool, and, adjoining the almshouses to the west, were two messuages called 'the Sprottes' and the Rose Inn.²²

MASTER

John Saverey, occurs 1479²³

14. HAMMERSMITH HOSPITAL

THE only medieval mention of this leper hospital occurs in the will, dated 1500,²⁴ of Joan, wife of Sir Thomas Frowyk of Ealing. Lady Frowyk left 4d. each to every leper in Hammersmith and in four other lazar houses so that prayers might be said for her soul.

In 1549 Hammersmith Hospital came under the care of St. Bartholomew's Hospital,²⁵ and in 1555–6 the inmates shared in the 26s. 8d. paid by St. Bartholomew's to the poor of the lazar houses under their control.²⁶ In 1558–9²⁷ and again in 1560²⁸ patients were transferred from St. Bartholomew's to Hammersmith.

¹² *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (3), p. 2818.

¹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1547–8, 172; 1549–51, 431.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 1555–7, 290–2, 444; 1557–8, 295, 450. The number eight may imply an extra bedesman, or be an error for seven.

¹⁵ For details see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 57.

¹⁶ Syon Ho., MS. A. xv. 5. a. For the subsequent history of the chapel site see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 57–58.

¹⁷ Seven almshouses were apparently still standing and in use in 1576: *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 120.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ J. Leland, *Itinerary*, ii, f. 1, s.a. 1542.

²⁰ Syon Ho., MS. A. xv. 5. a.

²¹ Aungier, *Syon*, 470.

²² Syon Ho., MS. A. xv. 5. a. For 17th-cent. plans and descriptions of the site see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 58.

²³ *Cal. Pat.* 1476–85, 138.

²⁴ P.C.C. 2 Moore.

²⁵ See p. 154. St. Bart's. never owned Hammersmith Hosp., which was on copyhold land of Fulham manor: *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 15.

A proctor of 'the poor house or hospital of Hammersmith' is recorded in 1578 and 1581. This proctor was John Payne of Hammersmith, who was licensed to collect alms in Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire. He promised to hand over the sums collected to the 'guider' of the hospital.²⁹

The hospital received a few private contributions for patients between 1590 and 1608,³⁰ and each year from 1602 to 1620 the 'guider' of Hammersmith received at irregular intervals from the governors of St. Bartholomew's sums, varying between £5 13s. 4d. and £13 10s., towards the cost of the patients and his own expenses. These varying amounts were replaced in 1621 by a yearly allowance of about £9 10s., which was continued until 1623. Payments to the hospital then ceased.³¹ The last known reference to Hammersmith Hospital occurs in 1677,³² and thereafter the house seems to have fallen into gradual decay.³³ By 1705 no trace of the building remained.³⁴

Norden's map of 1593 shows the hospital south of Palingswick (now Ravenscourt Park), on the north side of the western road (King Street), and just west of the Creek.³⁵ The irregular south-eastern boundary of Palingswick suggests that the hospital stood near the highway opposite the northern end of Rivercourt Road.

KEEPERS OR PROCTORS

John Golsyngper, occurs 1560³⁶

John Payne, occurs 1578, 1581³⁷

15. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. ANTHONY, HIGHGATE (OR HOLLOWAY)

HIGHGATE leper hospital stood facing Whittington Stone (once a wayside cross) on the west side of Highgate Hill, the highway between Highgate and Holloway.³⁸ The hospital was founded in 1473 by William Pole, sometime yeoman of the Crown and himself a leper.³⁹ As the hospital site was given to Pole by Edward IV, the Crown always appointed the master, and on Pole's death in 1477 the appointment went to another leper, Robert Wylson, a London saddler, in return for war service.⁴⁰

The administration of the London lazar houses was taken over by St. Bartholomew's Hospital in

²⁶ N. Moore, *Hist. of St. Bart's. Hosp.* ii. 219; St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, f. 277v.

²⁷ *Ibid.* f. 370v.

²⁸ *Ibid.* Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 221v.

²⁹ B.M. Harl. Ch. 86, B. 11, B. 25. A transcript of the 1578 bond is printed in T. Faulkner, *Hammersmith* (1839), 264.

³⁰ For details see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 14.

³¹ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledgers, Hb 1/3, ff. 279v, 572; Hb 1/4.

³² Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 421; T. Faulkner, *Fulham*, 342.

³³ Faulkner, *Hammersmith*, 264.

³⁴ W. Bowack, *Antiquities of Mdx.* (1705), 43.

³⁵ A Fulham court roll of 1616 confirms this location: L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* iv. p. xvi.

³⁶ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 221v.

³⁷ B.M. Harl. Ch. 86, B. 11, B. 25.

³⁸ For details of the site see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 16–18.

³⁹ *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 373.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 1476–85, 48.

1549,⁴¹ but four patients had been sent from St. Bartholomew's to Highgate in 1548.⁴² In 1550 two governors of St. Bartholomew's were sent to view Highgate spital and next year submitted a report and inventory.⁴³ The revenues were small and, apart from occasional sums paid for the upkeep of patients,⁴⁴ the only substantial donation recorded was the 40s. bequeathed in 1565 by Sir Roger Cholmeley, founder of Highgate School.⁴⁵

From about 1550 patients other than lepers were being sent to the hospital,⁴⁶ which henceforth until its closure in 1650 seems to have resembled a poor house rather than a hospital.⁴⁷ In 1650 the premises, covering two roods and worth £9 a year, consisted of a timber building with a tiled roof, containing a hall, a kitchen, three small rooms on the ground floor, and five small rooms above, and an orchard and garden.⁴⁸ The government sold the property in 1653 to Ralph Harrison of London.⁴⁹ The site was built over in 1852.⁵⁰

GOVERNORS, KEEPERS, PROCTORS, OR GUIDES

William Pole, founder, occurs 1473–7⁵¹

Robert Wylson, appointed 1477⁵²

John Gymnar and Katherine his wife, appointed 1498⁵³

Simon Guyn, appointed 1533⁵⁴

John Stafforde, occurs 1551–2, 1555–6, 1557⁵⁵

William Parker, occurs 1560, 1561⁵⁶

William Storye, appointed 1563; occurs 1577; died 1584⁵⁷

John Randall, appointed 1584; occurs 1586–7, 1589; died 1590⁵⁸

Thomas Watson, appointed 1590; occurs 1593⁵⁹

William Stockwell, appointed 1605⁶⁰

John Harbert, dead by Sept. 1650⁶¹

The pointed oval seal of the hospital, $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $2\frac{1}{8}$ in., of which the bronze matrix survives, shows two figures standing under canopies.⁶² The younger, on the left, holds in his left hand a sphere with cross, while two fingers of his right hand are raised in blessing. The right-hand figure represents St. Anthony with his hands together in prayer. By his right side is a T-shaped staff, from his girdle hangs a bell, and at his left foot is a pig. Legend, roman:

SIGILLUM HOSPITALIS SANCTI IHESU SANCTI ANTONI
DE HOLWEI

⁴¹ See *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 9.

⁴² St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, ff. 55, 110.

⁴³ Ibid. Journal, Ha 1/1, ff. 4, 15.

⁴⁴ Ibid. ff. 122, 277.

⁴⁵ P.C.C. 24 Morrison.

⁴⁶ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, ff. 122, 196, 196v, 205 (bis), 277, 330v.

⁴⁷ T. E. Tomlins, *Perambulation of Islington* (1858), 137, 212 n; *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 17.

⁴⁸ Survey printed in Tomlins, *Islington*, 139.

⁴⁹ Ibid., from Close R.

⁵⁰ See *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 18.

⁵¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1467–77, 373; 1476–85, 48.

⁵² Ibid. 1476–85, 48.

⁵³ Tomlins, *Islington*, 135.

⁵⁴ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, vi, p. 87.

⁵⁵ *Cat. Anc. D.* vi. C 6891; St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, f. 277; Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 224.

⁵⁶ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal Ha 1/1, f. 221 v.

⁵⁷ Tomlins, *Islington*, 139.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 138–9.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 137–8.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 138.

16. THE HOSPITAL OF ST. GILES- IN-THE-FIELDS, HOLBORN⁶³

THIS leper hospital, dedicated to St. Giles, the patron saint of cripples, was founded in the fields of Holborn in the early 12th century⁶⁴ by Maud (Matilda, d. 1118), wife of Henry I. The hospital, with an oratory, was on the south side of the old Roman road from London to the west, on the curve of St. Giles's High Street near the present Charing Cross Road (formerly Hog Lane). The parish church of St. Giles probably occupies the site of the hospital chapel.

Queen Maud endowed her foundation with 60s. yearly rent from her perquisite of Queenhythe,⁶⁵ and this rent-charge was specially noted when in 1246 the customs on this public landing-stage passed to the City.⁶⁶ Further gifts from London citizens raised the annual endowment to over £100, and it seems that one citizen, a leper, gave so much that in c. 1354 the citizens claimed that he had founded the hospital.⁶⁷ The queen had granted the supervision of the hospital to the City,⁶⁸ and for most of the Middle Ages the mayor and commonalty regularly appointed two wardens or overseers for this and the other London leper houses.

Henry II confirmed Maud's endowment⁶⁹ and added a further 60s. a year to buy habits for the lepers and 30s. 5d. to provide lighting. A second charter of Henry II indicates that St. Giles's was a royal free chapel exempt from the bishop's jurisdiction. During the Interdict (1208–14) Pope Alexander IV granted the hospital his special protection.⁷⁰ His bull reveals that the lepers were trying to live as a religious community and that the hospital precinct included gardens and 8 acres of land adjoining the hospital to the north and south. This and other land near the hospital formed the home farm, worked by the hospital itself. In 1321 there were at the hospital farm horses, carts, and two ploughs; and in 1391 at least 8 horses, 12 oxen, 2 cows, 156 pigs, 60 geese, and 186 domestic fowl. Two years later brushwood, hay, and straw are mentioned. White and brown loaves, peas, and porridge formed part of the diet.⁷¹

During the 13th century disputes arose over the administration of the hospital. The Crown had appointed the two wardens or overseers in 1246;⁷² but in 1261–2 the citizens of London secured a patent⁷³ stating that they had always been accus-

⁶¹ Ibid. 139.

⁶² Soc. of Antiquaries, Seals, B. 8. 4. Illustrated in *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), pl. 1 (a), facing p. 32.

⁶³ The chief sources for the hospital's history are given in *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 20, n. 1.

⁶⁴ The foundation date is discussed in L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* v. 117.

⁶⁵ H. A. Harben, *Dictionary of Lond.* 492–3.

⁶⁶ *Cat. Anc. D.* iv. A 6684; *Cal. Letter Bk. C*, 15; *Chronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniorum*, ed. H. T. Riley (Camd. Soc. xxxiv), 12, 20.

⁶⁷ *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 27.

⁶⁸ L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* v. 117; Moore, *Hist. of St. Bart's. Hosp.* ii. 146.

⁶⁹ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015 (St. Giles's Hosp. Cart.), cited by Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 635–6, and translated in J. Parton, *Hist. of Hosp. and Par. of St. Giles* (1822), 6–7. Other property confirmed to the hospital is listed in *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 20.

⁷⁰ *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 29; Parton, *St. Giles*, 8–11.

⁷¹ *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 21, 23–24.

⁷² Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1033.

⁷³ *Cal. Pat.* 1258–66, 201.

tomed to appoint, by consent of the hospital brethren and by royal mandate. The citizens, having made their point, then selected the royal nominees, two Londoners. The citizens next attempted to secure the right to appoint the master, but the Crown's claim was confirmed in 1287 on the ground that the hospital had been founded by the king's ancestors.⁷⁴ The king then had to defend his position against the Bishop of London, who claimed the right of visitation. At an inquisition held in 1293⁷⁵ it was asserted that the hospital was a royal free chapel, that the hospital advowson had always belonged to the Crown, and that upon appointment the master had at once exercised spiritual jurisdiction both in the parish and precinct of St. Giles's 'without any intermeddling' by the bishop. Of all the hospital's property only the church of Feltham was subject to the bishop; and the king alone had the right to visit St. Giles's.

The hospital soon felt the weight of the king's power, for in 1299 Edward I suddenly granted the revenues and administration of St. Giles's to the Master and Brethren of the Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem,⁷⁶ who had their English headquarters at Burton Lazars (Leics.).⁷⁷ St. Giles's thus became a cell to this house (which by 1299 provided not for lepers but for the poor, aged, and sick) and the head of Burton Lazars became *ex officio* Master of St. Giles's.⁷⁸

The hospital's affairs did not improve, partly owing to internal quarrels and waste, and in 1303 some of the inmates broke the locks off the gates and allowed Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury,⁷⁹ to enter and usurp the office of visitor. Some muniments were carried off, and the master complained to the king.⁸⁰

Further trouble was caused by the practice, commonly employed by officers of the royal household, of sending to the hospital non-leprous decayed domestics and others. In 1315 the master, brethren, and sisters petitioned in Parliament against this usage, contending that the hospital had been founded for lepers only.⁸¹ Edward II's ruling in their favour was incorporated in a new charter.⁸²

In 1347 Edward III ordered the mayor and sheriffs to see that all lepers left the City within fifteen days.⁸³ The City authorities had by this time set up their own leper hospitals, but they naturally wished also to utilize St. Giles's Hospital, to which they had always laid claim. The citizens therefore in 1348 complained to the king that since the Master and brothers of Burton Lazars had taken over St. Giles's the friars had ousted the lepers and replaced them by brothers and sisters of the Order of St. Lazarus, who were not diseased and ought not to associate with those who were. After an inquiry it was agreed in 1354 that henceforth the mayor and

commonalty should for ever present to the warden of the hospital fourteen lepers from the City and suburbs, or, if there were not enough there, from the county of Middlesex. If the citizens made further gifts, the number of lepers was to be increased in proportion.⁸⁴ Shortly before this settlement, in 1349, the Chancellor, John Offord, who was *ex officio* royal visitor to St. Giles's, had drawn up new rules for the management of the hospital.⁸⁵

The affairs of the hospital still did not prosper, and in 1367 Edward III took the hospital under his protection, appointing as master Geoffrey de Birston, one of the brothers of the house, with instructions to straighten matters out and put the care of the lepers first.⁸⁶ In 1384 Richard II required the aldermen of London to make returns of the yearly value of all the hospital's tenements and rents in the City.⁸⁷ Next year the king appointed some of his clerks as visitors to inquire into defaults in the books, vestments, ornaments, and buildings and into the dissipation and alienation of the hospital estates.⁸⁸ Four years later the king appointed another commission⁸⁹ to visit the hospital, with instructions to reform abuses and remove incompetent officials. Despite the efforts of the Master of Burton Lazars,⁹⁰ the king took the hospital under his special protection and in 1389 appointed as warden or master for life John Macclesfield, one of the royal clerks,⁹¹ who removed his predecessor, Nicholas of Dover, Master of Burton Lazars.⁹² In 1391 Robert Braybroke, Bishop of London, usurped the right of visitation and jurisdiction by collusion with Richard de Kynble, a 'brother' of the hospital, and his brother Hugh. Macclesfield reported the intrusion, which was recorded on the Patent Rolls.⁹³ In the same year, for a large financial consideration, Richard II ignored the rights of Burton Lazars and granted St. Giles's Hospital, advowson, and lands in frankalmoin to his grandfather's Cistercian foundation, the abbey of St. Mary Graces on Tower Hill.⁹⁴ Legal proceedings⁹⁵ were soon instituted by the Master of Burton Lazars, who complained that the Abbot of St. Mary Graces had dispossessed St. Giles's of live stock, grain, carts, furniture, books, vestments, and ecclesiastical ornaments worth more than £1,000.

The City authorities doubted the legality of the grant to the Abbot of St. Mary Graces and held back various rents in the City until commanded by the king in 1393 to hand over money.⁹⁶ Further action was taken by Walter Lynton, the dispossessed Master of Burton Lazars, who in 1399 entered St. Giles's with an armed band, turned out the abbot's representatives, and occupied the premises.⁹⁷

During these disturbances the lepers were 'in want of maintenance' so in 1401 Henry IV ordered⁹⁸ the mayor to collect 100s. from the hospital's city tenants. This sum was duly handed over to five

⁷⁴ Ibid. 1281-92, 271.

⁷⁵ Not enrolled until 1391: *Cal. Pat.* 1388-92, 458.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 1292-1301, 404.

⁷⁷ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 632-4.

⁷⁸ He sometimes appointed a deputy; e.g. *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, 463.

⁷⁹ In place of the Bp. of London, that see being vacant.

⁸⁰ *Cal. Pat.* 1301-7, 189.

⁸¹ *Rot. Parl.* (Rec. Com.), i. 310.

⁸² *Cal. Pat.* 1313-17, 300; see also *ibid.* 1334-8, 231; 1377-81, 117; Parton, *St. Giles*, 16.

⁸³ Deed printed in *ibid.* 17-18.

⁸⁴ *Cal. Letter Bk. G*, 28-29.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 30-31. These rules have not survived.

⁸⁶ *Cal. Pat.* 1364-7, 388. Parton, *St. Giles*, 13-14, prints the full text of the patent but misdates it.

⁸⁷ *Cal. Letter Bk. H*, 155.

⁸⁸ *Cal. Pat.* 1381-5, 596.

⁸⁹ Ibid. 1388-92, 143.

⁹⁰ Ibid. 1385-9, 309.

⁹¹ Ibid. 1388-92, 115.

⁹² Deed printed in Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1637-8.

⁹³ *Cal. Pat.* 1388-92, 458.

⁹⁴ Ibid. 1396-9, 47-48; see also Parton, *St. Giles*, 22.

⁹⁵ Deed printed in Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1638-9.

⁹⁶ Ibid. 1632.

⁹⁷ Ibid. 1635 (deed).

⁹⁸ *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 13-14

lepers, and a few months later a similar collection and distribution took place.⁹⁹ In the same year Walter Lynton instituted proceedings against the Abbot of St. Mary Graces,¹ and in 1402 the abbot's grant of St. Giles's Hospital was revoked and Lynton was restored to legal possession.² It was probably at this time that Lynton compiled the hospital cartulary.³ In 1414 he had the chief royal grants of St. Giles's Hospital to Burton Lazars inspected, confirmed, and enrolled.⁴

During the legal proceedings the Abbot of St. Mary Graces had accused Walter Lynton of reducing the number of lepers, dismissing the chaplain, clerk, and servants, and replacing them by sisters, contrary to the foundation statutes. At an inquiry in 1402 it was found that in case of necessity the number of lepers was often reduced from fourteen to nine or fewer.⁵ About this date the city gallows were moved from West Smithfield to a site just north-west of the hospital precinct, at the gate of which condemned prisoners were given a large bowl of ale, called 'St. Giles's Bowl'. There were also gallows at Tyburn.⁶

During the 15th century leprosy, although dying out elsewhere, was still rife in the London area, and St. Giles's continued as a leper hospital until at least 1500.⁷ By 1535-6, however, the fourteen inmates were described simply as 'paupers'.⁸

In 1539 the priory of Burton Lazars, with its dependent house of St. Giles's, was dissolved.⁹ Three years earlier Henry VIII and the Master of Burton Lazars had agreed upon an exchange of land under which St. Giles's lost much without compensation.¹⁰ The remaining possessions, excluding St. Giles's church, were granted by the king in 1545 to John Dudley, Lord Lisle.¹¹

⁹⁹ *Cal. Letter Bk. I*, 14.

¹ Deeds in Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1637-9; *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, 120.

² Procs. printed in Parton, *St. Giles*, 26.

³ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015.

⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1413-16, 248.

⁵ Procs. printed in Parton, *St. Giles*, 22-26. There were never, as is often asserted, 40 lepers.

⁶ Stow, *Survey*, ii. 91; Parton, *St. Giles*, 38; R. Dobie, *Hist. of . . . St. Giles*, 10.

⁷ P.C.C. 2 Moore.

⁸ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 635.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Statute printed in Parton, *St. Giles*, 29-32.

¹¹ *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, xix (1), p. 371.

¹² Parton, *St. Giles*, 55-57.

¹³ Ibid. 5, 55-57.

¹⁴ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 125.

¹⁵ *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 20-21. For illustrations of the buildings within the precinct and the land surrounding it see Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, 71; *Lond. Topog. Soc.* pubn. 17 (plan of c. 1560); *ibid.* pubn. 54 (plan of 1585).

¹⁶ Until 1299 the heads of the house were normally called 'master', although 'proctor', 'warden', and 'keeper', terms so far as can be judged of equivalent meaning, are also used. After the hospital was granted to Burton Lazars, 'warden' was the commoner title, whether for the Master of Burton Lazars, his Deputy, or the king's nominee. Any term other than 'master' is given in the footnotes to the list. For the City's 'wardens' or overseers of the hospital see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 10-11.

The lists in Parton, *St. Giles*, 42-49, 55, Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1622, and *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 26 have been augmented and modified from original sources by Mr. R. B. Pugh.

Since the Master of Burton Lazars was from 1299 *ex officio* Master of St. Giles's, all the known masters of that hospital are entered in the list below with (B) behind their names. The list of Masters of Burton Lazars is taken from *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38, but with a few amendments. Where a Master of St. Giles's occurs some time before he is known

The hospital premises originally comprised the oratory or church, very soon partly parochial, wherein burned 'St. Giles's light',¹² the houses of the lepers, the master's house, and rooms for the chaplain, a clerk, and a messenger or servant. By 1224 other brothers and sisters had been introduced to carry on the administration and to help the sick; and between 1224 and 1292 the master and three other chaplains and clerks are mentioned, as well as a sub-deacon and proctor.¹³ A chapter-house had been built by 1321.¹⁴

Much of the hospital's landed property lay around the precinct and constituted the home farm. This land extended eastward almost to Holborn Bar. Within the City there were houses and rents in many parishes, as well as the 60s. due annually from the customs of Queenhithe. Other hospital property was concentrated in the west of Middlesex at Feltham, Heston, and Isleworth.¹⁵

MASTERS, ETC.¹⁶

John the chaplain, occurs 1118 or earlier¹⁷

[Osbert FitzGodwy, ?occurs *ante* 1186]¹⁸

[Ralph son of Adam, ?occurs 1186]¹⁹

[Robert, ?occurs 1186]²⁰

Walter of Oxford, occurs 1200²¹

Roger of St. Anthony, occurs 1201-2²²

William de Cokefeld or the chaplain, occurs ?1206-7,²³ 1211-12²⁴

[Edward, ?occurs 1218]²⁵

Gerard, occurs from 1217-18²⁶ to 1223²⁷

Walter the chaplain [?or of Thame], occurs from 1226-7²⁸ to 1260-1²⁹

William the chaplain, occurs ?1260-1³⁰ to 1272³¹

to have been Master of Burton Lazars the fact has been noted in case he should have been deputy-master of St. Giles's at the time. Royal nominees are distinguished by (C).

¹⁷ Hen. II's confirmation charter has 'ubi Johannes bone memoria fuit capellanus': *Cal. Chart. R.* 1327-41, 192.

¹⁸ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1622.

¹⁹ 'Warden': Parton, *St. Giles*, 42 (deed).

²⁰ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1622.

²¹ *Cur. Reg. R.* i. 372.

²² 'Proctor': B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 35v; 'master and custos': *ibid.* f. 166v; Rector of St. Antholin's: *ibid.* f. 55v. Richard of St. Anthony, 'proctor', is perhaps the same man: *ibid.* f. 44v.

²³ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 156. This deed was witnessed by Roger FitzAlan and Serlo the mercer, both described as sheriffs. They were not, however, sheriffs together, for the former was in office in 1192-3 and the latter in 1206-7.

²⁴ Parton, *St. Giles*, 42.

²⁵ 'Proctor': *ibid.* 46.

²⁶ 'Proctor': B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 12v.

²⁷ 'Proctor': *ibid.* f. 41v.

²⁸ *Cat. Anc. D.* ii. B 2355. This is a conjectural date, but he was certainly master by 1229: *Cur. Reg. R.* i. 372.

²⁹ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, ff. 27v-28. For the suffix 'of Thame' see Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1571, 1643. Called 'proctor' in B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 10, 'rector' *ibid.* ff. 172, 172v, and *commagister*, *ibid.* f. 167v.

³⁰ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 50v. The deed is headed 45 Hen. III (1260-1), but is witnessed by William FitzRichard, 'warden' of London. The description given to FitzRichard seems to relate to his being from 1246 onwards the City's 'warden' or overseer of the leper hospitals rather than to his later (1265-6) post as 'warden of the City', a new post created by the king in a time of stress to supersede that of mayor: *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 10; *Chronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Lond.*, ed. Riley, 90-93.

³¹ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015v, f. 102v. William de Kirkes (Parton, *St. Giles*, 43) is possibly Wm. the chaplain.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

Roger de Clare, occurs from 1275–6³² to 1278–9³³
 Ralph de Seinfontains (*Septem Fontibus*), occurs 1281;³⁴ resigned by 1286³⁵
 Henry of Durham (C), appointed 1286;³⁶ confirmed 1287³⁷
 [Robert de Stapul, ?occurs 1287]³⁸
 William de Wytheresfeld (C), appointed 1291³⁹
 Walter de Clerkenwell (C), appointed 1293⁴⁰
 [Henry de Cateby, ?occurs 1297]⁴¹
 [], Master of Burton Lazars, grantee 1299⁴²
 [Walter Christmas, ?occurs 1302]⁴³
 John Crispin (B), occurs as 'keeper' of St. Giles's 1303,⁴⁴ 1305;⁴⁵ as Master of Burton Lazars, 1316⁴⁶
 William de Werefeld, ?deputy, occurs *ante* 15 Feb. 1316⁴⁷
 Richard de Leighton (B), occurs ?;⁴⁸ occurs as Master of Burton Lazars, 1319⁴⁹
 William de Aumenyl (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars, 1321⁵⁰
 William de Ty (B), occurs ?; occurs as Master of Burton Lazars, 1323, 1327⁵¹
 Hugh Michell (B), occurs ?;⁵² occurs as Master of Burton Lazars, 1336–9⁵³
 Richard (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars, 1345⁵⁴
 Thomas de Kirkeby (B), occurs, ?as deputy, 1341;⁵⁵ as 'warden' and as Master of Burton Lazars, 1347⁵⁶
 Geoffrey de Chaddesden (B), occurs 1354⁵⁷
 Robert Halliday (B), occurs ?;⁵⁸ occurs as Master of Burton Lazars, 1358⁵⁹
 Geoffrey de Birston or Briston (C), appointed 1367;⁶⁰ occurs 1370⁶¹
 William Croxton, deputy, appointed 1371; confirmed 1384⁶²

Nicholas of Dover (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1364;⁶³ confirmed as 'warden' of St. Giles's 1387;⁶⁴ dispossessed 1389⁶⁵
 Richard Clifford (B), appointed as Master of Burton Lazars in 1389⁶⁶
 John Macclesfield (C), appointed 1389;⁶⁷ occurs 1391⁶⁸
 Richard Crowelegh (C), appointed 1390⁶⁹
 [William de Warden], Abbot of St. Mary Graces (C), appointed 1391;⁷⁰ dispossessed 1402⁷¹
 Walter Lynton (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1401 to 1421;⁷² occurs as master of St. Giles's, 1403⁷³
 Geoffrey Shrigley (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1421 to 1445⁷⁴
 William Sutton, knight (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1450 to 1482⁷⁵
 George Sutton (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1484 to 1504⁷⁶
 [Thomas Harringwold, ?deputy, ?occurs 1493]⁷⁷
 Thomas Honyter (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars, 1506⁷⁸
 Thomas Morton, knight (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1509 to 1524⁷⁹
 Thomas Ratcliffe (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1526 to 1537⁸⁰
 Thomas Leigh, knight (B), occurs as Master of Burton Lazars from 1537⁸¹ to 1543–4⁸²
 [Robert Barker, ?deputy, ?occurs 1542]⁸³

A common seal existed by at least 1284–5.⁸⁴ It is a pointed oval,⁸⁵ 4 by 2½ in., and bears a representation of St. Giles, the patron saint, who holds in his right hand an almsbox and in his left a staff. Legend, lombardic:

SIGILLUM SANCTI EGIDII INFIRMORUM

³² Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1572 (deed).
³³ *Cal. Lond. & Mdx. F. of Fines*, i. 55. For the suffix 'de Clare' see B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 147. For proof that it was applied to this Roger see *ibid.* 180v–81. Called 'master and warden' (*custos*), *ibid.*, f. 148.
³⁴ *Cat. Anc. D. i. C* 765.
³⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1281–92, 252.
³⁶ To the 'custody': *ibid.*
³⁷ *Ibid.* 271.
³⁸ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1622.
³⁹ He was presented to the bishop by the Crown on 20 Jan. (St. Pauls MS. A, box 60, no. 46) and appointed as 'warden' to 'sustain' the master and others on 20 Feb. (*Cal. Pat.* 1281–92, 423). He occurs as 'master' on 12 and 28 Mar. (B.M. Harl. 4015, ff. 151–1v, 176v) and as 'warden' on 13 Mar. (Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1653).
⁴⁰ To the 'custody' during pleasure: *Cal. Pat.* 1292–1301, 22.
⁴¹ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1622.
⁴² See above.
⁴³ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1622.
⁴⁴ *Cal. Pat.* 1301–7, 189.
⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 357.
⁴⁶ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38.
⁴⁷ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1578 (deed).
⁴⁸ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 119.
⁴⁹ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38.
⁵⁰ *Cal. Close*, 1318–23, 498; 1330–3, 327.
⁵¹ *Ibid.* The surname Tynt, appearing in earlier lists, is inaccurate.
⁵² Parton, *St. Giles*, 47.
⁵³ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38. His apparent recurrence as Master of Burton Lazars in 1347 (*ibid.*) is probably erroneous.
⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
⁵⁵ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 10.
⁵⁶ *Cal. Close*, 1346–9, 388.
⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 1354–60, 83; *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38.
⁵⁸ Parton, *St. Giles*, 47.
⁵⁹ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38.

⁶⁰ A brother of the house, appointed by the Crown as 'keeper': *Cal. Pat.* 1364–7, 388; 'master', 1368: B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, ff. 136v, 137.
⁶¹ *Cal. Pat.* 1367–70, 336.
⁶² A brother of the house; appointed by the Master of Burton Lazars and confirmed by the Crown in 1384: *ibid.* 1381–5, 463.
⁶³ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38.
⁶⁴ Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1637.
⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
⁶⁶ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38. Later Bp. of Worcester (1401) and London (1407).
⁶⁷ 'Warden': *Cal. Pat.* 1388–92, 115.
⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 458.
⁶⁹ 'Warden': *ibid.* 288.
⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 1396–9, 47–48; and see above.
⁷¹ *Ibid.* 1401–5, 120; and see above. For his name see *V.C.H. Lond.* i. 464.
⁷² *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38.
⁷³ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 133v. 'Warden', 1404: Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1640.
⁷⁴ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38. 'Warden': *Cal. Plea and Mem. R. of Lond.* 1413–37, 168.
⁷⁵ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38. 'Warden': *Cal. Pat.* 1452–61, 359.
⁷⁶ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38. The later date is not given in this list but is taken from *Cal. Pat.* 1494–1509, 391, where he is called 'warden'.
⁷⁷ Parton, *St. Giles*, 49.
⁷⁸ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 38.
⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 'Keeper': *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, i (1), p. 221; 'warden', 1522: *Cat. Anc. D.* iii. D 1108.
⁸⁰ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 39; Parton, *St. Giles*, 49.
⁸¹ *V.C.H. Leics.* ii. 39.
⁸² Williams, *Early Holborn*, ii. 1673 (deed).
⁸³ *Ibid.* 1622.
⁸⁴ B.M. Harl. MS. 4015, f. 181.
⁸⁵ A cast (B.M. Seals, no. 3511) is described in Birch, *Cat. of Seals*, i. 635–6, and illustrated in *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), pl. 1 (b), facing p. 32.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

An enlarged cast-iron facsimile of the seal is in St. Giles's church.⁸⁶

17. KINGSLAND (OR HACKNEY) HOSPITAL⁸⁷

KINGSLAND leper hospital was founded by the citizens of London in about 1280. It stood just over two miles from the city on the west side of the Roman road to the north and at the south end of the hamlet of Kingsland in the manor of Newington Barowe.

The first recorded 'guide' or governor of the hospital, in this instance called 'forman', was William Walssheman, who in 1375 took an oath to prevent lepers from entering the city.⁸⁸ Kingsland was one of the group of leper houses supervised by the two wardens appointed by the City.⁸⁹ In 1545 the 'guide' of Kingsland petitioned the City for rules for his house.⁹⁰ Four years later Kingsland, together with the other five London leper hospitals, was transferred to St. Bartholomew's Hospital.⁹¹ Subsequently the hospital records give particulars of several patients sent to Kingsland.⁹² In 1555-6 Kingsland received a quarter share of the 26s. 8d. paid by St. Bartholomew's to four of its 'outhouses'.⁹³ Further occasional payments were made by St. Bartholomew's and by private persons for the upkeep of patients sent to Kingsland.⁹⁴

During the early 17th century the costs of Kingsland Hospital mounted rapidly. In 1602 repairs to the house and barn cost approximately £150, and in the following year fourteen bedsteads were bought for £14.⁹⁵ At this period the 'guide' was receiving at irregular intervals sums usually amounting to about £8 a year, to which extra sums were added in 1611 and 1612 for the Christmas diet of the inmates.⁹⁶ In 1613 the hospital was enlarged by the building of a new 'sweatlie ward' at a cost of £6 4s. 7d.,⁹⁷ and in 1625 and 1627 the 'guide' requested more money for fuel and food for the inmates. In 1643 and 1644 he had to be given £10 extra for winter fuel alone.⁹⁸ John Topcliffe, surgeon, who had probably been guide for fifty years, was in 1646 granted a fixed yearly salary of £8, together with £16 'for the poor that are admitted into diet'.⁹⁹ His successor, John Kent, another surgeon (appointed 1649), was soon in difficulties over the cost of medicine, special diets, and fuel. The hospital building had also been enlarged and so a further £20 was needed for drugs, physic, sheets, straw for beds, and burial charges. During Kent's tenure it was laid down that a candle was to be burned in each of the six wards every night

in winter, and that a detailed diet was to be drawn up for each day.¹ The practice of admitting only women patients to Kingsland and only men to the Lock may also have begun at this time.²

The Great Fire of 1666 so depleted the revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital that all the patients at Kingsland had to be discharged before Christmas 1666. The 'guide' continued in residence to look after the premises, and in 1667 was allowed to take patients whose friends agreed to pay for everything except special diet.³ By 1680 conditions had returned to normal and Kingsland was to have 20 patients, maintained by St. Bartholomew's. After 1682 the 'guide' was to receive £30 a year, together with a further £3 for washing the patients' sheets, for coals and candles, and for hemp for maintaining the sheets. Each patient was given 4d. a day to buy his own food.⁴

Services in the hospital chapel are recorded from 1638, when Jeremiah Gosse was chosen as minister at Kingsland and the Lock in place of a Mr. Powell, who had received £10 a year.⁵ Many persons from outside the hospital attended the chapel services and in 1716, after a disturbance in the chapel, curtains were provided to shut off the patients.⁶ These patients were suffering from ague, fever, dropsy, jaundice, and diarrhoea amongst other diseases.⁷ In 1754 many had venereal disease, but the statement that the Kingsland and Lock outhouses had always been used by St. Bartholomew's for such patients⁸ is not borne out by extant records.⁹

In 1725 St. Bartholomew's made a survey of Kingsland. This revealed that all the wards were on the ground floor, were 'very ancient and very defective', and were now three feet below the level of the road outside the hospital. It was decided to rebuild and enlarge these wards. The rebuilding programme provided for thirty beds, a bath-house, a couch-room, a surgery, and other amenities. The coach-house and stable were next rebuilt, and in 1727 the surgeon's house was to be repaired.¹⁰ Other minor repairs and innovations were effected during the 1730's,¹¹ but evidently the cost of maintaining the outhouses was becoming too great. In 1754 a sub-committee of the governors of St. Bartholomew's reported on both Kingsland and the Lock. It was found that the 'guide' or surgeon of Kingsland was receiving as well as a house and his salary of £30 an additional £50 for medicines. The other staff consisted of a chaplain with a salary of £12 and a gratuity of £8, and a sister, a nurse, and a helper, each receiving 3s. 6d. a week. Since the two outhouses together were costing more than £700 a year to maintain, it was recommended that

⁸⁶ Illustrated in L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* v. 139.

⁸⁷ 'Kingsland' only became the established usage in the 16th cent. The chief authorities for the history of the hospital are listed in *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 36.

⁸⁸ Riley, *Memorials of Lond.* 384; *Cal. Letter Bk. H.* 9.

⁸⁹ *Cal. Letter Bk. H.* 343; *I.* p. 184; *K.* pp. 142-3.

⁹⁰ Corp. Lond. Rec. Off., Repertory 11, ff. 173, 177.

⁹¹ See *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 9.

⁹² For details see *ibid.* 32.

⁹³ See *ibid.* 9.

⁹⁴ See *ibid.* 32.

⁹⁵ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/3, ff. 287v, 357v.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* ff. 512, 542.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* ff. 547v, 548v.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* Journal, Ha 1/4, ff. 150, 164, 276v, 286v.

⁹⁹ See *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 33.

¹ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/5, ff. 48v, 72, 187,

194v, 195, 318v, 320, 321v. The weekly diet is given in Ha 4/1, ff. 12v-18v.

² This division had taken place by 1657: Ha 1/5, f. 136.

³ *Ibid.* Ha 1/6, ff. 28, 36, 39; G. Whitteridge, 'The Fire of London and St. Bart's. Hosp.', *Lond. Topog. Record*, xx, 47-78.

⁴ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/7, ff. 95v, 122v, 185v; Ha 4/1, f. 54v.

⁵ *Ibid.* Ha 1/4, f. 246.

⁶ *Ibid.* Ha 1/9, f. 142v.

⁷ *Ibid.* f. 149.

⁸ St. Bart's. Hosp., J 12, p. 488.

⁹ *Lond. Topog. Record*, xx, 54 n.

¹⁰ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/10, ff. 54, 63, 65v, 97, 133, 138, 138v, 141v, 154v.

¹¹ *Ibid.* ff. 154v, 229, 284v, 290, 301v.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES

both should be dissolved and their patients transferred to two special wards at St. Bartholomew's.¹² This proposal was rejected, but in 1760 the decision was reversed and Kingsland Hospital was closed.¹³

GUIDES

- William Walssheman, occurs 1375¹⁴
 John Nyk, occurs 1543¹⁵
 — Lawson, dead by 19 Mar. 1552¹⁶
 — Lawson (his widow), governess and matron, occurs 1552¹⁷
 Cuthbert Harrison, occurs 1557, 1560¹⁸
 John Dyconson, occurs 1589–90; dead by 1595–6¹⁹
 William Moore, occurs 1601–2²⁰
 John Topcliffe, occurs 1625; dismissed 1649²¹
 John Kent, occurs 1649, 1666²²
 John Bignall, occurs 1669; resigned 1682²³
 Richard Berry, occurs 1682, 1689²⁴
 Nicholas Field, occurs 1708; died in office 1720²⁵
 James Dansie, occurs 1720, 1734²⁶
 Joseph Webb, occurs 1749²⁷
 Robert Young, appointed 1755;²⁸ not in office by July 1761²⁹

18. KNIGHTSBRIDGE HOSPITAL³⁰

LITTLE is known³¹ of Knightsbridge leper hospital before 1549 when it was one of the six lazar houses handed over by the City to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. The earliest reference to Knightsbridge occurs in 1475,³² but the hospital was probably among those set up or taken over by the City in the 13th or 14th century.³³

After St. Bartholomew's assumed control a number of patients were sent from St. Bartholomew's to Knightsbridge.³⁴ In 1555–6 the keeper received from St. Bartholomew's 6s. 8d. for 'keeping the poor'.³⁵ In 1582 John Glassington was the 'guider'. An annual rent of 4s. was paid to the abbey church of Westminster,³⁶ and St. Bartholomew's paid 45s. for nine 'sore poor people'.³⁷ Subsequently Glassington received frequent and increasingly large amounts.³⁸ In 1595 he submitted a report on the state of his

hospital.³⁹ He said that there were no lands nor endowments; that he had spent during his tenure more than £100 on repairs; and that there were 36 or 37 patients, supported wholly by voluntary contributions. Food alone had cost £162 in 1594, and candles, linen, bandages, and medicine had also been bought. Glassington claimed to have cured 55 patients, some of whom had been dismissed as incurable from other hospitals. Some patients were made to work, and all attended prayers in the chapel twice daily.

Regular financial assistance from St. Bartholomew's ceased in 1623,⁴⁰ and although the vestry of St. Margaret's, Westminster, made occasional grants,⁴¹ by 1629 the hospital chapel (by then an official chapel-of-ease to St. Martin's-le-Grand) had fallen into serious disrepair. The chapel was rebuilt at the cost of the inhabitants of Knightsbridge, and from 1634 pew-rents were charged to maintain the chaplain, repair the chapel, and relieve the poor in the hospital.⁴² In 1699 the chapel, now separately administered, was again rebuilt at the expense of Nicholas Birkhead, a London goldsmith.⁴³

The Knightsbridge lazar house and chapel were still standing in 1708,⁴⁴ but the chapel only was mentioned in 1720.⁴⁵ The hospital stood on one of the main roads out of London, about a quarter of a mile west of Hyde Park Corner, between Piccadilly and Kensington. The buildings were north-east of the ancient bridge over the Westbourne Brook, marked since 1845 by Albert Gate.

PROCTORS, KEEPERS, GUIDERS, *PREFECTI*, OR GOVERNORS

- Richard, buried 1546⁴⁶
 Hugh Fabyan, occurs 1549–50⁴⁷
 Thomas (or Jasper) Fabyan, occurs 1555–7⁴⁸
 Henry Fryer, occurs, 1560⁴⁹
 John Glassington, occurs 1581–2, 1598⁵⁰
 William More, buried 1620⁵¹
 Daniel Bissell, occurs 1622⁵²
 John Glassington, appointed 1654⁵³
 The pointed oval seal of the hospital,⁵⁴ 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.,

¹² St. Bart's. Hosp., J 12, p. 488.

¹³ Moore, *Hist. of St. Bart's. Hosp.* ii. 372, 376. For the subsequent history, and illustrations of the site, see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 35–36.

¹⁴ *Cal. Letter Bk. H.* 9.

¹⁵ Corp. Lond. Rec. Off., Repertory 10, f. 303.

¹⁶ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 39.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.* f. 221v, 224.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* Ledger, Hb 1/3, ff. 33, 131v.

²⁰ *Ibid.* ff. 235–56v.

²¹ *Ibid.* Journal, Ha 1/4, f. 150; Ha 1/5, ff. 33v, 58v.

²² *Ibid.* Ha 1/5, f. 33v; *Lond. Topog. Record*, xx. 54.

²³ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/6, f. 76; Ha 1/7, f. 125.

²⁴ *Ibid.* Ha 1/7, ff. 125, 325.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Ha 1/9, f. 5v; Ha 1/10, f. 14v.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Ha 1/10, ff. 14v, 301v.

²⁷ Moore, *Hist. of St. Bart's Hosp.* ii. 633 n.

²⁸ St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/12, f. 530.

²⁹ *Ibid.* Ha 1/13, f. 217.

³⁰ Knightsbridge Hosp. was anciently in the par. of St. Margaret Westminster; from 1536 in the par. of St. Martin-in-the-Fields; and ultimately, from 1725, in the par. of St. George Hanover Square.

³¹ For 15th- and early-16th-cent. references to Knightsbridge see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 38.

³² Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, 103.

³³ See *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 5, 7.

³⁴ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, ff. 55, 110, 277v, 339v; Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 221v.

³⁵ See *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 39.

³⁶ Dugdale, *Mon.* vi (2), 766.

³⁷ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/2, f. 282.

³⁸ *Ibid.* Hb 1/3, ff. 33, 46v (bis), 51, 53, 63v.

³⁹ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 179.

⁴⁰ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/4.

⁴¹ M. E. C. Walcott, *Westminster* (1849), 301; E. Walford, *Old and New Lond.* v (1872–8), 23.

⁴² Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 694.

⁴³ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 180; J. McMaster, *Short Hist. of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields*, 332.

⁴⁴ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 694.

⁴⁵ J. Strype, *Survey of Lond.* (1720), ii (6), 67, 78. For the later history of the hosp. site see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 40–41.

⁴⁶ J. V. Kitto, *Accounts of the Churchwardens of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1525–1603* (1901), 112.

⁴⁷ St. Bart's Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, f. 56; Journal, Ha 1/1, list of dismissed patients.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* Ledger, Hb 1/1, f. 277v; Journal, Ha 1/1, ff. 223, 224. There appears to have been some confusion over his Christian name since the clerk first wrote Gabriel (f. 223).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 221v.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* Ledger, Hb 1/2, f. 282; 1/3, f. 176.

⁵¹ *Register of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, 1619–36* (Harl. Soc.), 159.

⁵² St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/4, ff. 127v, 130.

⁵³ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 179.

⁵⁴ B.M. Seals, no. lxviii, 17. Illustrated in *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), pl. 2, facing p. 33; see also Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, pp. xii, 103.

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shows two figures, each under a separate canopy. On the left is the Virgin, crowned, with the Child in her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. The other figure is a bishop, with his right hand raised in benediction and his left holding a pastoral staff. Legend, black letter:

SIGILLUM OSPICI SANCTI LENARDI DE KYNGHTBRIGGE
[sic]

19. MILE END HOSPITAL⁵⁵

MILE End leper hospital, said to have been founded before 1274,⁵⁶ stood within the demesne of the Bishop of London's manor of Stepney.⁵⁷ The hospital was on the main road to Essex,⁵⁸ to the north of the present bridge over the Regent's Canal and about two miles east of Aldgate.⁵⁹ The hospital stood between the hamlets of Mile End and Stratford at Bow.⁶⁰ In 1529 it consisted of a group of houses with six beds, a suite of rooms apparently intended for the overseer, and a chapel dedicated to Our Saviour and St. Mary Magdalen.⁶¹ Appointment of the overseer appears in 1529 to have been by a lay proprietor,⁶² but in 1532 Bishop Stokesley

⁵⁵ This account has been augmented by Dr. K. G. T. McDonnell's researches into the manor of Stepney.

⁵⁶ Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, 46-47.

⁵⁷ Guildhall MS. 9531/11, f. 14v.

⁵⁸ Stow, *Survey*, ii. 146.

⁵⁹ W. Archer-Thomson, *Drapers' Company: History of the Company's Properties and Trusts*, section 47.

⁶⁰ Stow, *Survey*, ii. 146.

⁶¹ Guildhall MS. 9171/10, ff. 137-8.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid. 9531/11, f. 14v.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 9531/12, f. 18v.

⁶⁵ For details see *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 43-44.

⁶⁶ Guildhall MSS. 9171/16, f. 178; 9171/17, f. 217; *T.L.M.A.S.* xxi (1), 44.

appointed Richard Wade,⁶³ and in 1540 Bishop Bonner appointed John Mills.⁶⁴ The day-to-day running of the hospital was transferred by the City to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1549, and henceforth patients were sent to Mile End and occasional sums were paid for their support.⁶⁵ The Spital House is mentioned once or twice in the later 16th century,⁶⁶ and was still standing in the 17th century, when the property was conveyed to the Drapers' Company.⁶⁷

GOVERNORS, PROCTORS, KEEPERS, OR MASTERS

[?John Gymer, died 1522⁶⁸]

Richard Wade, appointed 1532⁶⁹

John Mills, appointed 1540;⁷⁰ occurs 1557⁷¹

John Stafford, occurs 1560⁷²

John Lyddington, died 1574⁷³

Henry Smith, occurs 1589⁷⁴

The hospital seal is known only from a reproduction.⁷⁵ It is oval and shows two figures under one canopy. The left-hand figure holds a spade. To the right is a crouching figure. Legend, black letter:

SIGILLUM DOMUS DEI ET SANCTE MARIE MAGDALENE
APUD MYLE ENDE

⁶⁷ Archer-Thomson, op. cit. section 47.

⁶⁸ Guildhall MS. 9171/10, ff. 137-8.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 9531/11, f. 14v.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 9531/12, f. 18v.

⁷¹ St. Bart's. Hosp. Ledger, Hb 1/1, ff. 54v, 55, 170v, 277v, 336; Journal, Ha 1/1, ff. 146v, 159, 169; Strype, *Eccl. Memorials* (1822 edn.), ii (2), 248; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 483 (from the par. reg. of Stratford at Bow).

⁷² St. Bart's. Hosp. Journal, Ha 1/1, f. 221v.

⁷³ Guildhall MS. 9171/16, f. 178.

⁷⁴ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 483.

⁷⁵ Clay, *Medieval Hospitals*, 47, with illustration.

THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES TO 1870

THE exclusion for the purposes of this history, of the cities of London and Westminster puts the historian of education at something of a disadvantage, especially when he wishes to give a general description of the evolving pattern of educational provision, for, in the period under review, city, parochial, and even county boundaries are of little significance in the story of educational progress. Outstanding schools exemplifying a whole facet of metropolitan education—for example, Joseph Lancaster's model school in Borough Road, Southwark—happen to be situated beyond the borders of the county. Middlesex children can be found attending what we would now call 'out-county' schools; numerous Middlesex children for example, attended a famous school for the deaf and dumb in the Old Kent Road.¹ In the same way, selected girl orphans found wandering in the streets were, from 1758, moved to the 'Asylum or House of Refuge situated on the Surrey side of Westminster Bridge', and there maintained by the alms of generous citizens, many of whom were from Middlesex.² Pauper children from parishes in and around the metropolis were often sent into the country either as infants under Jonas Hanway's Acts,³ as pupils to Poor Law Schools in other counties,⁴ or as labourers to northern factories.⁵

On the other hand there was also a movement of children into the metropolis; strong 'uncontaminated' country children could get employment as servants⁶ and some institutions acquired reputations sufficient to attract children from all parts of the kingdom. Perhaps the most notable in this respect was the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Exposed and Deserted Young Children (i.e. the Foundling Hospital) founded by Captain Thomas Coram in 1739, and in the mid-18th century it became a profitable business for travelling tinkers and others to bring unwanted babies to the Foundling Hospital from all parts of the country.⁷

In the inner metropolitan area, therefore, the county boundary is not of great significance in the story of education. Beyond, however, lay the rural areas, crossed first by roads and later by canals and railways along which trade and people moved between London and the rest of the country. Middlesex grew prosperous from this traffic and small towns such as Enfield, Harrow, Uxbridge, Staines, and Brentford developed. By the mid-19th century the county had a great variety of social settlement and a corresponding diversity of educational provision. There was the overcrowding of the environs of the cities of London and Westminster, with the rich in their squares and the poor in their courts, and unique local problems such as that in the east with the Jews of Whitechapel, the Huguenots who came to Spitalfields at the end of the 17th century, and the Irish who came too in the 17th century, first to St. Giles-in-the-Fields, then to Lisson

¹ *List of the Governors and officers of the asylum for support and education of deaf and dumb children of the poor* (1821); *Rep. of asylum for support and education of indigent deaf and dumb children situate in the Kent Road* (1856).

² G. Horne, *Sermon preached in chapel of asylum for female orphans*, 19 May 1774, p. 20; *Laws of Asylum for Female Orphans* (1824), 12; *Abstract from account of asylum or house of refuge situate in par. of Lambeth* (1812), 41.

³ Act for Registration of Par. Poor Infants, 2 Geo. III, c. 22; Act for Regulation of Par. Poor Children, 7 Geo. III, c. 39.

⁴ St. Pancras poor law authority even tried to send its pauper children to Bermuda: *Corresp. between Bd. of Guardians of St. Pancras and Poor Law Bd.* H.C. 243 (1851), xl.

⁵ F. H. W. Sheppard, *Local Government in St. Marylebone 1688-1835*, 231-5.

⁶ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* H.C. 465, p. 59 (1835), vii.

⁷ For distressing examples, see B. Rodgers, *Cloak of Charity*, 32; R. H. Nichols and F. A. Wray, *Hist. of Foundling Hospital*.

Grove and, at the end of the century, to the notorious Calmell Buildings near Portman Square. Further out were the suburban areas of Tottenham and Hackney, rich in schools for the middling classes, and beyond that again the townships and intervening countryside as rural as any part of the kingdom. It is not surprising, therefore, that the area can produce examples of every type of school. Private venture schools of all kinds, both charitable and profit-making, industrial schools, Sunday schools, charity schools, 'National' schools, 'British' schools, Jewish schools, Roman Catholic schools, dissenting schools, ragged schools, reformatories, orphanages, poor law schools, and even factory schools, are all to be found.⁸ There were, too, unusual establishments such as the school opened in 1647 by the East India Company for the education of orphans left by employees. The school had a nautical bias and was attached to an almshouse established by the Company in 1627 for the care of injured men, widows, and orphans.⁹ Then there was the school established in 1702 in the St. James's workhouse in Clerkenwell by Quakers who sought to implement the ideas set out by John Bellers in 1695¹⁰ for a 'colledge of industry'; the school acted as a refuge for the old and the infirm as well as a place where poor children were taught a little reading and writing while they learned spinning and weaving.¹¹ There were proselytising schools such as the East London Irish Free School in Goodman's Yard, Minories, in 1818,¹² and the Irish Free School in George Street, St. Giles, in 1816, which became known as the 'Protestant Bible School' because of its attempt to wean the children from Roman Catholicism.¹³ Free schools for Jewish children were established in 1807 and 1811 in the East End by the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews.¹⁴ There were experimental schools such as 'The British Union School' opened in Farmer Street, Shadwell, by Joseph Fletcher in 1816, to serve Wapping, St. George's Middlesex, Limehouse, Shadwell, and the hamlet of Ratcliff, and to show how to solve the religious question by avoiding denominationalism. Specially-printed chapters from the Bible were used without comment by the teacher, and Fletcher seems to have obtained the co-operation of the Roman Catholic clergy. After two years Fletcher was able to report that his school had a substantial number of dissenters and Roman Catholics as well as Church of England boys and girls; in 1819 the school had 550 pupils on its registers.¹⁵

The great diversity of educational provision in Middlesex was largely due to special advantages conferred on the area by the presence of the capital. The City of London was the place in which many of those who supported the schools made their fortunes and the city's need for clerks created a market for boys who could write and calculate.¹⁶ The concentration of population also created a never-satisfied demand for well-trained girls for domestic service, and the attraction of metropolitan life made it possible to recruit and retain a better type of teacher than could be obtained in more distant parts. The well-to-do living within reach of the capital were often ready to found, support, endow, or subscribe to a school and even royal patronage could be obtained, if, like Mrs. Trimmer in Brentford,¹⁷ one went about it in the right way.

⁸ In 1830 a half-time factory school was opened at the jute factory in Ponders End and remained in existence for over 50 years: G. W. Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hundred*, 152.

⁹ W. K. Jordan, *Charities of Lond. 1480-1660*, 219.

¹⁰ J. Bellers, *Proposals for raising a Coll. of Industry* (1695).

¹¹ This school moved to Islington in 1786 and thence to Croydon in 1825: W. A. C. Steward, *Quakers and Educ.* 62-63.

¹² *2nd Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* H.C. 356, pp. 40-42 (1818), iv.

¹³ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.*

H.C. 427, pp. 2-4 (1816), iv; H.C. 495, p. 252 (1816), iv; H.C. 497, pp. 309-12 (1816), iv.

¹⁴ P. L. S. Quinn, 'The Jewish Schooling System of Lond. 1656-1956' (Lond. Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1958).

¹⁵ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, pp. 51-53; H.C. 497, pp. 304-7; *2nd Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1818), 33-35; *Digest of Rets. to Cttee. on Educ. of Poor*, H.C. 224 (1819), ix.

¹⁶ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, p. 55.

¹⁷ Rodgers, *Cloak of Char.* 123-4.

It has further been suggested that education in and around the metropolis profited by the high infant mortality rates in 17th-century London; the generosity of London merchants towards education may, in part, be due to the fact that so many of them were left childless.¹⁸ Finally, when, first in the 17th and then in the 19th century, the great societies took a prominent part in the development of a system of elementary education, it was natural that their first and indeed their most spectacular achievements were to be found in the metropolitan area.

What type of education are we concerned with in this article? The history of our country can provide many examples of the gifted but poor 'boy of parts' using the educational ladder to climb to a position of distinction. Cranmer's often-quoted opinion puts the point well: 'If the gentleman's son be apt to learning let him be admitted; if not apt let the poor man's child being apt enter his room'.¹⁹ But for present purposes we are interested not in the means by which the talents of a few outstanding men were garnered up and put to good use but in the attempts made by the well-intentioned to provide for the children of the poor an education deemed to be suited to their supposed needs as members—and permanent members—of the least privileged class in the community. We seek, therefore, not the escape-route offered to a select few but the broad road of educational advance available to the many.

Interest in this chapter lies not, therefore, with the kind of education provided in grammar schools and other schools of the classical type. It is focused instead on schools offering the type of programme once associated with elementary schools and now—albeit mistakenly—with primary schools. Robert Lowe had the distinction clear when he wrote of 'the education of the poor or primary education and the education of the middle or upper classes'.²⁰ It is then a basic, vernacular education of which we write, a utilitarian, practical, and unequivocally non-classical education; the basic skills, reading and writing, are prominent with occasionally some 'casting of accompts' (a skill not without significance in the environs of the City of London) and, perhaps, 'industrial' training. Religious instruction is always prominent, whether as a means of establishing what one early-18th-century preacher called 'little garrisons against Popery',²¹ or as an insurance policy against revolution and discontent. It was, then, an education designed—to quote the same sermon—to provide 'the plaine accomplishments which best become the generality of the people'.

The number of grammar schools founded at the close of the Middle Ages has perhaps been somewhat exaggerated.²² There was, however, an undoubted increase in the number of grammar schools in early Stuart times, and a recent historian of English philanthropy, commenting on 'the great, the prodigal outpouring' of funds for grammar schools in this period,²³ claims that 'it is not too much to say that the basic structure of English secondary education as it was to exist for a very long time was literally created in the early Stuart period'.²⁴

These pages are, however, concerned not with developments in the field of secondary education but with the existence, which such a development must presuppose, of a system of elementary education to give the pupils of the grammar schools that grounding in the vernacular which was necessary before they could proceed to the study of Latin. Curtis is convinced that in the 16th and 17th centuries primary education of this

¹⁸ L. Stone in *History*, xlv. 259.

¹⁹ M. G. Jones, *Charity Sch. Movement*, 15.

²⁰ B. Simon, *Studies in the Hist. of Educ. 1780-1870*, 355.

²¹ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 14.

²² J. Simon, 'A. F. Leach on the Reformation', *Brit. Jnl. of Educ. Studies*, iii. 128-43; iv. 32-48.

²³ W. K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in Eng. 1480-1660*, 283.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 288. The statistical part of Jordan's argument has been criticized (see review by L. Stone in *History*, xlv. 257-60), but when allowance is made for the special emphasis placed upon education in this early-17th-cent. burst of philanthropic prodigality there are good grounds for agreeing with Jordan's conclusions in so far as they concern education and especially grammar-school education.

kind 'was more widespread than was formerly believed'.²⁵ Certainly one is entitled to ask where the pupils of St. Paul's acquired their early schooling, for Colet's statutes of 1518 required each new entrant to know his catechism and to 'read and write competently, else let him not be admitted in no wise'.²⁶ In 1560 Westminster had similar requirements.²⁷ Other grammar schools may not have been so well placed in this respect but there is evidence of arrangements whereby senior boys or a specially appointed master undertook the elementary instruction of the pupils in the basic educational skills.²⁸ Teaching at this level was not highly regarded, however, and a grammar-school teacher complained in 1612 that it was 'an unreasonable thing that the Grammar Schools should be troubled with teaching A B C'.²⁹ In 1641 Hezekiah Woodward, in language almost identical with that used by Mulcaster in 1581,³⁰ complained that 'a good scholar will not come down so low, as the first elementary, and to so low a recompense also; it shall be left to the meanest and therefore to the worse'.³¹

It is quite clear that much of the elementary education available was provided not by scholars but by tutors, dames, tradesmen, and others in their homes and shops; their numbers and their continuing activity may be inferred, as Adamson has pointed out, from the fact that it was worth publishing in 1596 a self-help guide for such teachers, which became a quite remarkable educational best-seller, continually re-printed until 1704. This book was designed to help 'such men, and women of trade as taylors, weavers shopkeepers, seamsters and such others as have undertaken the charge of teaching others'. Study it diligently, the reader was told, 'and thou mayest sit on they shop-board, at thy looms or at thy needle and never hinder thy work to hear thy scholars, after thou hast once made the little book familiar to thee'.³² Further confirmation of the type of person undertaking this class of teaching may be found in the complaint of a London grammar-school master in 1660 that elementary teaching was undertaken by 'poor women, or others, whose necessities compel them to undertake it, as a mere shelter from beggary'.³³ The same writer pointed out that inadequate teaching by such people meant that children were coming to the grammar school to learn Latin when they were still inexpert in the vernacular; he also mentioned that there had been some attempt to meet this difficulty by establishing schools specially designed for the needs of the 'petits':

Some nobler spirits, whom God hath enriched with an over-plus of outward means, have in some places whereunto they have been by birth (or otherwise) related, erected Petty-School-houses, and endowed them with yearly salaries; but those are so inconsiderate towards the maintenance of a master and his family, or so over-cloyed with a number of Free-Scholars, to be taught for nothing, that few men of parts will deign to accept of them, or continue at them for any while; and for this cause I have observed such weak foundations to fall to nothing.³⁴

Foundations of this sort were likely to be much less securely established than the grammar schools. Jordan has calculated that London merchants created by endowment no fewer than 153 educational foundations in the years 1480 to 1660, of which 15 were in Middlesex. Of the 153 at least 18 and possibly 23 were endowed elementary schools.³⁵ It is clear that the type of education which is the subject of this chapter did not attract

²⁵ S. J. Curtis, *Hist. of Educ. in Gt. Britain*, 45.

²⁶ J. W. Adamson, *Illiterate Anglo-Saxon*, 46.

²⁷ See statutes in A. F. Leach, *Educ. Charters and Documents 598 to 1909*, 496 sqq.

²⁸ F. Watson, *Eng. Grammar Schs. to 1660*; in the latter half of the 16th cent. Christ's Hospital had 'school-maisters for the petties A.B.C.': Jordan, *Lond. Chars.* 213.

²⁹ W. A. L. Vincent, *The State and Sch. Educ. 1640-1660 in Eng. and Wales*, 8.

³⁰ Watson, *Grammar Schs. to 1660*, 156.

³¹ Vincent, *State and Sch. Educ.* 8.

³² Adamson, *Illiterate Anglo-Saxon*, 56-57, referring to E. Coote, *The Englische Scholemaister*.

³³ Vincent, *State and Sch. Educ.* 8.

³⁴ C. Hoole, *New discovery of the old art of teaching schoole*, ed. E. T. Campagnac, 28-29, n. 33.

³⁵ Jordan, *Lond. Chars.* 248.

the greatest number (or the most valuable) of the endowments. Elementary education was more often provided for by the smaller endowment, by the augmentation of existing small endowments, or by the small outright gift to help a few poor children. Such gifts, unlike the spectacular grammar-school endowments, tend to pass unnoticed.³⁶ Parish records occasionally produce evidence of such gifts and one can see how over the years and even centuries the benefactor's wishes were fulfilled. In Acton, for example, Lady Conway's bequest of 1637 provided one shilling a week to teach six poor Acton children to learn to read English and was regularly used until, in the 19th century, it became impossible to get anyone to teach six children for a shilling and the money was then paid to the National school.³⁷ Hanwell, nearby, was the fortunate possessor of the Hobbayne Charity. In 1484 William Hobbayne surrendered his lands to 'godly uses'; the proceeds from this gift were used for many different and sometimes unusual purposes (such as the conveying away of witches in 1634) but in 1683 a decree of the Commissioners of Charitable Uses ordered that the residue was to be used for apprenticing and otherwise providing for poor children of the town. Thenceforth the charity became a means of providing schooling for such children, until at the beginning of the 20th century the last school aided by this charity was taken over by the Hanwell School Board.³⁸

Many of the writers quoted above were asking for an improvement in that kind of elementary education which might more properly be called preparatory, since its aim was to give the child the basic vernacular tools which he needed before he could profit from the teaching provided in the grammar school. There can be no doubt that children of the working class did in fact benefit from these arrangements and in surveying the period 1480-1660 Jordan claims that 'it seems very probable that no deserving boy with requisite ability could have failed to find a place in some London school'.³⁹ It would be wrong, however, to regard the types of education received by these fortunate and gifted boys as being typical of that received by those members of their class who did become literate. The dame and the impoverished tradesmen not the usher are the archetypes; literacy of the most elementary sort, not the classical curriculum, was the concern of these 'A B C darians'.

The 17th century was also, however, the century of Hartlib, Dury, Milton, Comenius, and Locke, and in the writings of these men and also in the ordinances of the Interregnum, we find signs of an awareness of the need for a national system of education, of a system of state-supported schools to be established not only as a safeguard for 'true religion' and the community, but as an antidote to vagrancy and crime. This awareness shows in the resolution of the Commons of 1641 that 'all lands taken from deans and chapters shall be employed for the advancement of learning and piety'. A broadsheet of 1646 issued in London⁴⁰ makes it clear that something more fundamental than the support of grammar schools was being considered, and it is interesting to notice that John Dury drew up in that same year a plan of public education which included common schools where children intended for trades and 'servile work' would be taught 'in their mother tongue the right notions, names, and expressions of things'.⁴¹ Then in 1650 came Samuel Hartlib's *London's Charity Inlarged*, an eloquent plea for money to provide 'work for the employment of the poor and education for poor children, who

³⁶ Cf. *ibid.* 27.

³⁷ *2nd Rep. Com. Char.* H.C. 547, pp. 74-75 (1819), x-B.

³⁸ M. Sharpe, 'Hobbayne's Charity', *Home Counties. Mag.* iii. 301-16; iv. 33-49, 100-15; M.R.O., MSS. deposited by Sharpe, Dec. 1928; *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 235-7; S. M. Daw-

son, 'Hist of Hobbayne's Charity', *Ealing Local Hist. Soc. Members Papers*, no. 8. (1964).

³⁹ Jordan, *Lond. Chars.* 219.

⁴⁰ F. Watson, 'State of Education during the Commonwealth', *E.H.R.* xv. 61.

⁴¹ J. W. Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Educ.* 155-6.

many of them are destroyed in their youth for want of being under a good government and education',⁴² and in the year of the Restoration came Charles Hoole's plea for petty schools 'within and about the City unto which certain poor children out of every Parish may be sent, and taught gratis, and all others that please to send their children thither may have them taught at a reasonable rate'.⁴³ In surveying these significant events Foster Watson declares that 'England was on the verge of an organisation of an elementary, if not of secondary, education',⁴⁴ but although the Restoration seems to have put an end to theorizing of the kind outlined above, the idea of providing education for the poorest members of the community emerged again at the end of the century and, having been joined to a new financial device, produced one of the first really significant developments in the story of education for the children of the poor, the charity school movement. This movement is of particular importance in the present context since it had its greatest triumphs in and around the metropolis.

'There is', wrote John Strype in his 1720 edition of Stow's *Survey of London*, 'yet another sort of charity in this city, maintained by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, very singular and extraordinary. . . . And that is the erecting of schools in many parishes of London and Westminster (especially the great parishes in the suburbs) called Charity Schools for the free education of poor boys and girls and also for their maintenance in apparel and afterwards disposing of them abroad in honest callings'. This 'singular and extraordinary' occurrence was, in fact, 'the beginning of an attempt to extend elementary education among the poor'.⁴⁵ Miss M. G. Jones, the historian of this movement,⁴⁶ has defined more closely the function of these schools. 'They provided a particular kind of education for a particular class of children, financed in great part by a particular method, and, by so doing, they established the idea of elementary education not, as in earlier ages, as a stage preliminary to the grammar schools . . . but as a system complete in itself.'⁴⁷ Miss Jones subtitles her history 'A study of eighteenth century Puritanism in action' but she makes it clear that the origins of the movement are to be found in the 17th century. In fact 13 of the 55 endowed non-classical schools in Middlesex listed by the Charity Commissioners in 1818-43 were endowed before 1698 and this proportion is maintained when the figures for the whole country are examined. Similarly 7 out of the 33 Middlesex charities for elementary education not attached to endowed non-classical schools listed by the same commissioners were of pre-1698 origin.⁴⁸ It is certain that many of the schools which eventually became known as charity schools were founded before the term itself had been invented and before the S.P.C.K. had in 1699 begun to co-ordinate the movement. The first use of the term has been said to be in connexion with a school founded in 1685 at Highgate by William Blake and called the Ladies' Charity School,⁴⁹ although the boys' charity school in Norton Folgate founded in 1692 laid claim to the title 'first charity school in London'.⁵⁰ Charity schools of an earlier date are to be found, however, in the metropolitan area; Wapping's charity school was first erected in 1690,⁵¹ and what became the girls' charity school at Isleworth had an even longer history; already in 1623 it was marked on a map and in 1630 it was further endowed by Dame Elizabeth Hill who was quite clear as to whom she wished to help—'Young girls and maids of the

⁴² Quoted by Watson, in *E.H.R.* xv. 64.

⁴³ Quoted by Vincent, *State and Sch. Educ.* 92.

⁴⁴ *E.H.R.* xv. 61.

⁴⁵ H. C. Jennings, *Political theory of state-supported elementary educ. in Eng. 1750-1833*, 4-5.

⁴⁶ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*; R. W. Hitchcock, 'History of Charity School Education' (Lond. Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1938); H. J. Larcombe, 'Development of subscrip-

tion Charity Schools in Eng. and Wales with special reference to Lond. and district' (Lond. Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1928).

⁴⁷ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 23.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 351-2.

⁴⁹ Jennings, *Pol. theory of elem. educ.* 3; *E.H.R.* xv. 64.

⁵⁰ M. J. Powell, 'History of the Turner Exhibition' (M.R.O. typescript, p. 1).

⁵¹ Millicent Rose, *East End of Lond.* 65.

Town of Isleworth, not vagrants or bastards, but fatherless and without friends'.⁵² Yet even this charity school may not be as old as that in St. Dunstan in the West, Fleet Street, which is said to have been founded in the reign of Elizabeth I.⁵³

Although it is possible in this way to discover early foundations which eventually became charity schools, the movement itself may be said to have begun with a notable meeting in the room of Serjeant Hooke in 1699 when Dr. Thomas Bray with four friends formed themselves into a voluntary society, which became the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, resolving that 'we consider tomorrow morning how to further and promote that good design of erecting Catechetical Schools in each parish in and about London . . .'.⁵⁴ The 'Catechetical Schools' became the charity schools, founded, supported, and endowed by charitably disposed people in parishes in all parts of the country but especially in and about London. The S.P.C.K. did not itself organize, own, or found schools. It acted rather as a means of so directing and focusing the goodwill of charitable people that they themselves set up local organizations responsible for organizing and financing schools. The society showed such people how to co-ordinate their individual efforts on behalf of the poor, how, in fact, to make their alms-giving more productive by employing the techniques of the joint-stock financier. Miss Jones has pointed out⁵⁵ that this new device made it possible for the middle-class subscriber to take a hand in what had hitherto been a task for the rich, and certainly this partly explains the extraordinarily rapid initial spread of the idea in and about London. Within months of the founding of the Society, charity schools were organized in Holborn, Poplar, Whitechapel, Shadwell, and Shoreditch, and in many other places north and south of the Thames.⁵⁶ A successful school soon attracted endowments⁵⁷ and, in some cases, having risen in status became in course of time a classical school providing what we would now call a secondary education. When the school depended on subscriptions only its position was less secure; for example, a slump in the dockyard caused the traders of Deptford to reduce their subscription to their charity school, and at Highgate when enthusiasm for the Ladies' Charity School waned, so did the subscriptions.⁵⁸ Similarly at Brentford in 1708 a fall in subscriptions brought the school into great difficulties.⁵⁹

Another method of fund-raising was that of the charity sermon, and here again the schools in the populous metropolitan areas had advantages both in the eminence of the preachers they could engage and in the size and affluence of the congregations they could attract. Beginning in 1704 the London schools had a joint procession and service which attracted great crowds and equally great collections. This service was held first in St. Andrew's Holborn, then elsewhere, and finally in 1782 at St. Paul's⁶⁰ where it drew from William Blake in his *Songs of Innocence* (1789) the following verses:

'Twas on a Holy Thursday, their innocent faces clean
The children walking two and two, in red and blue and green,
Grey-headed beadles walk'd before, with words as white as snow,
Till into the high dome of Paul's they like Thames' water flow.'

O what a multitude they seemed, these flowers of London Town!
Seated in companies they sit with radiance all their own.
The hum of multitudes was there, but multitudes of lambs,
Thousands of little boys and girls raising their innocent hands.

⁵² G. E. Bate, 'Isleworth Blue School Foundation', *Mdx. Chron.* 15 Apr. 1955; cf. *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 133.

⁵³ W. K. L. Clarke, *Hist. of the S.P.C.K.* 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 11.

⁵⁵ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 70.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ T. Faulkner, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Brentford, Ealing, and Chiswick*, 74; list of benefactions and legacies to Brentford Charity School totalling £395 between 1719 and 1809.

⁵⁸ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 53.

⁵⁹ Clarke, *Hist. S.P.C.K.* 24.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 29-33.

Outside the metropolitan district similar local functions played an important part in financing schools; in the early 19th century when the schoolmistress in a Tottenham charity school was being paid £28 a year (apart from the usual 'two chaldron of coals') the income of about £55 a year from the annual sermon was considerable.⁶¹ In Twickenham in 1809 two sermons yielded £80.⁶² The usual methods of fund-raising were thus endowments, subscriptions, and annual sermons. A few schools had, however, unusual ways of adding to their income: St. Paul's Shadwell farmed its street lamps, for example, and the trustees of the school at St. Katherine near the Tower, being land-tax collectors, donated their poundage to the school.⁶³

Naturally these charity schools were in most cases closely associated with the parish and clergy, but in London, at any rate, an attempt to turn them into parish schools was successfully resisted by the general committee of trustees, a body organized to keep the control of London schools in the hands of the subscribers.⁶⁴ The subscribers themselves were not of one religious view, however, and the subdued tussle between High and Low Church subscribers became overt after the passing of the Schism Act in 1714. It was the London schools in particular which were said to have become a threat to the security of the nation. At the Brentford election in May 1715 and on other occasions the charity children had contributed to public disorders,⁶⁵ and in 1716 the Archbishop of Canterbury told governors of the charity schools in and about London and Westminster to 'purge' masters and mistresses who instilled 'factious or seditious principles into their children' or who allowed them to participate in 'those tumults and riots which are so great a scandal as well as prejudice to the good order and peace of the realm'.⁶⁶ In 1723 Mandeville's essay *On Charity and Charity Schools* further heightened the controversy. Then, in 1723, 'Cato' in the *British Journal* made the most bitter attack of all; the children were taught, he wrote 'to babble out "High Church and Ormonde"' as soon as they could speak and the managers of the schools were 'staunch Jacobites or Furious High Churchmen'.⁶⁷ This venomous article brought an appropriate reply and the Grand Jury of Middlesex brought in a presentment of the authors, publishers, and printers of the *British Journal* for libel as 'villifying and traducing the members of the Church of England for their excellent piety in contributing to erect and maintain Charity Schools for the instruction and education of poor children, a design so good and so much tending to the honour of God and the service and glory of our country, so universally applauded and practised by almost the whole body of Dissenters themselves as the most laudable institution of the best of Charity'.⁶⁸ 'Cato' and Mandeville were silenced and the London schools, having received firm guidance from the Bishop of London in his *Directions* given on 14 November 1724,⁶⁹ henceforth eschewed political and religious controversy and became once more 'the glory of the age'.⁷⁰ Enough had occurred, however, to induce some dissenters to withdraw children and subscriptions from the S.P.C.K. charity schools.

Matthew Henry, the distinguished nonconformist minister of Hare Street Meeting House, Hackney, recommended that dissenters should open their own charity schools.⁷¹ The dissenters' charity school in Shakespeare Walk, Ratcliff Highway, was set up in 1712 but the most famous of the London nonconformist charity schools—Horsely Down—lay south of the river.⁷² The Jewish community also played its part; there were

⁶¹ W. Robinson, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Tottenham High Cross*, 233.

⁶² R. S. Cobbett, *Memorials of Twickenham*, 146.

⁶³ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 57.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 43.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 113.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 116.

⁶⁷ Quoted *ibid.* 123.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* 123-4.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 128-9.

⁷⁰ Addison, quoted *ibid.* 59.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 131.

⁷² *Ibid.* the oft-quoted *Accounts of Charity Schs.* 1704-1800 lists only schools in association with the S.P.C.K.

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founded in 1712 the Ashkenazi Orphan Charity School and in 1731 the Villa Real Charity School.⁷³

Many charity school buildings are still standing, often, as at Wapping,⁷⁴ embellished with alcoved figures of a charity boy and a charity girl. Occasionally there is also a legend such as that on the old charity schools building at Edmonton: 'A structure of Hope, Founded in Faith On the basis of Charity'.⁷⁵ The schools sometimes became known as Blue schools or Green schools after the colour of the distinctive uniform provided for as many as possible of the 'little eleemosynaries'. The subscription charity school at Pentonville in the parish of St. James Clerkenwell, was typical in this respect; in the early 19th century 60 of its 130 pupils were clothed and the rest were given shoes.⁷⁶ The evidence given to a select Committee of the House of Commons in 1816 by the S.P.C.K. shows that at that time most charity schools in the Metropolitan area were clothing some of the pupils and that frequently charity children were also required to wear a badge,⁷⁷ which, at Isleworth, was a simple 'I.C.'⁷⁸ An enlightened benefactor at the Norton Folgate Charity School in 1783, although willing to clothe the boys, objected to 'clothes, caps or bands of any kind of uniform dress or colour'. The boys were provided therefore with 'clothes of good common cloth with suitable linen' which although not a uniform in time became equally distinctive, for the pattern was not changed until 1868.⁷⁹

The curriculum offered to these children consisted principally of moral and religious instruction following closely upon the Church Catechism,⁸⁰ reading and usually writing, sometimes 'casting accmpts', and, occasionally singing. For a few something more might be available; the boys from St. Andrew's Holborn, for example, were sent to Neale's Mathematical School in Hatton Garden three days a week.⁸¹ A master who thought of trying any of the higher flights had, however, to take note of what happened in 1712 to John Honeycott, Master of Clerkenwell Charity School, who mounted a production of Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens*; the trustees were so scandalized that they asked the Bishop of London to recall his licence to teach.⁸² The preacher at the anniversary meeting in London of 1755 put the point clearly: 'There must be drudges of labour . . . as well as counsellors to direct, and rulers to preside. . . . These poor children are born to be daily labourers, for the most part to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. It is evident then that if such children are by charity brought up in a manner that is only proper to qualify them for a rank to which they ought not to aspire, such a child would be injurious to the community'.⁸³ It was this philosophy which led many of the charity schools, with varying degrees of success, to introduce industrial training into the curriculum. As early as 1669 the school which became the Isleworth Blue School was employing a schoolmistress who agreed to train the girls in 'reading, ciphery, knitting, spinning, sewing, brewing, baking, washing, cooking and housewifery'.⁸⁴ It was, however, in the early years of the 18th century that the labour-or-letters controversy became most prominent. In the event the failure of the working school, especially in rural areas, was partly responsible for the charity school movement losing some of the extraordinary impetus it had developed in its earliest days. Henceforth the ethos of elementary education in this country was to be found in literacy rather

⁷³ Quinn, 'Jewish Schooling System', 122-31.

⁷⁴ Rose, *East End*, 65.

⁷⁵ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 148.

⁷⁶ *2nd Rep. Com. Char.* (1819), 77-79.

⁷⁷ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, pp. 99-100.

⁷⁸ *Mdx. Chron.* 22 Apr. 1955.

⁷⁹ Powell, 'Hist. of Turner Exhibition'.

⁸⁰ This applies only to schools in association with the S.P.C.K.

⁸¹ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 82.

⁸² Clarke, *Hist. S.P.C.K.* 25-26.

⁸³ Quoted Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 74-75.

⁸⁴ *Mdx. Chron.* 15 Apr. 1955.

than in labour.⁸⁵ The idea of the working school was not dead, however, and it was to reappear in the following century.

A development of particular significance for education in the London area was the growth of a boarding-school side to the establishment. Trustees soon discovered that the environment of the streets in the evening undid the work of the school by day, and so, when endowments made it possible, they arranged to have some or all of the children maintained in the house as boarders. Thus the girl's charity school in St. George in the East transferred pupils to Raine's Hospital⁸⁶ and the Ladies Charity School in St. Sepulchre's parish became a boarding-school; other charity schools to take in boarders were those of St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Marylebone, and St. Ann Soho.⁸⁷ In the rural areas boarding was rarely offered and in one case—Isleworth in 1715—a reorganization of the school actually put an end to a boarding arrangement of long standing, although the trustees did find lodgings for a few destitute pupils.⁸⁸

Clothing, education, even lodging, did not, however, complete the list of benefits provided for the charity pupil. The trustees and benefactors continued a charitable tradition which went back long before the 18th century, the tradition of establishing apprenticeship funds and other arrangements to ease the passage of the child from school to work. In 1816 the S.P.C.K. produced a statistical return of the charity schools in and around the metropolis and was able to show that since the start of the movement thousands of boys and girls had been put out to apprenticeships, to the sea, to service, or had been taken out by friends. St. Andrew's Holborn had managed to apprentice no fewer than 2,026 of the 4,508 children it had educated since its foundation some 120 years before; the Poplar and Blackwall boys' school, founded in 1711, had educated 1,341, apprenticed 709, sent 66 to sea, and had put 516 to service or out to friends. Raine's Hospital in St. George in the East followed its ex-pupils even further: 'After the age of 22 six of [the girls], producing certificates of their good behaviour during their servitude, draw lots, twice in the year, for a marriage portion of £100 to settle them in the world with an honest, industrious mechanic'.⁸⁹

The charity child with his free education, free clothing, and possibly board, and with the help which charitable funds gave in procuring an apprenticeship, was indeed a privileged member of his class. Wise parents were therefore anxious to place their children in such schools and trustees were able to select the objects of their charity. It was those deemed to be the 'deserving' poor who were usually helped, those whose children were, as the Rotherhithe trustees of 1739 put it, 'descended from such as have lived in reputable manner in the parish but through misfortune [are] incapable of bestowing proper education on their children'.⁹⁰ The Edmonton trustees in 1804 were equally intent on maintaining standards for they resolved 'that if any girl belonging to this school shall . . . visit the Edmonton Theatre that she be immediately expelled the school'.⁹¹

There was then in the 18th century a class below that which patronized the charity school, a class whose children were educated, if at all, at the dame schools. The relative status of these two types of school is made quite clear in the resolution of the Brentford trustees at their initial meeting in 1703 which declared that 'children who do not know their letters or cannot spell . . . be not sent to Austin Gwynn [the charity school master] but to some one or more dames of the Church of England till they be qualified by being

⁸⁵ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 95.

⁸⁶ See p. 313.

⁸⁷ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, pp. 99-101.

⁸⁸ *Mdx. Chron.* 22 Apr. 1955.

⁸⁹ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, pp. 99-101; see p. 313.

⁹⁰ Quoted Larcombe, 'Subscription Char. Schs.' chap. ii, p. 11.

⁹¹ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 149.

able to spell'.⁹² Much later in the same century Mrs. Trimmer, that redoubtable Brentford educator, in her *Reflections upon the Education of Children in Charity Schools* (1792), recommended that the Sunday schools should be used diagnostically so that the dull and bad children could be sent on to industrial schools and the more highly favoured to charity schools. The tendency was, therefore, for charity schools to rise in status, and those which became 'hospitals' are the best-known examples of schools which in the course of time changed their purpose and became secondary schools. The Blue Coat school for girls, built at Tottenham in 1735, changed its status to such an extent that by 1886 it had become a fee-paying middle-class school.⁹³ Usually, however, the charity schools became as selective as circumstances allowed but nevertheless remained elementary. As new movements made their appearance the charity schools adapted themselves and it is quite common to find them being merged into the National or British schools of the next century.

While they flourished the charity schools were objects of local pride and accounts of them are usually found in the local histories. The *Accounts of Charity Schools* published by the S.P.C.K. between 1704 and 1800 give lists which vary in accuracy.⁹⁴ A further list of metropolitan charity schools is to be found in the evidence put in by the S.P.C.K. to the Select Committee of 1816 on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis.⁹⁵ The endowed non-classical schools in Middlesex are listed by the Charity Commissioners in their *Digest of Schools and Charities for Education* of 1842.⁹⁶ By any reckoning the creation of this school system was a remarkable achievement, especially when it is recalled that most of the effort was made during a few years at the beginning of the century. How was it all done and above all how was it continued? Let the author of *Magna Britannia* of 1724 tell us, taking as his example not a well-known metropolitan school but one from a more distant parish:

Whitchurch alias Stanmore parva, where is a school, which from a small beginning, is come to a considerable bigness, as the following account will show. A private gentleman in Westminster having occasion to visit his relations here, and observing a great want of a Charity School, upon his return solicited his acquaintance in London and Westminster to subscribe to it; in which he was so successful, that he obtained sufficient to open a school for twelve girls on Michaelmas Day, 1710, to be taught to read and say the Church catechism. In 1711, the subscriptions, and casual benefactions at London so increased that eighteen girls were taught in the summer, without any help of the neighbourhood. In 1712, a subscription was promoted in the town of Whitchurch, and there was raised £10 a year, half of which was given by a lady that then lived in the parish, who still continues her bounty, though she is since removed. Upon this augmentation of maintenance, six girls more were added, which made the number 24. In 1713, there was a collection made for this school at Great Stanmore church, and so much money was gathered, with some contributions from London, where an unknown gentleman gave £5 as to enable the trustees to clothe all the children the first time. This year also one Mrs. Cardonel left at her death £5 a year, for four years, which raised the number of children six boys; which increase so pleased an honourable person, and his lady, that they subscribed £20 a year to it; by which, and some collections at Whitchurch and Edgeworth churches, the girls were completely clothed a second time, and so continue.⁹⁷

By 1720 the charity school movement had lost much of its impetus, but in the last twenty years of the century the forces behind it regained strength and produced the next significant development in the story of education for the children of the poor. The Sunday school movement did not originate in the London area but when, in 1786, Mrs.

⁹² F. Turner, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Brentford*, 207-8.

⁹³ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 155-6.

⁹⁴ See Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 368, for list of 1724; *ibid.* 372-3 for Lond. and Westminster section of 1799 list.

⁹⁵ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, pp. 99-101.

⁹⁶ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 358; *Digest of Schs. and Char. for Educ.* H.C. 435 (1843), xviii.

⁹⁷ *Magna Britannia et Hibernia Antiqua et Nova*, ed. T. Cox, iii. 65.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

Sarah Trimmer took up Robert Raikes's Gloucestershire scheme for educating poor children on the Sabbath and publicized the work of her Brentford school, she brought to the notice of those who were willing to further the cause of education a way of putting to good use not only their alms but also their teaching talents.⁹⁸

Like the charity schools, the Sunday schools were largely financed by philanthropic gifts, but subscriptions were more usual than endowments. A return of 1833 showed that of 329 Middlesex Sunday schools only 3 were endowed, whilst 290 were supported solely by subscriptions.⁹⁹ The children were taught on the Sabbath only because a developing economy found it necessary to use the labour of children on weekdays. Here then was a plan which both industrialists and philanthropists could support and this is in some measure an explanation of the rapid development of the scheme throughout the country.

In the development of these schools there was at first an encouraging degree of co-operation between the two wings of religious opinion, but this did not continue, and by the end of the century writers begin to distinguish between Church and dissenter Sunday schools. Raikes's original Sunday School Society ('The Society for the support and encouragement of Sunday Schools throughout the British Dominions') became established in London in 1785 and represented equally both Church and dissent. This Society obliged its pupils to attend some unspecified place of worship and refused to allow the teaching of writing on the Sabbath. The Sunday School Union, established in 1803, accepted any school which reported and contributed to the central body but its constituent schools were usually attached to one particular place of worship. Sunday School Union schools were usually Church schools in the country, but in the metropolis they were mostly dissenting schools. The National Society, the Church-supporting school society founded in 1811, ran Sunday schools as well as (and sometimes in the same building as) day schools. Its rival, the British and Foreign Schools Society of 1808, while encouraging children to attend them, did not itself organize Sunday schools.

The education return of 1833 showed that 150 of the recorded 329 Middlesex Sunday schools were dissenter schools.¹ By 1858 denominationalism was complete, for the Royal Commission on Popular Education² found it convenient to classify Sunday schools by religions. In Middlesex there were 655 Church of England Sunday schools with 67,535 pupils, 96 Congregational schools with 22,608 pupils, 92 schools belonging to the various branches of the Methodist Church with 19,156 pupils, 56 Baptist schools with 9,564 pupils, 8 Unitarian schools with 601 pupils, 8 Roman Catholic with 1,324 pupils, and one Jewish Sabbath school with 35 pupils.

Educational statistics of this period are often unreliable and in the case of Sunday schools an even greater amount of caution is called for, since children listed as attending Sunday schools might also be listed as attending a day school. Furthermore, the figures usually represent the numbers on roll rather than the numbers actually in regular attendance. If we take the areas surveyed by Wilkinson for the Royal Commission on Popular Education of 1858 (i.e. St. Pancras, St. George in the East, and Chelsea) as being not untypical, attendance at Sunday school as a percentage of the roll was 67.4. This was somewhat below the figure for day schools and a little below the national average for Sunday schools.³ With these reservations in mind it is still possible to assert, however, that numerically Sunday schools played an important part in the

⁹⁸ Sarah Trimmer, *Oeconomy of Charity* (1787).

⁹⁹ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 592 (1835), xli.

¹ *Ibid.* xli, xlii, xliii; the return was defective in parts: *ibid.* xli, pp. 593-4.

² *Rep. Com. on Popular Educ.* Pt. 1 [2794-1] H.C., p. 621 (1861), xxi.

³ *Ibid.* p. 648.

education of the poor. They were not as selective as the charity schools and the numbers on roll were much greater. An expert witness estimated in 1816 that 40,000 children were attending Sunday schools in the metropolitan area.⁴ The East London Auxiliary Sunday School Union almost doubled its affiliated schools and its number of scholars between 1816 and 1834;⁵ figures collected from different sources show a similar development in the county as a whole. The total number of Sunday schools in Middlesex was 110 in 1819, 329 in 1833, and 916 in 1858, with a corresponding increase in scholars from 16,773 to 52,121 to 120,823.⁶

A comparison of the number being educated in Sunday schools with the number of those being educated in other ways provides further evidence of the importance of Sunday school education. In one parish, St. Andrew's Holborn, in 1835, an infant day school had 200 pupils and two day schools had 120 on roll whereas the Sunday school had 350 pupils.⁷ The conclusion of J. P. Kay in 1838 was that the number of children in Sunday schools far exceeded the number in day schools.⁸ Even when allowance was made for education obtained in dame schools and other inferior schools the position of the Sunday schools was still predominant.

Investigations carried out by the Statistical Society of London at this period bring out this point. Three of the areas investigated were Finsbury (1839), St. Marylebone (1842), and Whitechapel (1843). In these areas 58,163 children were attending schools of all types (dame schools, Sunday schools, common day, charity, infant, and middling schools) and no fewer than 20,082 of these were on the roll of the Sunday schools.⁹ Similarly in the classified list of schools for the whole of Middlesex given in the Report of the Royal Commission of 1858 the total number of pupils attending public day schools is only slightly larger than the number attending Sunday schools.¹⁰

It must be remembered that although reading was the predominant activity in these schools their main purpose was religious. The Revd. James Sheward opened a successful Sunday school in Percy Chapel, St. Pancras, in 1812 for children from 7 to 14, and preferred to admit readers to his school so that their religious education could be carried forward without delay.¹¹ The superintendent of a large London Sunday school estimated in 1816 that it took three years to teach a child to read. The 'new method of instruction'—and by this he meant the monitorial system—was not, however, suitable for Sunday school instruction 'as it precludes a number of respectable persons from being teachers which is a great obstruction to the improvement of the children'.¹² The well-to-do were ready to give their time as well as their money. Teachers were paid in the early days of the movement, but a witness assured a Select Committee in 1834 that for the last thirty years the teaching had been largely in the hands of voluntary workers.¹³ Clearly such people could not be expected to master the intricacies of the monitorial method; in 1819 only 13 of the 110 Sunday schools reported in Middlesex were using the new techniques,¹⁴ and in 1835 a witness could still affirm that the Sunday schools did not use these day-school techniques.¹⁵

The limits set by conscience, in the case of those who discouraged anything but reading the Scriptures on Sunday, and by the dependence upon teaching by amateur volunteers, meant that the Sunday schools did not achieve as much as their numerical

⁴ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, p. 76.

⁵ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* H.C. 572, p. 108 (1834), ix.

⁶ *Digest of Rets. to Cttee. on Educ. of Poor*, H.C. 224, p. 1171 (1819), ix (1); *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, H.C. 62, p. 592 (1835), xlii; *Rep. Com. on Pop. Educ.* Pt. 1 (1861), 621.

⁷ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1835), 59.

⁸ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Poorer Classes*, H.C. 589, p. 141 (1837-8), vii.

⁹ *Jnl. Statistical Soc. of Lond.* vi. 217.

¹⁰ *Rep. Com. on Pop. Educ.* Pt. 1 (1861), pp. 604, 621.

¹¹ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, p. 89.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 85, n. 114.

¹³ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1834), 94.

¹⁴ *Digest of Rets. to Cttee. on Educ. of Poor*, (1819).

¹⁵ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1835), 59.

preponderance might indicate. In 1834 a witness admitted that when a Sunday school scholar could write the chances were that he had learned to do so at a day school,¹⁶ and on the same occasion the Bishop of London thought that in London the Sunday school system was not as successfully run as in the manufacturing districts.¹⁷

We turn next to another late-18th-century by-product of the Charity school movement. The 'working' or industrial school for the poor had been tried and had failed but now made its reappearance. The Charity schools had risen in status and concentrated upon the more respectable of the poor; but the industrial school was deemed to be suited to the task of providing education for the poorest of the poor. Although the philanthropic industrial schools were no more successful than the working charity schools of the early 18th century, the principle remained and was applied again in the 19th century, notably in schools established for vagrant and delinquent children.

Again the starting point is Brentford, for the gift of a spinning-wheel to Mrs. Trimmer's Sunday school in 1786 led her to establish a girls' industrial day school where spinning, knitting, and plain needlework were taught. Unfortunately this school was not an economic success and closed after two years. When Mrs. Trimmer managed to establish a boys' industrial school this too had to be closed after a short time.¹⁸ In theory these schools should have made enough profit from the children's labour in putting heads on pins, spinning, knitting, making shirts, and so on, to ensure success for the scheme and to pay the children a wage as well, but Sir Thomas Eden's verdict in 1797 was that once the zeal of the first promoters was gone these schools became little more than parish poor houses.¹⁹ In 1798 the governors of the Foundling Hospital deliberately dropped industrial training on the grounds that in London penmanship was more useful and that the labour of children only became profitable when they were 12 or 13 years old.²⁰

In the new century, however, private philanthropists, benevolent societies, and, later, public authorities took up the idea of an industrial element in the education of certain classes of poor children not as a means of making the school self-supporting but as part of a remedial education designed to overcome the influences of a bad environment, especially in the case of those who were likely to become criminal. Several outstanding examples of this type of school are to be found in Middlesex. The Children's Friend Society, for example, founded by Captain Pelham Brenton, established a school for boys at West Ham in 1830 and later at Hackney Wick which sought to combine 'spade husbandry' with moral and religious instruction. Later the Society started a girls' school, the Victoria Female Asylum, at Chiswick.²¹

Even more remarkable was the school begun at Ealing in 1833 by Lady Noel Byron,²² which attempted to introduce to this country the agricultural system developed by de Fellenberg at Hofwyl in Switzerland. When Tremenheere, one of the Committee of Council inspectors, visited the school in 1843, he found the agricultural programme in full operation with the boys working their plots as individual enterprises. The academic side was not neglected, for two of the older boys were doing simple equations and science of a simple kind was also being attempted. Faulkner reported in 1845 that the

¹⁶ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1834), 97.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 187, n. 119.

¹⁸ Jones, *Char. Sch. Movement*, 157.

¹⁹ Quoted *ibid.* 157-8.

²⁰ M. D. George, *Lond. Life in the Eighteenth Century*, 250-1.

²¹ *Rep. Children's Friend Soc.* H.C. 441 (1835), xii; *ibid.* H.C. 323 (1840), xxxiii; *Rep. of General Cttee. of Children's Friend Soc.* 1839; C. Forso, *Practical Remarks upon the*

educ. of the working classes; Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Poorer Classes, (1837-8), 7; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1834), pp. 201-7.

²² B. F. Duppa, 'Industrial Schools for the peasantry', in *Central Soc. of Educ. First Publication* (1837), 172-213; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Poorer Classes*, (1837-8), 7; *Mins. of Cttee. of Council on Educ.* [520] H.C., pp. 141-3 (1843), xl; Faulkner, *Brentford*, 240-1; E. C. Wayne, *Life and Letters of Lady Noel Byron*.

boarders were paying £15 a year and the day boys 6d. a week, and that nine was the minimum age. The school also helped suitable pupils to become 'useful village school-masters'.

Lady Byron's school did not cater for the semi-criminal classes, but the principal development of the industrial school movement lay in providing training for such children. These training establishments were usually small and sometimes had inspiring names such as 'The House of Discipline or School of Reform' founded in Cheyne Row, Chelsea, in 1825.²³ Some of these schools remained independent but others were registered under an Act of 1857 to receive (and be paid for receiving) pauper children or vagrants committed by a magistrate, though not convicted of a crime.²⁴ The Royal Commission on Popular Education listed ten certified and sixteen uncertified industrial schools for Middlesex (apart from Westminster), all concentrated in the built-up Metropolitan area.²⁵

The same ethos produced schools of an even stricter kind and these too were to be found in the county. The schools for children who had been convicted of crime were regulated by another Act of 1857;²⁶ there were the Catholic Girls' Reformatory at Brook Green, Hammersmith, the Rescue Society's Home for Girls in Church Row, Hampstead, and the 'Home in the East' Reformatory for boys at Old Ford, Bow.²⁷ But the outstanding reformatory of the county was the boys' school at Feltham established by the Middlesex magistrates out of the general county rate and opened in 1859. The school was intended for the reception of juvenile offenders from 7 to 14 who had been convicted of an offence committed in Middlesex. It was, therefore, a reformatory, but having been built under the Middlesex Industrial Schools Act of 1854²⁸ it became known as the Middlesex Industrial School, Feltham. 'To the honour of the Middlesex magistrates', wrote a journalist in 1866, 'they have obtained a special Act of Parliament by which young London thieves can be sent to their Reformatory without first being committed to prison'. The curriculum included a wide variety of industrial employments; the farm was worked entirely by spade labour and all the boys' clothing, including boots, was made on the premises. In 1866 the average number of inmates was 556 and the staff numbered 52.²⁹

The boys at Feltham had become a charge on the rates because of their delinquency. There was another and more numerous group of children for whose care and education the public authorities were perforce responsible—the paupers. Before turning to the education provided by parishes and poor law unions for pauper children, attention should be drawn to some early cases which show parochial authorities taking a view of their responsibilities towards the poor broad enough to include special arrangements for education. In 1613 the newly-established Hackney Vestry decided to appoint a school-master and allowed him to charge 4d. a week for teaching grammar and up to 2d. a week for teaching English alone to children of the parish. There appears to have been no legal ground for this action, but the fact was that the rates were applied to provide education.³⁰ This case may well be regarded as a parallel to the arrangement at St. Olave's, Southwark.³¹ A small gesture in the same direction was made at Twickenham in 1686

²³ *3rd Annual Rep. of the House of Discipline or School of Reform instituted at Lawrence St., Cheyne Row, Chelsea 1825* (1828); *Rep. Children's Friend Soc.* (1835), 547–50.

²⁴ Industrial Schools Act, 20 & 21 Vic. c. 55.

²⁵ *Rep. Com. on Pop. Educ., Pt. I* [2794–1] H.C., p. 605 (1861), xxi (1).

²⁶ Act to amend Mode of Committing Criminal Children to Reformatories and Industrial Schs., 19 & 20 Vic. c. 109.

²⁷ *3rd Rep. Inspectors of Reformatory Schs.* [2688] H.C. (1860), xxxv; *Ret. of Aided or Supported Schs.* H.C. 495 (1871), lvi.

²⁸ Mdx. Industrial Schools Act, 17 & 18 Vic. c. 169.

²⁹ W. Gilbert, 'Plea for criminal boys', *Good Words*, 2 Apr. 1866, pp. 279–84; annual reports and papers in M.R.O.

³⁰ J. E. G. de Montmorency, *State Intervention in Eng. Educ.* 192.

³¹ *V.C.H. Surr.* ii. 181 sqq.

(possibly in continuation of an earlier arrangement) when a schoolmaster was allowed to use the church-house as a schoolroom provided he took three poor parish boys as free pupils.³²

There can be no doubt, however, about an arrangement made in 1685 whereby the Justices of the Peace for Middlesex set up a 'general nursery or college of infants'. The idea was evolved by Sir Thomas Rowe who leased part of the Clerkenwell workhouse and, having fitted it up 'at great charge' set up a school there, where children were lodged and clothed as well as being taught reading and writing, the principles of religion, and various trades. The Justices ordered officers of the urban parishes of Middlesex and the City of Westminster to send specified numbers of children, and then issued orders commending the school to the Justices of the Tower Hamlets and of the rural divisions. When enthusiasm for his 'college' flagged, Rowe petitioned the court to order parishes to send their children. The school also took non-pauper children—seamen's children, for example—and a scale of charges was set out.³³

The pauper child who found himself in Sir Thomas Rowe's school was fortunate. If the family was being relieved out of the workhouse the parish dole left nothing for school pence and it was not until 1855, under Denison's Act,³⁴ that relief could be given to cover the cost of schooling. Under the old Poor Law, if the family was brought into the workhouse to be relieved it was doubtful whether the child received anything that could properly be called education. An expert witness told a Select Committee in 1861 that under the pre-1834 system a few populous parishes did make provision but 'in almost all cases I found that what was called the education of the children was entrusted to a pauper'.³⁵ The children of St. Marylebone were perhaps a little more fortunate, at any rate as regards formal instruction, for the master of the new workhouse built in 1752 was in fact a schoolmaster. Whether he lived up to his promises 'to teach the children to read and write and cast accounts . . . and instruct them in the principles of religion' we do not know, but the children did have some schooling as a break from the silkwinding that they and their mothers had to do.³⁶

In the case of the populous metropolitan parishes, the high infant mortality rate and the influence of Hanway's Acts³⁷ led parochial authorities to develop the plan of sending pauper children into the country districts. Two devices were used. In some cases an 'infant establishment' was set up in the country; in 1834 children from St. Andrew's Holborn, were sent to Barnet, for example, and children from St. Giles-in-the-Fields to Heston. The other device, made possible by a clause in an Act of 1723³⁸ was to use the services of a contractor; Aubin of Norwood, for example, had over a thousand pauper children in his school in 1839, including 247 from the East London Union and 79 from St. James Clerkenwell. In 1836 these children were sleeping three to a bed.³⁹

The contractors' establishments were allowed to continue for a time under the new Poor Law, but the 1834 Act led to improvements in the arrangements made for the education of pauper children. Unions, and parishes regulated by local acts, were persuaded to establish schools and to appoint schoolmasters. The policy of separating

³² Cobbett, *Twickenham*, 146.

³³ *Account of the general nursey or colledg of infants set up by the Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex* (1686); E. G. Dowdell, *A hundred years of Quarter Sessions*, 59–61; *Cal. of Sessions Bks.*, ed. W. J. Hardy, 13, 125–6; W. J. Pinks, *Hist. of Clerkenwell*, 125–7; S. and Beatrice Webb, *Eng. Poor Law Hist.* i. 26.

³⁴ Act. for Educ. of Children in receipt of out-door relief, 18 & 19 Vic. c. 34.

³⁵ 4th Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Poor Relief, H.C. 474–I, p. 88 (1861), ix.

³⁶ Sheppard, *St. Marylebone*, 48.

³⁷ Act for Registration of Par. Poor Infants, 2 Geo. III, c. 22; Act for Regulation of Par. Poor Children, 7 Geo. III, c. 39.

³⁸ Act for Settlement, Employment, and Relief of the Poor, 9 Geo. I, c. 7.

³⁹ Rep. on Continuance of Poor Law Com. H.C. 226 and 227, p. 36 n. (1840), xvii; 2nd Rep. Poor Law Com. H.C. 595, p. 449 (1836), xxix (1).

THE EDUCATION OF THE WORKING CLASSES

the children from their parents and sending them, if possible, to the country was continued and in 1866 the following Middlesex metropolitan authorities were sending children to separate schools:

TABLE I

Schools for Pauper Children under the New Poor Law¹

<i>Union or Parish</i>	<i>School at</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
Kensington	Plashet (Essex)	132
St. Marylebone	Southall	446
Hampstead	Hendon	9
Islington	Holloway	219
St. Giles and St. George	Isleworth	110
Strand	Edmonton	222
Clerkenwell	Highgate	160
St. Luke	Plashet	127
Whitechapel	Forest Gate ²	291
Shoreditch	Brentwood (Essex)	324
St. George in the East	Plashet	281
Stepney	Limehouse	406
Mile End Old Town	Mile End	144
Poplar	Forest Gate	201
St. Pancras	Forest Gate	183
Bethnal Green	Mitcham (Surr.)	180

¹ *Rep. relative to Metrop. Workhouses*, H.C. 18, p. 15 (1867), lx.

² This school took the Hackney children, on contract, in the following year.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1844⁴⁰ made possible a further development in this field which was of significance for the metropolitan area. Unions and parishes were empowered to unite and to form a school district which then set up a large separate school for the education of all the indoor pauper children of the constituents of the district. In 1849 the Central London School District (comprising the City of London, West London, and East London Unions, and St. Saviour's parish) took over Aubin's School at Norwood and improved it. In 1857 the school was moved to a new building, which may still be seen at Hanwell.⁴¹ At the end of the period under review enabling clauses in another Act⁴² led to the formation of further school districts. Early in 1868 the Paddington and Fulham unions combined with the parish of St. George, Hanover Square, to form the West London School District,⁴³ which opened a school at West Ashford, near Staines, in 1872. The Whitechapel, Hackney, and Poplar Unions combined to form the Forest Gate School District in the summer of 1868. Since this District had two waterside unions, in addition to running a school at Forest Gate it was responsible for the *Goliath*, a training ship for pauper children, moored in the Thames.

Outside the metropolis, pauper children were usually to be found not in separate institutions but in the general workhouse. Under the new Poor Law of 1834 the persistent action of the Commissioners and later of the Poor Law Board led to the appointment of a teacher for each union and the provision of separate accommodation, including a schoolroom, for the children. The curriculum often included industrial occupations as well as the basic educational skills. As the years passed and the general provision of schools became greater it became more convenient in some places, such as Hampstead in 1856,⁴⁴ to send the children to a local day school with the guardians paying the school pence.

The educational needs of the pauper children in the county therefore, were met in the years after 1834 by means of a system of district, separate, and workhouse schools

⁴⁰ Poor Law Amendment Act, 7 & 8 Vic. c. 101.

⁴¹ *Ret. of Particulars in regard to District Schs.* H.C. 395 (1857-8), xlix (1); *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 236.

⁴² Metropolitan Poor Act. 30 & 31 Vic. c. 6.

⁴³ *Rep. Deptl. Cttee. to enquire into systems for maint. and*

educ. of Children under Charge of managers of District Schs. and Bds. of Guardians [C. 8027] H.C., p. 4 (1896), xliii.

⁴⁴ *Ret. of Unions where Sch. is maintained separately from the Workhse.* H.C. 132 (1857), xxxii.

which, despite the Benthamite doctrine of 'less eligibility', provided an education superior in some ways to that available to the poorest of the non-pauper children. The system is of particular importance in this county since in 1850 no less than 11 per cent. of all pauper children in England were in the care of the Middlesex authorities.⁴⁵ The Central London District School at Hanwell was considered to be the model of how the education of the poor should be conducted⁴⁶ and in a bad winter its roll would pass the thousand mark. It was this same school which, at the end of the century, provided Charles Chaplin with the small amount of formal education his inventive genius required.

The pauper schools did not come under the aegis of the Education Department, nor did the schools established by the Army and the Navy. The Army had come to recognize that it had some responsibility for the education of soldiers' children, especially when their parents were abroad or when the children were orphaned. The most famous of the army schools was the Duke of York's Royal Military Asylum opened in Chelsea in 1803 for 'orphans and other children of non-commissioned officers and soldiers of Our Army'. By 1810 this school had over 1,000 boys and girls, and Dr. Bell himself was regulating its educational regime. In 1846 a further development took place when a training department for army schoolmasters was added.⁴⁷ At the end of the period under review the roll of this school was 457.⁴⁸

This large orphanage was not, however, a typical army school. Garrison, depot, and regimental schools were much smaller and were usually arranged as three departments, for soldiers, children, and infants. In 1865 there were several such schools in and around London maintained by the various battalions of footguards, lifeguards, and horse guards. The XIIth Lancers' school was at Hounslow, the Royal Engineers' at Brompton, and the 1/60th Rifles' at Kensington.⁴⁹ Such schools were, of course, subject to the exigencies of service life, and a return of 1871 shows many changes in the disposition of the regiments and their schools.⁵⁰ The schools maintained by the Admiralty did not lie in the county, although there can be little doubt that Middlesex boys would, in the 19th century, cross the river to the dockyard school at Deptford or be lodged at the Greenwich Hospital schools for orphans and sons of men in the Navy and the Marines.

Pauper schools and military schools provided an education financed wholly from public funds. The existence of these 'government' schools was justified only because the pupils in them were primarily the responsibility of public authorities. In the period before 1870 it was unthinkable for a public authority to provide schools for the generality of the people. Beginning in 1833, public funds were used only to assist the efforts of voluntary bodies seeking to meet the educational needs of the working population. Perhaps the best known of these societies, and the one that gave the somewhat misleading name 'National' to many elementary schools established in the county during the 19th century, was 'The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales'. The story of this Society, together with that of Dr. Bell, its mentor and exponent of the 'monitorial' teaching method, is told in many excellent histories.⁵¹

⁴⁵ *Abstract of Ret. of Children in Workhouses*, H.C. 170, p. 3 (1851), xlix.

⁴⁶ *Ret. of Aided or Supported Schs.* (1871), gives a list of pauper schools in Mdx.

⁴⁷ T. A. Bowyer-Bower, 'A Pioneer of Army Education: the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, 1801-1821', *Brit. Jnl. of Educ. Studies*, ii. 122-32; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 495, p. 199; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1834), 150.

⁴⁸ *Ret. of Aided or Supported Schs.* (1871).

⁴⁹ *2nd Rep. by Council of Military Educ. on Army Schs.* [3422] H.C., App. 4, no. 1, p. 49 [1865], xxxiv; for description of Royal Horse Guards school at Hyde Park Barracks at an earlier date see *Jnl. Statistical Soc. of Lond.* i. 298-315.

⁵⁰ *Ret. of Aided or Supported Schs.* (1871).

⁵¹ e.g. H. J. Burgess, *Enterprise in Educ.*

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The Society, founded in 1811, was closely associated with the Church and with the S.P.C.K. Only rarely did the National Society own schools itself. Its secretary in 1816 told a Commons committee how the Society set about its work.⁵² Existing charity schools were reorganized on monitorial lines; this made the teaching more efficient and also allowed the school greatly to increase its roll of pupils. When this was done only the best children were then clothed and there was competition among the pupils to be recipients of the traditional charity uniform. Hackney and Limehouse charity schools were reorganized in this way and grew to 350 pupils each. Similarly the Whitechapel Free School, a school founded by the Whitechapel Society in 1813, became associated with the National Society and was developed and expanded.⁵³ Many schools associated with the National Society did not receive money from the parent body but grants were made when there was a special need or when local resources were not sufficient; in 1814, for example, grants of £80 had been made to Isleworth, £100 to Ratcliff, and £500 to Whitechapel.⁵⁴

Some critics of the National Society said that it had been formed only as a riposte to the foundation of the British and Foreign Schools Society (1808).⁵⁵ This society too had its mentor, Joseph Lancaster, and, like Bell, he advocated, and claimed to have invented, the 'monitorial' method. These 'British', or 'Lancasterian' schools as they were sometimes called, confined their religious teaching to Bible-reading and in the main they received support from dissenters. By 1816 there were seventeen British schools in the metropolitan area⁵⁶ and by 1834 this had become 100 schools with 15,919 children.⁵⁷ The Society encouraged and developed local foundations, but once a school was firmly established it was left to the entire control of its local managers. An enthusiast such as Francis Place (who tried but failed to start a West London Lancasterian School in 1813)⁵⁸ would start a school and seek association with the British and Foreign School Society which would give guidance and, if needed, further training to the master at the Society's model school in Borough Road, Southwark. In one case a mere soup kitchen, started at Spitalfields because of distress in 1812, was developed and transformed in the course of four years into a school with 320 children in attendance and accommodation for 800.⁵⁹ At Uxbridge the trustees of the manor and borough called a meeting of the inhabitants in 1809 and set up the Uxbridge Lancasterian Institution to replace their earlier foundations. The school, which offered free education, received general support because of its rule that only approved books (i.e. those confined to 'Holy Scriptures and lessons for spelling and arithmetic') could be used in the school.⁶⁰

At first these two societies were the only ones to share in the government school building grants which began in 1833, but in time the other communities were given grants on the same terms. As early as 1816 the Roman Catholics had five schools in the metropolitan area educating some six or seven hundred children. Three separate Catholic charities were amalgamated to form the Catholic Poor School Committee in 1847 and by 1858 there were 117 Roman Catholic schools or departments in Middlesex educating 15,574 children compared with 785 Church of England schools or departments (92,776 children), 83 'British' (14,649 children), 94 other nonconformist establishments (13,617) and 14 Jewish schools (2,839 children).⁶¹

Public week-day schools of this type drew money from three sources: endowments

⁵² *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 427, pp. 27 sqq.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 28.

⁵⁵ See H. B. Binns, *A century of educ.*

⁵⁶ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* H.C. 469, p. 117 (1816), iv.

⁵⁷ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1834), 16.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* (1835), 77.

⁵⁹ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* (1816), H.C. 469, p. 122.

⁶⁰ MS. mins. in M.R.O.

⁶¹ *Rep. Com. on Pop. Educ.*, Pt. 1 (1861), 604.

and subscriptions, school pence, and government grants. The return of income (exclusive of government aid) obtained by the Newcastle Commission in 1858⁶² showed that in Middlesex the Church of England schools, with £81,564, were attracting nearly four times as great an income as all the remaining denominational schools together. The government grants were given first for building purposes, but later they were extended to cover other parts of the expense of founding and running a school. Between 1833 and 1859 nearly £300,000 was paid in government grants to Middlesex schools.⁶³

The remaining source of income for the public day school was the school pence of the scholars. The Uxbridge Lancasterian Institution was somewhat exceptional in not charging fees and in 1816 the school proudly renamed itself Uxbridge Free School. Ten years later, however, a meeting recommended that 'a trifling sum' be charged and in 1827 this was fixed at 1*d.* a week.⁶⁴ In 1833 this went up to 2*d.* which was then the amount charged by almost all the local public schools.⁶⁵ Twopence was the amount charged at the new British School opened at Chiswick in 1836,⁶⁶ but the girls' National school in Old Brentford founded by Mrs. Trimmer in 1789 still had sufficient subscriptions in 1843 to keep the school pence down to 1*d.*⁶⁷ The Bedfont and Hatton National school had a graded scale of fees.⁶⁸ Labourers paid 2*d.* a week for one child and 4*d.* a week for two or more, mechanics, shopkeepers, and others earning more than labourers (but less than parents in the third category) paid fees ranging from 4*d.* to 10*d.* a week and could pay quarterly in advance (from 3*s.* 6*d.* to 9*s.*), while market gardeners and publicans were compelled to pay quarterly in advance fees ranging from 6*s.* to 15*s.*

The National or British school was at mid-century the typical school for children of the working classes. The curriculum covered the three R's and a little more. Despite the objection that children were being educated above their station, schools often taught history, geography, and grammar as well, at any rate until the Revised Code of 1862 compelled teachers to concentrate upon the basic skills. Arnold in 1855 defended the wider curriculum offered in some London schools by pointing out that such schools were not patronized by the very poorest of the population.⁶⁹ This defence came in Arnold's first report on coming to London to inspect schools other than Roman Catholic and Church schools; his immediate impression was that 'an ordinary London school does not, I repeat, make a favourable impression upon the spectator when he contrasts its instruction and discipline with those of an ordinary school in the country'. 'Is it that the excitement and intensity of London life are *too* powerful?' he asked, but went on to mention two special London drawbacks. First there was the lack of interest by clergymen in the British and Wesleyan schools, and secondly the wretched accommodation of so many of the London schools he had seen.⁷⁰ There may be something of the new broom about this report, however, for in the following year Arnold was speaking of the great improvement in the London schools under his inspection, and again in the year after that.⁷¹

When Arnold spoke of the National and British schools eschewing the needs of the very poorest children in the population he was undoubtedly thinking of the ragged schools. Like the charity schools of the previous century the ordinary day schools had begun to refuse the ragged children.⁷² If these unfortunates with their 'rude habits, filthy condition and their want of shoes and stockings' were accepted, respectable

⁶² *Rep. Com. on Pop. Educ.*, Pt. i (1861), 604.

⁶³ *Ibid.* 584; *Mins. of Cttee. of Council on Educ.* [2237] H.C., pp. 131-40 (1857 Sess. 2), xxxiii.

⁶⁴ M.R.O., MS. mins. 7 Feb. 1826, 7 Apr. 1827.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* 4 Dec. 1833.

⁶⁶ Faulkner, *Brentford*, 454.

⁶⁷ *Jnl. Statistical Soc.* vi. 129.

⁶⁸ M.R.O., with Feltham Industrial Sch. MSS.

⁶⁹ M. Arnold, *Reps. on Elementary Schs. 1852-83*, ed. F. S. Marvin, 46.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 36-40.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 56-57, 70.

⁷² *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of destitute and neglected children*, H.C. 460, p. 84 (1861), vii.

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parents would soon remove their children.⁷³ The evangelical movement produced yet another voluntary society to meet this need and in 1844 the Ragged Schools Union was created to provide education for these outcasts of London. It began with 16 schools and by 1861 had 176 with 17,230 children, 2,970 voluntary teachers, and 400 paid teachers.⁷⁴ The Royal Commission on Popular Education reported that in 1858 there were 128 ragged schools in Middlesex with 11,632 pupils.⁷⁵

Ragged schools were intended for the 'very large class of children in London who are not paupers or criminals; they are the children of coster-mongers . . . of brick-makers . . . of pig-feeders . . . of rag dealers and Spitalfield weavers out of employment . . . of labourers who are out of work in frost or bad weather, or who are thrown out of work at the docks frequently by ships not arriving . . . of knockers and catsmeat men . . . of slop tailors . . . of washerwomen . . . of crossing sweepers and street musicians and the lowest mendicants and tramps and persons who get their living by theft . . . the children of hawkers, pigeon dealers, dog-fanciers and other men of that class'.⁷⁶

The powerful pen of Dickens helped to swell the list of subscribers to the ragged schools:

I found my first Ragged School in an obscure place called West Street, Saffron Hill, pitifully struggling for life under every disadvantage. It had no means; it had no suitable rooms; it derived no power or protection by being recognized by any authority; it attracted within its walls a fluctuating swarm of faces—young in years, but youthful in nothing else—that scowled Hope out of countenance. It was held in a low-roofed den, in a sickening atmosphere, in the midst of taint, and dirt, and pestilence; with all the deadly sins let loose, howling and shrieking at the doors. Zeal did not supply the place of method and training; the teachers knew little of their office; the pupils, with an evil sharpness, found them out, got the better of them, derided them, made blasphemous answers to Scriptural questions, sang, fought, danced, robbed each other—seemed possessed by legions of devils. The place was stormed and carried, over and over again, the lights were blown out, the books strewn in the gutters, and the female scholars carried off triumphantly to their old wickedness. With no strength in it but its purpose, the school stood it all out, and made its way. Some two years since I found it quiet and orderly, full, lighted with gas, well white-washed, numerous attended, and thoroughly established.⁷⁷

Soon a visit to a ragged school became part of the foreigner's tour of London. '*On ne connaît pas la plèbe de Londres, quand on n'a pas visité les ragged schools de White-Chapel, Spitalfields, Blackfriars, Drury Lane et Saint-Giles.*'⁷⁸

These schools acted as preparatory schools for the National and British schools. As soon as a child had been persuaded to become reasonably respectable he was passed on to the ordinary day school—in fact the parents of a child above his class in the ragged school were importuned to send their child to a fee school.⁷⁹ Occasionally the children were fed,⁸⁰ and sometimes industrial employment was provided; in the latter case the schools were eligible for a government grant, but there were some members of the movement who believed that the grant should not be taken.

At the end of the period under review the ragged schools were still functioning, although looking forward to their extinction when the new Board schools were built. At Brentford the Central Ragged Schools still had 337 children on the books in 1871; Lord Townshend was still giving an annual dinner to all the scholars, and Miss Smith

⁷³ Ibid. p. 2.

⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 1 sqq.

⁷⁵ Rep. Com. on Pop. Educ., Pt. 1 (1861), 604.

⁷⁶ Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of destitute and neglected children (1861), 1.

⁷⁷ Quoted R. E. Jayne, *Story of John Pounds*, 124-5.

⁷⁸ E. Rendu, *De l'instruction primaire à Londres dans ses rapports avec l'état social* (2nd edn.), 55.

⁷⁹ Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of destitute and neglected children, (1861), 2-3.

⁸⁰ Annual Rep. Brentford Ragged Schs. (1871), 9.

of Ness House, Ealing, was still personally distributing clothing 'making her own selection of the recipients of her bounty, much to their gratification'. Above all the occasional lectures to children were still being arranged; the year's programme had included 'Chemical Magic' with numerous experiments, 'Jack the Conqueror' with lantern illustrations, 'Rhymes and Chimes' with pleasing musical accompaniments, and 'Christmas Pudding' with a specimen large enough for the whole audience to have a taste.⁸¹

The work of the ragged schools was to a large extent rehabilitatory; the supporters of infant schools believed in getting the child into school before ever it became necessary to rehabilitate him as a ragged-school pupil. Infant schools made their appearance in London at the end of the second decade of the 19th century, and when their guiding spirit, Samuel Wilderspin, gave evidence to a Select Committee in 1835 he claimed that there were some 200 infant schools in London and the suburbs averaging about 100 scholars each. Wilderspin told the committee how he began his first school in Spitalfields some fifteen years before and how he was pelted and jeered as 'the Baby Professor'. The Spitalfield school was at first kept in existence by the charity of a Mr. Wilson but by 1835 the parents had been won over and were paying 1d. a week.⁸² The movement spread and was taken up by the voluntary bodies; in Brentford, for example, an infant school was set up in 1837 by means of voluntary contributions, a gift from the National Society, and a Treasury grant.⁸³ Similarly the Chiswick National schools at Turnham Green had an infant school added to them.⁸⁴ The movement had been co-ordinated in the first place by the Infant School Society (1824) but this was superseded by the Home and Colonial Infant School Society in 1836. It was this society which founded a training college for teachers of infants in Grays Inn Road.

The last group of schools to which attention is to be drawn is the private schools. Into this category falls a wide variety of establishments, some of which hardly deserve the name school whilst others are so superior that they must properly be regarded as schools for the middle classes. At the lower end of the private school scale came the dame school. Although references to 'dames' may be found in every century from the 16th onwards they are shadowy creatures whose schools died with them, leaving no record other than the basic literacy they sometimes managed to impart to their pupils.⁸⁵ 'None are too old', wrote one of the Royal Commission's London investigators,

too poor, too ignorant, too feeble, too sickly, too unqualified in every way to regard themselves and be regarded by others as unfit for school keeping . . . there are few, if any, occupations regarded as incompatible with school-keeping, if not as simultaneous, at least as preparatory employments. Domestic servants out of place, discharged barmaids, vendors of toys or lollipops, keepers of small eating houses, of mangles, or of small lodging-houses, needlewomen who take plain or slop work; milliners, consumptive patients in an advanced stage; cripples almost bedridden; persons of at least doubtful temperance; outdoor paupers; men and women of 70 and even 80 years of age; persons who spell badly (mostly women I grieve to say) who can scarcely write and who cannot cipher at all.⁸⁶

'I am quite satisfied in the dame schools they cannot teach reading', reported the London inspector of the British and Foreign School Society in 1838; he had never found a dame-school child who could read unless the child had been taught in an infant school. Children were sent to the dame merely to be looked after and she made something extra by selling cakes to her pupils. The poorest of the working class did not, he assured

⁸¹ *Annual Rep. Brentford Ragged Schs.* (1871), 10, 11.

⁸² *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ.* (1835), 13-37.

⁸³ Faulkner, *Brentford*, 77.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 345.

⁸⁵ See J. H. Higginson, 'Dame Schs. of Great Britain' (Leeds Univ. M.A. thesis, 1939).

⁸⁶ *Rep. Com. on Pop. Educ.* Pt. 1 (1861), 93.

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the committee, send their children to these schools.⁸⁷ The fees of the dame were rather more than those charged in the public day school; in 1843 the education committee of the Statistical Society of London quoted 5*d.* per week as the average dame-school fee in London.⁸⁸ In Hanwell and Ealing in the same year 3*d.* to 6*d.* was being charged and in Acton 4*d.* to 6*d.* Tremenhoe's survey of the parishes of Greenford, Hanwell, Acton, Ealing, Old Brentford, and New Brentford revealed nineteen dame schools teaching 269 children. Eleven of these were kept by poor widows solely dependent on their pupils' fees; one, in extreme poverty, had solicited charity from him.⁸⁹ Closer to the metropolis dame schools were more numerous; an investigation of the borough of Finsbury in 1838-40 brought to light no fewer than 180 dame schools with a total of 2,693 pupils. Half of these pupils were under five and this clearly indicates the function of the dame as a child-minder. 'They seldom possess any [book] other than a Vyse's spelling book and a few picture books which the children bring with them', was the investigator's comment. Reading and sewing were the most normal occupations and only a few professed to teach writing,⁹⁰ but in the East End Jewish dames taught Hebrew as a matter of course.⁹¹ Vyse's spelling book is often mentioned and since it cost 1*s.* 6*d.* one investigator asked a dame why she did not use publications subsidized by the S.P.C.K., which could be got for as little as 1*d.* He was told that anything which might be construed as charity had to be eschewed. Another dame who was using pages torn from a dictionary for spelling said that if she were to use the Society's penny cards all the children would be removed from her school by the parents.⁹²

Above the dame schools in the private-school hierarchy came the common day schools. In the opinion of one early Victorian writer these were distinguished from the dame schools only by reason of their fees which averaged 11*d.* per week instead of 5*d.* or less.⁹³ Sometimes the fees were paid quarterly, the average being 17*s.*;⁹⁴ at Hanwell in 1843 the fee at the common schools varied from 13*s.* to 21*s.* a quarter according to the number of extras required.⁹⁵

In the opinion of the inspector of British schools in the London area in 1838 the teachers of such schools were little better than dames; they had usually failed at some other job, were broken-down tradesmen or the sons of mechanics.⁹⁶ Tremenhoe's investigation of Brentford confirms this, for in 1843 he found that two of the common day schools were kept by reduced tradesmen, one by a mechanic, and three by men who had been labourers or servants; one of the latter actually asked him for alms.⁹⁷ The curriculum offered by the keepers of common day schools in London in this period was sometimes a little more ambitious than that of the dame school; there is even mention in a few cases of drawing, classics, geometry, mensuration, and French.⁹⁸

At the top of the private day school scale came the superior day school which, apart from 'extras' (that hallmark of the superior establishment) charged approximately 36*s.* a quarter in 1838-49.⁹⁹ Such schools lie beyond the scope of this chapter. Between this type of school and the common day school some writers placed a 'middling' day school which was patronized by small shopkeepers, superior mechanics, and the like, and which, in 1839-40, was charging about 23*s.* a quarter, apart from extras.¹ These schools were said to pay special attention to fine writing, for the ability to write a good hand was one of the means by which the mechanic's child might obtain advancement.²

⁸⁷ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Poorer Classes*, (1837-8),

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 128.

⁹³ *Jnl. Statistical Soc.* vi. 212.

⁹⁶ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Poorer Classes* (1837-8),

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 128, 130.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 29-30, 38.

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⁹⁷ *Jnl. Statistical Soc.* vi. 130.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 214.

⁹² *Ibid.* 213.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 38.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 37.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 30, 212.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 37.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.* 34.

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Many of these 19th-century private schools were undoubtedly providing an education very much inferior to that given in good public day schools. Yet the private schools were rated as superior and maintained their higher fees. 'They like to pay for their children's schooling', wrote one of the Statistical Society's London investigators; in status the common day school came above the dame school, and below the dame came the British and National schools. The British schools were usually thought to be a little better than the National schools since the latter sometimes gave gratuitous education.³ In 1843 when Tremenheere surveyed the parishes of Greenford, Hanwell, Acton, Ealing, and Old and New Brentford for the Statistical Society he found that there were 4 infant schools with 423 pupils, 6 National schools (616 pupils), one British school (272 pupils), 19 dame schools (269 pupils), 5 common day schools (109 pupils), and 9 middle day schools (138 pupils).⁴

Despite the fact that this survey included Ealing, a place particularly well provided with private schools, the 33 private schools listed were still educating less than one-third of the total number of children being taught in the 11 public day schools. More extensive surveys in metropolitan parts of the county produced the following figures:

TABLE 2
Educational Surveys of Parts of Metropolitan Middlesex¹

	1839 <i>Borough of Finsbury²</i>		1842 <i>St. Marylebone³</i>		1843 <i>Whitechapel and Wapping</i>		<i>Total</i>	
Population in 1841	200,661		150,000		91,000		441,661	
	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Pupils</i>	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Pupils</i>
Dame Schools	180	2,693	77	1,378	175	2,906	432	6,977
Common Day Schools	137	3,416	97	2,305	65	2,081	299	7,802
Middling Day Schools	108	3,411	14	393	11	388	133	1,122
Charity Day Schools ⁴	60	6,359	22	4,937	32	5,412	114	16,708
Infant Schools	15	2,293	12	1,626	8	992	35	4,911
Sunday Schools	37	7,992	23	6,200	28	5,890	88	20,082

¹ Extracted and calculated from data in *Jnl. Statistical Soc.* vi. 217.

² Except north of Regent's Canal.

³ Except north of the New Road.

⁴ Refers to National schools, British schools, etc.

If we omit the Sunday schools from this sample, the private schools are seen to be educating proportionately more pupils than the private schools in Ealing and district, although it is still only a little more than 40 per cent. of the total children attending day school. In a paper summarizing these and other inquiries carried out in the period 1839-43 the Statistical Society of London noted that there was a gradual increase in the use of private schools for the poor as one moved eastward across the metropolitan area; in St. Marylebone 1 in 140 of the population went to a dame or common day school, in Finsbury 1 in 132, and in Wapping and Whitechapel 1 in 18.⁵

When Horace Mann had completed his analysis of the data provided by the educational census of 1851 he concluded that, nationally, the private school was in decline. In the country as a whole the proportion of public schools to private schools had increased from 34 to 100 in 1833 to 51 to 100 in 1851. The corresponding ratio for scholars had moved from 74 to 100 at the earlier date to 197 to 100.⁶ A close examination of Mann's figures shows, however, that in Middlesex the private school was still strongly entrenched. In England and Wales as a whole 67.6 per cent. of the schools were

³ *Jnl. Statistical Soc.* i. 455.

⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 128.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi. 217.

⁶ *Census, 1851: Education*, p. xliii.

private but in Middlesex the figure was 77·5 per cent. It has to be pointed out, however, that these numerous private schools in the county were educating only half as many children as were being taught in public schools.⁷ There are significant differences in the proportion of private to public schools in the various districts of the 1851 census. The proportion of private schools is at its highest in St. George in the East (90·5 per cent.), Clerkenwell (89·7 per cent.), Islington, (89 per cent.), Stepney (86·8 per cent.), and Shoreditch (86 per cent.); but again it should be pointed out that these private schools were educating only 50 per cent., 59 per cent., 46 per cent., 37·7 per cent., and 43·4 per cent. respectively of the scholars in each district. The picture changes as one moves west; areas in West London fall below the national average of 65·7 per cent. of day schools which were private. In the extra-metropolitan areas Edmonton, Uxbridge, and Staines approximate to the national average but in Hendon only 56·5 per cent. of the schools (educating 23 per cent. of the scholars) were private and in Barnet only 50·8 per cent. (educating 24 per cent. of the children). The Brentford district is an exception; Ealing and the surrounding area obviously still offered opportunity to the private school-master and mistress, for here 75·4 per cent. of the schools were still private although they were educating only 35 per cent. of the scholars.⁸

It is clear, then, that the private school, whether it was a dame school or something more ambitious, had a special part to play in the development of education for the working classes in Middlesex and especially in the education of the least poor of that class. Mechanics patronized the dame, wrote one authority in 1837, and so too did those labourers who could afford her fees. The common day school was patronized by small tradespeople.⁹ Here then was a system of schools organized for profit but offering a complete system of education for the most favoured of the working classes and the least well-off of the lower middle class. The voluntary societies had made their greatest efforts in the county but they had still not managed to supersede the private schools which, though in decline elsewhere, remained significant in the county until the end of the period under review.

Horace Mann's mid-century census¹⁰ offers a convenient starting point for a summing up of the scale and extent of educational provision in the county. In Middlesex Mann recorded 772 public day schools educating 138,108 children and 2,655 private day schools educating 62,149 children. One hundred and forty three of the 772 public day schools had been established before 1801, 141 between 1801 and 1830, 151 from 1831 to 1840, and 301 from 1841 to 1851, leaving 36 for which the date of foundation was not specified. These figures show the 19th century's ever-increasing interest in the education of the poor.

Mann analysed the county's public day schools still further and classified them into four groups. Class I consisted of 35 schools supported by general or local taxation and consisted of 7 military schools, 1 prison school, and 27 pauper schools. There were 4,164 children in these schools. Class II consisted of 77 endowed schools, 16 of which were collegiate or grammar schools. The number of children being educated in schools of this class was 13,656. Class III consisted of 542 schools established by religious bodies and accounted for 101,009 children. Mann's analysis of this class of school is as much a commentary upon religious as upon educational history. The 149 Church of England (National) schools are distinguished from the 215 Church of England (others) schools and so on through 100 variously classified nonconformist schools and 34 Roman Catholic schools to the smaller groups such as Lady Huntingdon's Connexion with its one

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. cxxxiv.

⁸ Calculations based on *ibid.* 53 sqq., 86 sqq.

⁹ *Jnl. Statistical Soc.* i. 455.

¹⁰ *Census, 1851: Education*, p. cxxxiv.

86-pupil school. There can be no doubt about the size and variety of the effort which the church-goers of Middlesex put into education in the mid-19th century. Class IV contained 118 other public schools in Middlesex, some of them of a specialized character, containing in all 19,279 children. There were 57 ragged schools attended by 12,159 pupils, 15 orphan schools with 1,567 pupils, a blind school (62 pupils), a school for the deaf and dumb (5 pupils), a mechanics' institute (398 pupils), a factory school (100 pupils), an industrial school (80 pupils), and 41 other subscription schools of no specific character having between them 4,908 pupils.¹¹ Mann calculated that 10.6 per cent. of the total population of the county were day scholars compared with 12 per cent. for England and Wales as a whole.¹² The percentage for Middlesex may reflect, however, the presence of many people of above school age coming to the metropolis to find work and opportunities for advancement. In addition to these day schools there were 589 Sunday schools in the county and these had 111,595 children on their rolls. This meant that 5.9 per cent. of the population were Sunday school scholars; this was again less than the national average of 7.45 per cent.¹³

The county had an extremely mobile population and the educational attainments of the adult inhabitants do not necessarily reflect the efficiency of the county's educational provision. Furthermore, allowance has to be made for the concentration in the metropolis of the learned and well-to-do. Nevertheless Joseph Fletcher, who in the 1840's collected what he called 'moral statistics', regarded Middlesex as a county with a high 'rate of instruction'; in 1844 it had the lowest percentage rate for men signing the marriage register with a mark and a correspondingly low percentage of criminals unable to read and write. 'In the metropolis and its neighbourhood', he wrote, 'influences antagonistic to active delinquency have been in more vigorous operation than in any other part of the kingdom; and the most obvious are improved education and improved police'.¹⁴

The records of the Feltham Industrial School offer another means of assessing the extent and efficacy of educational provision in the county. In this case the data refers to the last decade in the period here reviewed. The pupils of the school were atypical in the sense that despite the name 'industrial' the school was in fact a reformatory for convicted boys; after 1867 the school acted also as an industrial school proper and in addition took in boys who, although not convicted of crime, had been committed to the school by a magistrate. Geographically these delinquent and semi-delinquent boys were a good cross-section, for they had been sent to the school by sessions held in all parts of the county: Hammersmith, Marlborough Street, Marylebone, Uxbridge, Sunbury, Highgate, Hampstead, Hampton, Teddington, Staines, Edgware, and Edmonton, as well as from the Central Criminal Court.¹⁵

The majority of the boys had previously attended one of the public day schools. Table 3 shows in what kind of school the Feltham entrants of 1863-71 received whatever previous education they had when they entered the establishment.

The prominent part played by the National and ragged schools in the education of this class of child is clear, but even more significant is the revelation of a steady minority of boys—an average of one-fifth up to 1870—who had never been to a school of any kind. Table 4 gives the percentage of entrants in each year who had not been to a school at all. It also gives the percentage of those who had received less than a year's schooling. It is clear that, even if regular attendance is assumed, the fact that the

¹¹ *Census, 1851: Education* p. cxlviii.

¹² *Ibid.* p. xxxviii.

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. xix, lxxvi.

¹⁴ J. Fletcher, *Summary of the moral statistics of Eng. and Wales*, 23, 46-47, 83.

¹⁵ M.R.O., 1st-10th Reps. of Feltham Industrial Sch.

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boy had been to school before entry did not necessarily mean that any great educational progress had been made. To complete the picture the figures for Sunday school attendance are also given. Small wonder then that of the 213 boys who entered in 1863, 41 did not know the alphabet and only two could satisfactorily read the fourth reading book.¹⁶ Though not entirely typical of the working class, the paupers, and particularly the 'outdoor' paupers, form another group which is useful for our purposes, since its

TABLE 3

Previous Schools of Entrants to Feltham Industrial School 1863-71¹

<i>Previous school</i>	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867 ²	1868	1869	1870	1871
National and Charity	87	67	106	141	196	118	139	145	104
British and Foreign or Dissenter	31	5	11	7	32	16	9	2	22
Ragged	33	19	45	51	84	39	61	61	49
Roman Catholic	7	23	18	27	19	3 ³	2	1	..
Jewish	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Reformatory or Prison	1	3	2	8	8	25	20	23	15
Private ⁴	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10	9
None	53	43	47	50	72	46	54	33	64

¹ M.R.O., Feltham Industrial Sch. 1st-10th Annual Reps.

² In 1867 'Industrial Schools' were added to the reformatory or prison school column.

³ Sudden fall in Roman Catholic column due to increasing use of Roman Catholic reformatories.

⁴ The 'private school' column appears for the first time in 1870.

TABLE 4

Entrants to Feltham Industrial School 1862-70¹ with Less than One Year's Previous Schooling

	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867 ²	1869	1870
	per.		cent.					
Never attended Day sch.	22	25	27	26	20	18	18	12
1 year or less at Day sch. ³	56	58	57	65	61	54	58	56
Never attended Sunday sch.	27	38	44	37	40	34	28	15
1 year or less at Sunday sch. ³	68	67	69	72	68	59	60	54

¹ M.R.O., Feltham Industrial Sch. 1st-10th Annual Reps.

² Return for 1868 is defective and has been omitted.

³ The '1 year or less' columns include those who had never attended school.

doings are well documented by the public authorities.¹⁷ The children of paupers taken into the workhouse (i.e. 'indoor' paupers) were educated in poor law schools of the kinds already described. The children of paupers given outdoor relief had to get whatever education their parents could obtain for them in the ordinary life of town or country. Two returns, with an interval of ten years between them, tell us how the outdoor pauper parents measured up to their responsibilities in this matter (see Table 5).

These figures show that at both dates in Middlesex the outdoor pauper child stood a better than average chance (as a pauper) of being educated. Furthermore the parents of the Middlesex pauper were less likely to be contributing to the cost of this education. The percentage of children not attending school (in Middlesex 22.7 per cent. in 1859 and 21.1 per cent. in 1869) is a little less than the national average, and, when allowance is made for the fact that children from three years of age were included in this return, is also remarkably consonant with the percentage of Feltham boys who claimed never to have attended school. We may say with some measure of confidence, therefore, that

¹⁶ M.R.O., 5th Annual Rep. of Mdx. Industrial Sch.

¹⁷ Educ. of Pauper Children Act, 18 & 19 Vic. c. 34.

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despite the many developments chronicled in this chapter, before the Elementary Education Act of 1870¹⁸ approximately one child in five of the poorest classes in Middlesex was growing up entirely uneducated.

This, however, is to state the negative side, and to look only at the very poorest and at the delinquent. If four out of five of these less-favoured children could obtain some acquaintance with letters, it may be inferred that those of better standing in the community would have very much more. Nevertheless the conclusion must be that

TABLE 5
*Education of Outdoor Pauper Children*¹

	1859		1869	
	Middlesex	England and Wales	Middlesex	England and Wales
Number of Children in the return	14,987	190,480	24,190	214,104
	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
Class I Educated at cost of parents	31·3	34·5	25·3	62·9
Class II Educated at cost of others ²	35·2	22·1	43·5 ³	
Class III Not at School	22·7	25·4	21·1	22·2
Class IV At work	10·6	18·0	9·7	14·9

¹ *Ret. of Pauper Children*, H.C. 232 (1860), lviii; *ibid.* H.C. 33 (1870), lviii; *Summary of Ret. of Pauper Children*, H.C. 123 (1870), lviii.

² i.e. at Poor Law, ragged, free, charity schools, etc.

³ The increase in Class II is probably due to guardians of the poor making increasing use of their powers under the Educ. of Pauper Children Act (18 & 19 Vic. c. 34) which allowed them to pay the school pence of children such as these.

voluntary and too often haphazard efforts by many different individuals and agencies had not, despite the support of government grants, produced a coherent and satisfactory system of schools for the working class of the county. Under the new Act, School Boards were established to fill out, rationalize, and to some extent replace the many existing over-lapping arrangements. The tall School Board buildings—many of them still in use today—began to rise above the mean houses of the working population, and the story of education becomes part of an even larger story, that of the development of an efficient system of local government providing education and many other social services for the people of Middlesex.

¹⁸ Elementary Educ. Act. 33 & 34 Vic. c. 75.

PRIVATE EDUCATION FROM THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Developments from the 16th to the early 19th century, p. 241. The Reign of Victoria, p. 255. The 20th century, p. 285.

DEVELOPMENTS FROM THE 16TH TO THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY

THE history of private education in Middlesex cannot be separated from the general development of educational provision in London. During the late Middle Ages boys from suburban parishes undoubtedly used the 'limited and undistinguished grammar school resources' of London,¹ but, despite a petition to Parliament in 1446 from four city incumbents who complained that existing provision was inadequate for the needs of the city and for the many boys who came from suburban parishes, the ecclesiastical authorities successfully resisted the setting up of new foundations until the beginning of the 16th century. The transformation of existing educational provision began with the endowment by Colet between 1509 and 1518 of St. Paul's School, and during the next century and a half numerous endowed schools were founded in London, Westminster, and the suburbs. Middlesex foundations² during this period included schools in Ratcliff (1536), Hampton (1556), Enfield (1558), Highgate (1565), Harrow (1572), Islington (1609), Edmonton (1609), Owen's School (1610), Hackney (1616), Stratford Bow (1617), Stanwell (1622), the Latymer bequests at Hammersmith and Edmonton (1624), Hayes (1637), and Little Stanmore (1656). By the end of the 17th century there were enough grammar schools to provide a classical education for all able boys who desired it.³ But under the influence of the revived prestige of Greek and Roman studies charitable endowment had provided an education system which, secure in perpetual corporations, had little incentive to adapt to changing needs, and failed to provide the special training in, for example, mathematics and modern languages, needed in the expanding business and commercial life of the metropolitan area. Provision for private schooling in the London area, including Middlesex, largely resulted therefore from demands on secondary education which the grammar schools failed to meet. In Middlesex, close to Court and City, local demands were reinforced by foreign influences to produce educational institutions which both supplemented and replaced the endowed and public schools, and were themselves frequently financed and patronized by those classes which were responsible for the foundation of the endowed schools.

I

The curriculum of the endowed schools, as well as being inadequate for the needs of the commercial classes, was unacceptable to Stuart ideals of a courtly training. Education abroad had religious and political dangers, but a number of English experiments

¹ W. K. Jordan, *Charities of Lond.* 1480-1660, 208, 210.

² For the history of the major Mdx. endowed schools see pp. 290-314.

³ Jordan, *Lond. Chars.* 219.

with academies on the French model, closely linked with the fortunes of the monarchy, were made from Elizabeth I's reign onwards.⁴ In 1635 the Museum Minervae⁵ was established under royal patronage by Sir Francis Kynaston at his house in Bedford Square, Covent Garden. The Museum's curriculum reflected the need for scientific as well as classical studies and its course included languages, mathematics, philosophy, and science, as well as the arts, antiquities, and military studies. In addition to a grant from the Treasury, Charles I contributed books, antiquities, and 'philosophical' apparatus. The fortunes of the Museum declined with those of its royal patron, and during the Interregnum an attempt by Sir Balthazar Gerbier to establish in Bethnal Green a courtly academy without a court failed.⁶ The idea of courtly academies revived after the Restoration and, following the closure of protestant academies in France, Solomon Foubert received a royal grant to assist in the removal of his possessions to England.⁷ Foubert later settled in Swallow Street, Westminster, where his academy and riding-school were patronized by both sons of courtiers and royal wards. The grandson of the Duke of Ormond was removed from Oxford and placed with Foubert, and Lord Hastings entered when he left Oxford at eighteen. Foubert received grants from Charles II, James II, and William III, and his son, Major Lewis Foubert, kept the school until 1743.

Although courtly academies such as Foubert's enjoyed considerable success in the 17th century, French influence was more far-reaching in the development of the private boarding-school. From the reign of Elizabeth I Huguenot refugees provided teaching in both French and mathematics, their religious beliefs making them an acceptable foreign influence. The earliest of their schools in Middlesex was that kept in Shore-ditch by Francis Maquire or Maquino, who took out letters of denization in 1566.⁸ By 1650 the number of Frenchmen teaching in the county was considerable. Some French teachers, such as Claude Mauger, who arrived in England in 1650 with the much admired pure accent of Blois, visited schools to give lessons.⁹ Mauger became a fashionable teacher in the Holborn and St. Giles area, attending such 'ladies' schools as the celebrated academy of Mrs. Margaret Kilvert, to whom he dedicated his *True Advancement of the French Tongue* (1653), describing lessons at the school. Others received pupils at their own homes, as did the Swiss Guy Miège, author of several popular grammar books and a dictionary, from 1678 at his house in Panton Street.

During the unsettled years of the mid-17th century schools organized by French refugees were joined by private schools established by ejected scholars. Thomas Singleton, formerly an usher at Eton, had a school for 300 boys at Newcastle House in Clerkenwell.¹⁰ Dr. Edward Wolley, formerly a royal chaplain, kept a school in Hammer-smith,¹¹ and Dr. William Fuller had a considerable school at Mount Vernon, Twicken-ham.¹² Thomas Swadlin, persecuted and imprisoned as 'one of Dr. Laud's creatures',

⁴ F. Watson, *Beginning of Teaching of Modern Subjects in Eng.* pp. xxxii-xxxiii; J. H. Hexter, 'Educ. of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance', *Reappraisals in Hist.* 49, 66.

⁵ *Constitution of the Museum Minervae* (1636), quoted in Kathleen Lambley, *Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in Eng. during Tudor and Stuart Times*, 296-7; Lucy Aiken, *Memoirs of the Court of Charles I*, ii. 31; Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in Eng.* 16. During the plague the Mus. moved to Chelsea: Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 152-3; T. Faulkner, *Hist. and Topog. Description of Chelsea*, i. 148.

⁶ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 30-31; Lysons, *Collectanea* (B.M.) i. 24; *D.N.B.*; Pepys, *Diary*, ed. H. B. Wheatley, iii. 138-9 and note; J. W. Adamson, *Pioneers of Modern Educ.* 176, 185-9.

⁷ C. L. Kingsford, *Early Days of Piccadilly, Leicester*

Square and Soho, 128; Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. E. S. de Beer, iv. 257, n. 5, 290, 400; Hist. MSS. Com. *Ormonde*, v. 165, 300-1, 345, 375, 385; vi. 76, 128; *Hastings*, ii. 250-1, 255, 260; Lambley, *French Language*, 399; *Cal. Treas. Bks.* 1679-80, 132, 140.

⁸ F. Watson, 'Notes and Materials on Religious Refugees in their Relation to Educ. in Eng.', *Proc. Huguenot Soc. of Lond.* ix. 80-81, 150; W. Page, *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in Eng. 1509-1603* (Huguenot Soc. Publ. viii), p. xlix.

⁹ Lambley, *French Language*, 299 sqq.

¹⁰ W. J. Pinks, *Hist. of Clerkenwell*, 101.

¹¹ *D.N.B.*; *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1655-6, 76.

¹² *D.N.B.*; Thorne, *Environs*, 631; Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, i. 20.

taught in London and later in Paddington.¹³ By the 1650's private boarding-schools were recognized as an alternative to the endowed schools. In 1649 Sir John Reresby was sent to 'the Blew House, a then famous school for gentlemen's sons' at Enfield.¹⁴ Seven years later Sir Ralph Verney did not consider a public school for his son Jack, destined for the law or counting-house, but looked for a private master near London. Wolley was considered, but Turberville of Kensington, who taught French, Italian, Greek, Latin, music, and mathematics, was finally chosen.¹⁵ The strength of such schools lay in their wider curriculum, especially music and modern languages. The 'gymnasium' of Mark Lewis at Tottenham High Cross, flourishing about 1670, was much patronized by the gentry. Pupils were 'perfected in the tongues by constant conversation', and the Earl of Anglesey was so pleased with his son's education that he enabled Lewis to secure letters patent for his method of teaching French, Italian, and Spanish.¹⁶

Most early Middlesex private schools were short-lived, but some 17th- and 18th-century foundations became well-established as family businesses or local institutions. Hackney School or 'Newcome's Academy' was a source of income to the same family from its foundation by the nonconformist Benjamin Morland in 1685 until 1820.¹⁷ The Manor House School, opened in Marylebone by a Frenchman, Denis de la Place, in 1703, flourished until 1787.¹⁸ Hornsey or Crouch End Academy, opened perhaps in 1686, contained 'near 100 fine boys' in 1791 and was still advertised in 1879.¹⁹ Ealing had two long-established schools. About 1772 Samuel Goodenough, later Bishop of Carlisle, took over a school in the manor-house of Coldhall, previously kept by Dr. Dodd. Goodenough had aristocratic pupils, but by 1840 this had become a 'classical and commercial academy'.²⁰ Ealing Great School on the other hand developed from an unpretentious school into one run 'on Eton lines'. It may have existed from 1698 and was certainly established in the Old Rectory from 1764. After 1791, under Dr. Nicholas, its reputation grew and in his day it had about 350 pupils. Later it declined in prestige, but existed until the end of the 19th century.²¹ The Palace School at Enfield also had a long history, dating from about 1660 when Robert Uvedale, Master of Enfield Grammar School, opened it as a private boarding-school. Early in the 19th century it was a reputable school under Thomas May, and it only closed in 1896. Enfield was thought to be in a healthy situation and Uvedale successfully preserved his pupils from the plague.²² Good air and early reputation were important for survival until tradition could reinforce success, but a capacity for adaptation was also necessary. For example, the

¹³ *Ath. Oxon.* (1817), iii. 887.

¹⁴ *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. A. Browning, 2.

¹⁵ Frances Parthenope Verney and Margaret Verney, *Memoirs of the Verney Family*, ii. 89-97; Lambley, *French Language*, 300.

¹⁶ Mark Lewis, *Model for a Sch. for the better educ. of youth*, and advertisement in *Plan and Short Rules for pointing periods*; Lambley, *French Language*, 396 sqq.

¹⁷ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 477; *Supplement*, 168; W. Robinson, *Hist. of Hackney*, 140; *Autobiography of Henry Newcombe M.A.* (Chetham Soc. xxvi), *passim*; N. Hans, *Modern Educ. in Eng. in the Eighteenth Cent.* 69, 70-74; *D.N.B.* xiv. 322; xxi. 1266, 1252, 1256; ix. 916; xix. 409; xx. 158, 187; xviii. 322; xi. 447; x. 286; v. 376; iii. 1257; *Gent. Mag.* 1851, n.s. xxxvi (2), 88-89; n.s. xxxv (1), 198-200; 1842, n.s. xvii (1), 667-8; Esther Greenberg, 'Contribution to Educ. of Private Schs. in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century' (Lond. Univ. M.A. thesis, 1953), 210 (hereafter referred to as Greenberg).

¹⁸ G. Clinch, *Marylebone and St. Pancras*, 7, 98; J. T. Smith, *Book for a Rainy Day*, 40-41; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 127-8; W. H. Manchée, 'Marylebone and its Huguenot Associations', *Proc. Huguenot Soc. of Lond.* xi. 58-128; *Gent. Mag.* 1814, lxxxiv (2), 122; 1828, xcvi (2), 86;

Marylebone Pub. Libr. Local Colln. Ashbridge 315; *D.N.B.* iv. 849, 1346; viii. 616; xvii. 332.

¹⁹ Greenberg, 26; M. Weekley, *Thomas Bewick*, 133, 152; F. S. de Carteret Bisson, *Our Schs. and Colleges*, 270; *Our Endowed and Priv. Schs.* i. 710.

²⁰ T. Faulkner, *Hist. of Brentford, Ealing, and Chiswick*, 236; Edith Jackson, *Annals of Ealing*, 98; Robbins, *Mdx.* 133; Greenberg, 27; *D.N.B.* viii. 125; J. Nichols, *Illustrations of Literary Hist. of Eighteenth Cent.* vi. 245-56.

²¹ Thorne, *Environs*, 160; Faulkner, *Brentford*, 249; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 235; *Supp.* 130; C. Jones, *Ealing from Village to corporate Town*, 87, 148; Jackson, *Ealing*, 160; Robbins, *Mdx.* 133; T. Maurice, *Memoirs of the Author of Indian Antiqs.* i. 31-32; *D.N.B.* xiii. 107, 341; xvii. 1170; *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.* (1861), p. ix; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 297.

²² Thorne, *Environs*, 175; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 285; *D.N.B.* xx. 76-77; W. Robinson, *Hist. of Enfield*, i. 48-49, 74, 115, 120; ii. 42; W. Hodson and E. Ford, *Hist. of Enfield*, 28, 224; C. W. Whitaker, *Illustrated historical, statistical and topog. account... of Enfield*, 185-92; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hundred* (priv. print.), 87; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 613.

'French school', opened by Lewis Vaslet in Hampstead in 1713, moved in 1716 to Fulham where it became well-established as an academy giving a general education. Later in the century it was renamed the Burlington Academy, and after 1840 Dr. Laumann moved the institution to Parson's Green where he continued it as a military academy until 1876.²³

The reputation of the staff, fashion, political patronage, and party loyalties all contributed to the success of such schools. Hackney School was patronized by noble and Whig families, including the Hardwicks, Cavendishes, Devonshires, Graftons, and Westerns,²⁴ while Marylebone School was popular in court circles.²⁵ Uvedale's reputation attracted a number of pupils from such families as the Huntingdons, Kilmoreys, and Coleraines, and in 1676 the parishioners accused him of neglecting the endowed school for his private establishment.²⁶ Thomas Coke, 1st Earl of Leicester, was sent to the school of James Ellis, a non-juror, at Isleworth, where he learned French, dancing, and drawing as well as the classical languages.²⁷ John Jeffreys (1719-98), later a canon of St. Paul's, and William Willymot, the grammarian, formerly a master at Eton, also had private schools in the parish. Willymot was accused of Jacobite sympathies in 1721,²⁸ and this was also one criticism levelled against Elphinston's school at Kensington.²⁹ David Hume was actively concerned with the short-lived school which Graffigni, a Frenchman said to be recommended by d'Alembert and Helvetius, opened with the support of Bute and Hertford at Norlands, Kensington.³⁰

In this struggle for recognition and survival the provision of sound classical education to divert pupils from the public schools was essential. Richard Johnson (1657-1721) left the headship of Kings School, Canterbury, in 1689 and set up a school in Kensington until 1707 when he became headmaster of Nottingham Grammar School.³¹ Dr. William Rose, a translator of Sallust, praised for scholarship but blamed for leniency by Dr. Johnson, kept a school in Chiswick from 1758 to 1786. His pupil, later his son-in-law, Dr. Charles Burney, a notable Greek scholar, moved it to Hammersmith and then to Greenwich.³² Dr. Weedon Butler's Chelsea school had a reputation for 'gentle learning',³³ and the Revd. A. Hamilton had a classical boarding-school in Hampstead from 1776 for ten years or more.³⁴ Elphinston's excellent French and English teaching enabled him to keep his Kensington school from about 1753 until 1776 in spite of doubts of his scholarship and his personal eccentricities.³⁵ The difficulty of challenging the public schools on their own ground was demonstrated by the failure of Dr. Samuel Parr's attempt to found at Stanmore a rival to Harrow, where he had been disappointed of the headship in 1771.³⁶ He began with sixty boys, including forty pupils from Harrow.

²³ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 375; T. Faulkner, *Hist. and Topog. Account of Fulham*, 264; C. J. Féret, *Fulham Old and New*, i. 91, 110, 124-7, 302; T. C. Crocker, *Walk from Lond. to Fulham*, 198, 217; W. C. Hazlitt, *The Hazlitts*, pt. ii. 91, 139.

²⁴ *Gent. Mag.* 1851, N.S. xxxvi (2), 88; *D.N.B.* xxi. 1252; iii. 1257; *Creevey Papers*, ed. J. Gore, ii, App. II, 266-70; Robinson, *Hackney*, 140.

²⁵ *D.N.B.* xix. 1195; *Memoirs of the Life of Revd. Dr. Trusler* (1806); Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 128.

²⁶ See above p. 243, n. 22.

²⁷ C. Warburton James, *Chief Justice Coke, his family and descendants*, 162-3, extracts in Local Hist. Coll. Hounslow Pub. Libr.; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 230.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 241; *D.N.B.*; J. Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, i. 236-7.

²⁹ Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill and L. F. Powell, ii. 171 n.

³⁰ *Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. V. T. Grieg, ii. 148-57, 187; *Selections from Family Papers preserved at Caldwell*,

ed. W. Mure (Maitland Club lxxi), pt. II, vol. ii. 115-17, 152-3; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 115.

³² *D.N.B.*; Boswell, *Johnson*, ed. Hill and Powell, i. 46 n; Faulkner, *Brentford*, 348-54, 363-8; *Gent. Mag.* 1804, lxxiv (2), 1249; Nichols, *Lit. Anecs.* iii. 386-7; Thorne, *Environs*, 107; *Hist. Collections relating to Chiswick*, ed. P. W. Phillimore and W. H. Whitear, 178, 247; W. Draper, *Chiswick*, 120; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 130.

³³ *D.N.B.* iii. 541; *Gent. Mag.* 1823, xciii (2), 182; 1832, ci (2), 186; Nicholas, *Lit. Anecs.* ix. 223; R. Blunt, *Illustrated Hist. Handbk. to Par. of Chelsea*, 113.

³⁴ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 229; *D.N.B.* xix. 1207.

³⁵ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 77-78; *D.N.B.* vi. 729; Boswell, *Johnson*, ed. Hill and Powell, ii. 171, 226, 494; iii. 379; Nichols, *Lit. Anecs.* iii. 30; T. Faulkner, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Kensington*, 393-4; Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 149; *N. & Q.* 5th ser. viii. 20.

³⁶ *D.N.B.* vii. 1117; *Hist. MSS. Com. Du Cane*, 228-32; 15th Rep. App. I Dartmouth, III, 194-6; Maurice, *Memoirs*, i. 60-65, 82-83, 104-7; ii. 2, 6-8, 22-25, 30, 44-

Parr's teaching was representative of the movement to free classical learning from its linguistic emphasis and relate it to other aspects of culture and life. His boys studied the ancient historians and philosophers in relation to the 'moderns', and Parr directed his pupils' reading in relation to their future careers. In discipline and social training he followed the public school system, combining erratic flogging with liberty to learn the *ars bibendi* and run a Jockey Club. Despite Parr's scholarship, his school was not a success, and he was glad to accept the mastership of the endowed school at Colchester in 1776.

Although private schools seldom succeeded in rivalling the public schools in their own field, by 1800 the age of entry to the public schools had risen to about eight and many private schools were being used to prepare boys for entry to them. The Manor House at Chiswick was a prosperous boarding-school where young Shaftesbury was sent in 1808 to prepare for Harrow.³⁷ Thackeray went in 1818 to another Chiswick school, kept by his mother's cousin, the Revd. John Turner, before going to Charterhouse.³⁸ Shelley was sent to Syon Park Academy, Isleworth, at the age of ten, and left for Eton after attaining a high place at the school, occasionally blowing up parts of it with gunpowder, and earning a reputation for near insanity.³⁹ Marylebone School was essentially preparatory,⁴⁰ but few Middlesex schools at this period were recognized as only, or even primarily, preparatory. Most also sent boys direct to the universities. Dr. Nicholas at Ealing prepared Bishop Selwyn for Eton and Cardinal Newman for Oxford.⁴¹ Durham House at Chelsea had early in the 19th century 'nearly a hundred boys training for Eton, Harrow, and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge'.⁴²

Even within the special province of the endowed schools, private schools were able to make their own contribution, for in the open market the teaching of classical languages could not afford to be slow, painful, and often ineffectual. Unlike the endowed schoolmasters, proprietors of private schools had every incentive to try new methods. Early advocates of reformed methods of Latin teaching were Thomas Willis (1582–1660), who had a school at Isleworth,⁴³ and William Wyatt (1616–85), assistant in a Twickenham school and author of *A New & Easie Institution of Grammar*.⁴⁴ Hezekiah Woodward (1590–1675), a disciple of Comenius, moved his school from the City to Uxbridge after 1660.⁴⁵ Woodward described his own miseries at an endowed school in *A Child's Patrimony* (1640) and *Portion* (1649). He advocated a simple method of teaching grammar in English and the teaching of the sciences, but his enlightened views were discredited by his nonconformist leanings. Ezekiah Tongue (1621–88) opened a school in the Fisher mansion at Islington, where he followed 'precisely the Jesuits' method', inventing a method of teaching writing in twenty days.⁴⁶ Dr. Adam Littleton (1627–94) had a school in Chelsea where he practised his 'true method of learning the Latin tongue by the English'.⁴⁷ Robert Ainsworth (1660–1743), a non-juror who later inclined to Calvinist views, had a succession of schools in Bethnal Green, Hackney, and

45, 128, 137, 149–50, 162, 183; iii. 51; *Orly. Rev.* xxxix. 107, 255–64; Thorne, *Environs*, 564; Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 629, 673; W. T. J. Gun, *Harrow Sch. Reg.* 1571–1800, 21.

³⁷ Robbins, *Mdx.* 133; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 193; Faulkner, *Brentford*, 329, 368; *Chiswick*, ed. Phillimore and Whitear, 25, 268; J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *Shaftesbury* (Penguin ed.), 12; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 129–30; *D.N.B.* iv. 1107.

³⁸ *D.N.B.*; L. Stevenson, *Showman of Vanity Fair*, 8 sqq.; G. N. Ray, *Thackeray, the uses of Adversity*, 71–72, 76.

³⁹ Robbins, *Mdx.* 133; *Mdx. Chron.* 7 Jan. 1939; *Isleworth Citizen*, Sept. 1925; *D.N.B.*

⁴⁰ Marylebone Pub. Libr. Ashridge 315. ⁴¹ *D.N.B.*

⁴² Chelsea Pub. Libr. Local Colln.; Faulkner, *Chelsea*, ii. 214; R. Blunt, *Paradise Row*, 124; G. Bryan, *Chelsea in the Olden and Present Times*, 186; J. B. Ellenor, *Rambling Recollections of Old Chelsea*, 19–23.

⁴³ *D.N.B.*; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 585; Aungier, *Syon*, 226. ⁴⁴ *D.N.B.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*; Robbins, *Mdx.* 133; Parker, *Dissenting Acad.* 23, 37.

⁴⁶ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 139; J. Nelson, *Hist., Topog. and Antiqs. of Par. of St. Mary Islington*, 356; *Ath. Oxon.* (1817), iii. 1260–1; Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 240.

⁴⁷ A. Heale, *Eng. Writing Masters*, 71; Faulkner, *Chelsea*, 52.

'other villages near London', where he practised his pleasant and intensive Latin course.⁴⁸ Ainsworth, along with other reformers, emphasized the need for small classes and individual attention. From 1718 to 1735 another author of works on reformed methods, the Revd. Solomon Lowe, had 'an admirable way of education' at his academy in Hammersmith.⁴⁹ At the end of this period John Allen (1771-1839) and his son Alexander (1814-42) continued this enlightened tradition at their school in the Grove, Hackney, later the Madras House Grammar School.⁵⁰ Newer methods were advertised as added attractions. At Mr. Harris's Academy in Sloane Street in 1788 rules of grammar were taught quickly and simply in English and kindness was considered more effective than severity,⁵¹ now recognized as a symptom of poor and slow teaching.

Although the introduction of reformed methods in private schools ultimately influenced the endowed schools, private teachers could rarely excel over the endowed institutions in the field of classical teaching. Classical studies were largely entrusted to visiting masters who themselves frequently opened academies which provided a broad secondary education. From the 17th century 'pen-men' visited classical schools and kept their own writing schools, often adding mathematics, accounting, shorthand, surveying, and gunnery. These were not only commercial or technical schools, but gave general secondary education. Thomas Smith (fl. 1769) taught at Mr. Fargue's high-class boarding-school in Hoxton before opening his own in Stoke Newington.⁵² William Brooks (1696-1749) was entrusted by the S.P.G. with the Christian education of a young Indian prince at his Soho writing school.⁵³ Richard Clark and William Kippax in the mid-18th century boarded youths at their Bloomsbury academy and instructed them in 'the various branches of education'.⁵⁴ Further out in the county boarding-schools were kept in less suburban parishes such as Kensington and Hornsey.⁵⁵ Mathematical tutors and schools also abounded. William Jones (1675-1749) father of the orientalist, was tutor at the school in Bethnal Green kept by Samuel Morland, a dissenter and classical scholar.⁵⁶ Schools in Kensington and, later, Bloomsbury were kept by Francis Walkingame (fl. 1751-85), author of *The Tutor's Assistant*.⁵⁷ Mark Meilan⁵⁸ and John Bonnycastle (1750?-1821)⁵⁹ kept schools in Hoxton and Hackney respectively. Samuel Dunn had a school in Chelsea from about 1758,⁶⁰ and Wapping supported two schools, Joshua Kelly's⁶¹ and Thomas Haselden's.⁶² At the end of the period Thomas Whiting's Keppel House Seminary at Brompton was typical, offering a broad course with astronomy, navigation, and 'the whole system of the mathematics'.⁶³ 'Natural philosophy' was also introduced into the curriculum of some private schools. Occasionally the standard of teaching was high. John Canton (1718-72), whose study of electricity attracted the attention of the Royal Society, was assistant and later owner of an academy in Spital Square, Stepney, where he combined teaching with research.⁶⁴ By the early 19th century a number of schools—the Revd. S. Piggott's Clerkenwell Academy,⁶⁵ Dr. Vale's Cam House School of Arts & Sciences in Belgrave

⁴⁸ D.N.B.; R. Ainsworth, *The Most Natural and Easie Way of Institution: containing proposals for making a domestic education less chargeable to parents and more easie and beneficial to children. By which method youth may not only make a very considerable progress in Languages, but also in Arts and Sciences, in two years* (1698), 15, 19-20, 23; Nichols, *Lit. Anecs.* v. 248-54; N. & Q. 6th ser. vii. 64-65; *Gent. Mag.* 1736, vi. 491; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 32; iii. 463.

⁴⁹ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 232.

⁵⁰ D.N.B.; Greenberg, 202.

⁵¹ Lysons, *Collectanea* (B.M.), i. 20; *Morning Post*, 4 Oct. 1788.

⁵² Heale, *Writing Masters*, 101.

⁵³ Ibid. 22.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 51, 60, 66, 111.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 31, 67.

⁵⁶ D.N.B. x. 1061.

⁵⁷ D.N.B.; N. & Q. cci. 258-61; J. Shield, *Preceptor's Assistant* (1780), preface.

⁵⁸ D.N.B.; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 114.

⁵⁹ D.N.B.; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 112; *Gent. Mag.* 1821, xci (1), 472, 482.

⁶⁰ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 106, 67; D.N.B.; Faulkner, *Chelsea*, ii. 211.

⁶¹ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 106, 67.

⁶² Ibid. 110, 67; D.N.B.

⁶³ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 105; Greenberg, 83; *The Times*, 11 Jan. 1821; Kensington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. B. 256.

⁶⁴ D.N.B.; *Biog. Brit.* (2nd ed.), ii. 215-22; L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* xxvii. 57.

⁶⁵ *The Times*, 12 June 1822; Greenberg, 85.

Square,⁶⁶ and the Revd. J. A. Emerton's Hanwell College for example—advertised 'philosophic lectures' or experiments.⁶⁷ In 1835 the Revd. R. Simpson of Colebrook House Academy, Islington, one of the founders of the British Education Society, advocated that less time should be given to classics and more to science.⁶⁸ French was also included in the broader curriculum, although it was still often taught as an 'extra' by visiting masters. 'French schools' such as M. Margarot's at Turnham Green in 1780,⁶⁹ and Dr. Felix's Cheyne House, Chelsea,⁷⁰ usually included it as part of the main course. Value was placed on opportunities for practice in conversation. Prospect House Academy, Pentonville, advertised an exchange system with a French school in 1821,⁷¹ and at College House Boarding School in Hackney Road⁷² and Belle Vue House Academy in Stoke Newington French was constantly spoken.⁷³

Some academies were large enough to offer alternative courses.⁷⁴ That of William Watts moved from the City to Soho about 1739 and prepared for the Army, Navy, or counting-house.⁷⁵ Nearby was another academy under Mr. Meure. Later, under Martin Clare and his successors, this institution offered a more general and liberal education as well as business training, and had a drawing school attended by Rowlandson and Turner. Boswell and Burke both sent sons to this 'senior academy'.⁷⁶ In Islington the Revd. John Rule's academy in Colebrook Row⁷⁷ and John Shield's opposite Rufford's Buildings had a high reputation. Rule's gave a variety of vocational courses, while the other gave a more general education, especially after 1793 under Mr. Flower and later under T. E. Edgworth.⁷⁸ More specialized, but still with an element of general education were the naval school opened by John Bettesworth in 1782 in Ormond House, Chelsea,⁷⁹ and Lochée's Military Academy, opened by a Belgian exile in Little Chelsea about 1770.⁸⁰ There was another military academy at Albemarle House, Hounslow.⁸¹

While only a classical education was considered to be continuous and progressive, and most pupils attended private academies for short periods and with limited and often vocational purposes, the variety of subjects and courses offered at these schools helped to shape a new concept of education. By the mid-18th century the curriculum at many Middlesex schools was approaching the pattern of secondary courses of the next century. In 1769 at Dower's Academy, Islington, the classical and French languages, arithmetic, book-keeping, 'all branches of the mathematics', and the 'use of the globes' were taught, and boys were prepared in the most expeditious manner for the counting-house, Army, Navy, and university.⁸² The English Grammar School in Chelsea in 1766 had much the same course, recognizing that some boys would not need Latin while others would be prepared for public schools.⁸³ Palmers Green Academy in 1797,⁸⁴

⁶⁶ *The Times*, 16 Sept. 1835; Greenberg, 61, 90.

⁶⁷ *The Times*, 22 Oct. 1835; Greenberg, 91; *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 231, 236.

⁶⁸ Greenberg, 93, 158; Islington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. YA 160 COL.

⁶⁹ Draper, *Chiswick*, 134.

⁷⁰ A. Beaver, *Memorials of Old Chelsea*, 220.

⁷¹ *The Times*, 19 Mar. 1821; Greenberg, 114.

⁷² *The Times*, 24 Dec. 1822; Greenberg, 113.

⁷³ *The Times*, 4 Jan. 1840; Greenberg, 113.

⁷⁴ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 63–68, 237.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 82 sqq.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 66–69, 87–91, 114–15; *D.N.B.* i. 1228; ii. 900; ix. 1077; xiii. 1063; xvii. 357; xix. 967, 1110, 1268; M. Clare, *Youth's Introduction to Trade and Business* (1720); M. Clare and Revd. C. Barwis, *Rules and Orders for the Government of Soho Academy Lond.* (1744?–51?).

⁷⁷ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 67, 92–93; Nelson, *Islington*, 195; S. Lewis, *Hist. and Topog. of Par. of St. Mary Islington*, 351–2 and note.

⁷⁸ *The Times*, 6 Jan. 1835; Greenberg, 27, 136; Islington

Pub. Libr. Local Colln. YA 160 ISL, V 59 X 210, FLO 228–9; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 79; *Gent. Mag.* 1786, lvi (2), 269–70; Nelson, *Islington*, 116–17, 261; Lewis, *Islington*, 162 and notes, 176; *D.N.B.* xiv. 447; xix. 976.

⁷⁹ Chelsea Pub. Libr. Local Colln.; *The Times*, 8 Jan. 1840; Greenberg, 28; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 67, 101–2; Faulkner, *Chelsea*, 210; Blunt, *Chelsea*, 124; Beaver, *Chelsea*, 240–1; *D.N.B.* ix. 124; J. Bettesworth, *Arithmetic Made Easy*; J. Bettesworth and H. Fox, *Observations on Educ. in general but particularly on Naval Educ. with a Plan for a Naval Academy* (1782).

⁸⁰ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 67, 103–4; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 125; Faulkner, *Chelsea*, 386; Beaver, *Chelsea*, 334–5; Croker, *Walk from Lond.* 140; Lewis Lochée, *Essay on Military Educ.* (1773).

⁸¹ *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 137; Hounslow Pub. Libr. Local Colln. 360–99.

⁸² Islington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. YA 160.

⁸³ Chelsea Pub. Libr. Local Colln.

⁸⁴ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 224, quoting *Daily Advertiser*, 15 July 1797, no. 21411.

and the Mansion House Academy, Hammersmith, from about 1770, had similar wide courses.⁸⁵ T. H. Watson's academy in Islington, charging day fees of three guineas a quarter, gave a 'classical and mathematical education', including 'natural philosophy'.⁸⁶ Emphasis within the course was still usually vocational. Dr. Jamieson's expensive academy at Wyke House, Isleworth, charged French, German, and Italian as extras, and taught mathematics to a standard high enough to prepare for civil engineering, architecture, surveying, or the fighting services.⁸⁷ At Cherwell House Academy, Hammersmith,⁸⁸ and at Dr. Dowling's Mansion House Academy in Highgate the course was at first of a 'general character'. Pupils later specialized, according to their future careers, in business, the professions, government offices, the services, and so forth.⁸⁹ Choice according to the boy's abilities is rarely mentioned, although Mr. Weare of Gothic Hall Academy, Enfield, included this as a factor to be considered.⁹⁰

These developments had rather more than the attraction of utility and fashion. Parents approved of studies and methods which brought variety and interest as well as profit to their boys' schooling. Hackney School, for example, owed some of its long success to kindly methods, dramatic performances, and botanizing excursions.⁹¹ Teachers themselves were often conscious of the wider significance of their experiments. This is evident from William Barrow's *Academic Education*, based on his experience at Soho Academy,⁹² and from the writings of William Johnstone, master of an academy at Stanmore.⁹³ Moses Miall, of Manor House Academy, Islington,⁹⁴ and the Revd. John Evans, who kept seminaries in Hoxton and Islington,⁹⁵ likewise showed themselves aware that secondary education was changing its character, particularly through the expansion of the curriculum.

II

Denominational needs were another important factor in establishing private schools as institutions alternative to the endowed schools. Roman Catholic schools in Middlesex included that kept by John Walker (1732-1807), the lexicographer, in partnership with James Usher at Kensington Gravel Pits,⁹⁶ and the school in a house belonging to the Duke of Shrewsbury at Isleworth.⁹⁷ Richard Claridge opened a Quaker boarding-school at Tottenham in 1707.⁹⁸ Presbyterian schools catered for local needs and, especially after the Union of Parliaments, for boys of Scottish families. Andrew Kinross had a 'flourishing academy' at Forty Hill, Enfield,⁹⁹ and his assistant, Dr. James Burgh, later kept schools at Stoke Newington and Newington Green from 1747 to 1771.¹

⁸⁵ Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 111; *D.N.B.* xvi. 604.

⁸⁶ Islington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. YA 160.

⁸⁷ *The Times*, 6 Jan. 1835; Greenberg, 39, 56, 71 and note; Aungier, *Syon*, 212.

⁸⁸ *The Times*, 13 Jan. 1821; Greenberg, 126.

⁸⁹ Daniel Dowling, *Key to the Course of Mathematics* (1818); D. Dowling, *New and Improved System of Calculation* (1829); Greenberg, 39, 44, 83, 92, 122-4.

⁹⁰ *The Times*, 25 Dec. 1822; Greenberg, 154; Whitaker, *Enfield*, 123; J. Tuff, *Hist., Topog. and Statistical notices of Enfield*, 192; Enfield Pub. Libr. Local Colln. [W. Betsworth], *Recollections of Old Enfield*, 36.

⁹¹ Robinson, *Hackney*, 140; *Gent. Mag.* 1842, N.S. xvii (1), 667-8; *D.N.B.* xi. 447; xviii. 322; xx. 187.

⁹² Dr. Wm. Barrow, *Essay on Education; in which are particularly considered the merits and defects of the discipline and instruction in our Academies* (1802).

⁹³ Wm. Johnstone, *Result of Experience in the practice of Instruction, or Hints for the improvement of the Art of Tuition as regards the Middling and Higher Classes of Society* (1818); Greenberg, 53, 79-80, 144, 147, 160-4.

⁹⁴ Moses Miall, *Practical Remarks on Educ.* (1822);

Greenberg, 77, 85, 147, 164-71; Nelson, *Islington*, 354; *D.N.B.* xiii. 324.

⁹⁵ *D.N.B.*; Revd. John Evans, *Essay on Educ. of Youth* (1799); *The Times*, 17 Jan. 1810, 6 Jan 1821; Greenberg, 29, 83-84 and note, 137, 146, 149; Lewis, *Islington*, 349; Nelson, *Islington*, 52; Islington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. YA 160.

⁹⁶ *D.N.B.*; J. Gillow, *Biog. Dict. of Eng. Catholics*, v. 569; Lysons, *Supp.* 270.

⁹⁷ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 98-99; Thorne, *Environs*, 382.

⁹⁸ *D.N.B.*; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 71-73; N.R.A. *Tottenham Exhib. Cat.* (1956), 2, 20; T. Compton, *Recollections of Tottenham Friends*, 8; Thorne, *Environs*, 619.

⁹⁹ Robinson, *Enfield*, 82; John Hope, *Occasional Attempt at Sentimental Poetry by a man in Business* (1769), 54; *D.N.B.* ix. 1215.

¹ Lewis, *Islington*, 320; Nelson, *Islington*, 49; W. Robinson, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Stoke Newington*, 91; *D.N.B.* xvii. 139.

Dr. William Rutherford had a 'numerous and respectable' school at Uxbridge from about 1769 for thirty years, and there was still a Presbyterian school in the parish in 1828.² Nonconformist schools catered for all grades of society. The Revd. John Ryland's school at Enfield, attended under his successor, John Clarke, by Keats,³ and the Revd. Stephen Freeman's school at Ponders End, where Captain Marryat was educated,⁴ were of a middle-class type. Others, like the Revd. Mr. Porter's school at Highgate in 1799, were humbler.⁵

Dissenting academies which provided both ministerial and higher secondary education for boys excluded from the public schools and universities made a more distinctive contribution to secondary courses and methods. In spite of the Five Mile Act, they were numerous in Middlesex, even in the inner suburbs. The earliest were kept by ejected clergy, many of whom had had distinguished academic careers, and persecution made it necessary to move frequently.⁶ Islington and the neighbouring parishes were a favourite district, where Ralph Button, James Burgess, Robert Ferguson, Jonathan Grew, and the Revd. Luke Milbourne's wife all had schools. This concentration was at least partly due to the establishment in 1660 of a Presbyterian congregation, whose leading members could combine 'pulpit labours' with tutoring.⁷ The most considerable academy of the Independents, with about fifty students, at first under Charles Morton, was at Newington Green from about 1675 to 1706.⁸ Nearby for much the same period was the principal Presbyterian academy under Thomas Dolittle.⁹ Both these were 'open' academies, taking some Anglicans, and training only some of their students for the dissenting ministry. Samuel Wesley and Daniel Defoe were among Morton's students.¹⁰ Dolittle trained Thomas Rowe, who later became tutor at Theophilus Gale's academy which had been established at Newington Green about 1666.¹¹ From the age of sixteen to twenty Isaac Watts was educated at Gale's academy, where he gained 'a degree of knowledge, both philosophical and theological, such as few attain by a much longer course of study'.¹² John Kerr at Bethnal Green (1680?-1708)¹³ and Edward Veale at Wapping (1675-1708)¹⁴ also had academies during this early period. Further out in the county were Thomas Goodwin's academy at Pinner from about 1690 to 1716¹⁵ and Richard Swift's at Hendon, established soon after his ejection from Edgware in 1660.¹⁶ One of the most considerable academies was in Hoxton Square from 1699 to 1729, 'no house in England among Dissenters' having 'so many advantages'. Its tutors illustrate the influence bearing on these slightly later academies when connexion with Oxford and Cambridge was growing remote. Joshua Oldfield refused subscription at Oxford; his doctorate was conferred by Edinburgh. William Lorimer was educated at Aberdeen. John Spademan graduated from Cambridge and spent a period of exile in Holland.

² G. Redford and T. H. Riches, *Hist. of Uxbridge*, 177; Lysons, *Collectanea* (B.M.), i. 22; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 115.

³ *D.N.B.* xvii. 545-6; iv. 418; x. 1165; ix. 1984; Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke, *Recollections of Writers*, 1-4, 9-10, 120-4; Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 61; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 87-88; Robbins, *Mdx.* 134; Hodson and Ford, *Enfield*, 224; Whitaker, *Enfield*, 174-6; Betsworth, *Enfield*, 80; L.C.C. R.O., F/PEY 1, 1809.

⁴ *D.N.B.* i. 776; xii. 1086; Thorne, *Environs*, 186; Robbins, *Mdx.* 134; Hodson and Ford, *Enfield*, 216, 220-4; Whitaker, *Enfield*, 125; Tuff, *Enfield*, 66-67.

⁵ L.C.C. R.O., F/WT Wright Papers, 7, 8, 9.

⁶ Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 57, 138; H. McLachlan, *Eng. Educ. under the Test Acts*, 2, 10; J. W. Ashley Smith, *Birth of Modern Educ.* 9.

⁷ Nelson, *Islington*, 116 n., 174 n.; Lewis *Islington*, 267-70 n., 314-15, 319; Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 57, 138; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 10.

⁸ *D.N.B.*; Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 51, 58-63, 138;

McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 11, 24, 76-80; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 10, 56-61.

⁹ *D.N.B.* v. 1142; iii. 683; xx. 363; ix. 574; Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 62, 138; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 11, 49-52; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 41 sqq., 87-90.

¹⁰ *D.N.B.*

¹¹ *Ibid.* xvii. 347; vii. 817; Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 62, 138; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 11, 49-52; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 41 sqq., 87-90.

¹² *D.N.B.*; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 88; Johnson, *Lives of the Poets* (World's Classics), ii. 378-9.

¹³ Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 55 n., 138, 140; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 6, 85-90; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 74-75.

¹⁴ Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 59, 139; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 14.

¹⁵ Robbins, *Mdx.* 133; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 12.

¹⁶ Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 138; N. G. Brett-James, *Mill Hill*, 11-16.

Jacques Cappell was an exile from the Protestant Academy at Saumur. The curriculum of these open academies was wide, including modern and ancient languages, mathematics, natural and moral philosophy, geography, history, and law, as well as the usual branches of a ministerial education. Teaching was sometimes in English, and usually allowed 'free enquiry' by the students.¹⁷

The recognition of nonconformity as a permanent element in national life and the establishment of ministerial training funds emphasized the vocational and public nature of the academies.¹⁸ Samuel Pike, for example, from about 1750 received only theological 'bursars' at his house in Hoxton Square.¹⁹ Some elements of private and secondary education remained, as, for example, in Samuel Morton Savage's academy, also Hoxton Square (formerly in Moorfields and Stepney under Isaac Chauncey, John Eames, Thomas Ridgeley, and David Jennings), which was supported by both the Congregational Fund Board and the Coward Trust, but had 'juniors', some of whom were intended for 'scenes of wordly business'. Abraham Rees lectured in chemistry and mathematics, and Andrew Kippis on classics and *belles lettres*. Richard Price and John Howard, the prison reformer, were among its students, and William Godwin was shocked by its methods of free inquiry. It closed in 1785.²⁰

Academies at this period were pioneers in the development of the later theological college. One group merged eventually in 1852 to form New College, Hampstead: Highbury College which sprang from lectures given for the *Societas Evangelica* in Hoxton, Stepney, and Bethnal Green,²¹ the King's Head Academy, established eventually as Homerton College with support also from the Congregational Fund,²² and Coward College, Bloomsbury, successor to Dodderidge's academy at Northampton.²³ With New College all connexion with secondary education ended. Another college of this period, Hackney Academy or College, or Theological Seminary, grew out of a secondary school kept by the Revd. John Eyre (1754-1803) at his house in Well Street.²⁴ His pupil, Robert Aspland (1782-1845), kept Hackney Unitarian Academy at Durham House, from 1812 to 1818.²⁵ There were Baptist theological seminaries at Enfield under William Tonge and Stephen Freeman.²⁶

This trend towards professional training and the closing of Hoxton Square Academy in 1785 left liberal nonconformists with no institution for secondary education. In 1786 a scheme for a 'New Academical Institution among Protestant Dissenters' was formed, and Hackney College, also called Hackney New College, was founded in Bond Hopkins House (Homerton Hall) with the help of a capital fund and subscriptions. Room was provided for 75 students, and the course included the three ancient languages and antiquities, geography, 'universal grammar', history, rhetoric and composition, mathematics, 'natural and experimental philosophy', divinity, ethics, and metaphysics. Theological students were supported by the various Funds but the majority of pupils were not intended for the ministry. There never seem to have been more than 45 in residence. The failure of this ambitious scheme was due, some said, to the pride of its founders, who aimed at too 'superb a style' which was 'inconsistent with the plainness

¹⁷ Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 141; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 9; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 70 sqq., 121-5.

¹⁸ McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 2-3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 11; *D.N.B.*

²⁰ Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 142; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 71, 96, 180-6; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 9, 18, 23-24, 117-25; *Annual Biography and Obituary* (1837), 313; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 428.

²¹ McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 9, 236-9; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 227; Lewis, *Islington*, 191-2; *D.N.B.* i. 121.

²² Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 141; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 192-6; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 9, 175-88; Brewer,

Beauties of Eng. and Wales, x (5), 272-3; A. Cave, *Story of Founding of Hackney Coll.*; Hampstead Pub. Libr. Local Colln. MSS. Notes on New Coll.; *Hampstead Annual* 1905-6, ed. G. E. Matheson and S. C. Mayle, 118-27; *D.N.B.* vii. 1144; iv. 926; xiii. 172; xviii. 494; Lysons, *Supp.* 169-70.

²³ Parker, *Dissenting Acads.* 96; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 152.

²⁴ *D.N.B.*; Cave, *Hackney Coll.* 13-18, 42-51; Robinson, *Hackney*, ii. 295-302.

²⁵ *D.N.B.*; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 9.

²⁶ Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 219; Robbins, *Mdx.* 133.

and simplicity of the Dissenters'. Staff and students united to create a fatal lack of confidence in quarters necessary for support. Dr. Kippis and Dr. Rees were already suspected of unorthodoxy; Dr. Price's sermons provoked Burke's *Reflections* and pleased only the students; Gilbert Wakefield infected them with his views on public worship; and on the appointment of Dr. Priestley to the staff the College came to be regarded as 'the slaughterhouse of Christianity'. Discipline was a constant problem, since although like the public schools the College refused to supervise its pupils closely, it repudiated the normal public-school sanctions. It became impossible to control the students, who called for *ça ira* in a theatre, held a republican supper in 1792 with Paine as a guest, and finally published a pamphlet, the distribution of which touched off riots in Birmingham. After its closure in 1795, the theology tutor, Dr. Thomas Belsham, carried on a private seminary in Grove Place.²⁷ This failure was due in part to lack of interest in this kind of education among dissenters, yet only ten years separate the downfall of Hackney College from the foundation of Mill Hill in 1807. This 'Protestant Dissenters' Grammar School survived early difficulties long enough to share in the later revival of the public schools.²⁸

Nonconformist academies in Middlesex left few permanent institutions other than theological colleges, but their influence was profound. In encouraging learning by explanation rather than by memorizing alone, by inquiry rather than from authority, they influenced both secondary and university teaching. In their development of unified higher secondary and vocational courses they contributed to the understanding of education as a continuous process.²⁹

III

Conditions in Middlesex significantly influenced the nature of the development of private schools for girls, the only provision for their secondary education outside the home. The practice of sending daughters to other households for nurture, the influence of France, and the interest of the middle classes in education were the major factors contributing to the rapid growth of boarding-schools, especially at first in the suburbs and villages north of the city. City parents had an urgent need to preserve children from contagion;³⁰ the Court of Aldermen considered choice of school part of its duty to its wards. In 1628 a girl was sent to a school in Tottenham, and in 1637 and 1682 Hackney schools were chosen.³¹ Hackney parish was known as the 'Ladies University of Female Arts', and Pepys visited its church to see the 'great store' of young ladies, 'very pretty'.³² Two of its largest schools were established before 1650 by Mrs. Salmon, a Presbyterian,³³ and Mrs. Perwich, who in Bohemia Palace had '100 and sometimes more of gentlewomen' and was famed for music teaching. Both schools emphasized the accomplishments but also taught French, housewifery, and accounts.³⁴ Other Hackney

²⁷ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 480; iii. 633; *Supp.* 169; Robinson, *Hackney*, ii. 290-4; Millicent Rose, *East End of Lond.* 117; *Eng. Hist. Docs.* xi, ed. A. Aspinall and E. A. Smith, 701-2; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 9, 23, 38, 246-55; Smith, *Birth of Mod. Educ.* 152-9, 171-7; *Gent. Mag.* 1790, lx (2), 793; 1791, lxi (1), 509-10; 1791, lxi (2), 621-2, 755, 984, 1022, 1025, 1026; 1793, lxiii (1), 334, 409, 412; 1796, lxvi (1), 458-9; 1796, lxvi (2), 555; *D.N.B.* ii. 202; ix. 317; xi. 196; xvi. 334, 364, 840; xxi. 954.

²⁸ McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 3; E. T. Evans, *Hist. and Topog. of Par. of Hendon*, 274; N. G. Brett-James, *Hist. of Mill Hill Sch.* 9-23, *passim*. See pp. 307-8.

²⁹ *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* x. 382; McLachlan, *Eng. Educ.* 18, 28, 34, 36, Hans, *Mod. Educ.* 54-55.

³⁰ *Cal. S.P. Dom.* 1635-6, 523; 1636-7, 138.

³¹ *Ibid.* 1637, 422; Dorothy Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood* at

Sch. 211, 214, 224-6.

³² Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 211; Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, vi. 264.

³³ Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 211; Elizabeth M. D. Morris, 'Educ. of Girls in Eng. from 1660 to 1800' (Lond. Univ. M.A. Thesis, 1926), App. V, p. xvi; Sir John Bramston, *Autobiography*, 108, 111; *Diary of Revd. Ralph Josselin* (Camd. Soc. 3rd. ser. xv), 167; Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. A. Clark, ii. 153; *D.N.B.* xv. 1064; Lambley, *French Language*, 323; Doris Stenton, *The Englishwoman in Hist.* 167; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 510.

³⁴ Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 211 and note; Morris, 'Educ. of Girls', 142, App. VI, pp. xvii-xviii; Rose, *East End*, 110; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 494; Robinson, *Hackney*, i. 212; John Batchiler, *The Virgin's Pattern* (1661).

schools such as those of Mr. Hutton, Mrs. Wallis, and Mrs. Slater, favoured by Hull merchants, were smaller and probably inferior.³⁵

The pretensions of such girls' schools, catering chiefly for citizens' daughters, became something of a court joke,³⁶ and references to 'Hackney School' were readily interpreted by Wycherley's audiences. Puritan opinion condemned them on moral grounds,³⁷ and already thoughtful women were objecting to their casual and frivolous nature. One such critic, Mrs. Hannah Woolley, herself opened a school in Hackney in 1655.³⁸ Another, Mrs. Bathsua Makin, one of the most learned women of her day and governess to the Princess Elizabeth, discussed the conflict between accomplishments and solid learning in the prospectus for her school at Tottenham High Cross.³⁹ A pupil of Comenius, she advocated practical, intellectual, and moral training, and included grammar, rhetoric, logic, languages, mathematics, geography, history, music, painting, and poetry in her course. Nonconformist schoolmistresses such as Mrs. Elizabeth Tutchin, who had a school at Newington Green and after 1710 in Highgate, also placed emphasis on 'sober education' and 'suitable learning'.⁴⁰ As a result pious Anglicans, for example Mrs. Mary Astell (1668–1731) of Chelsea, often feared girls' boarding-schools as not only frivolous but also schismatic. Her *Serious Proposal for Ladies* described a college, 'rather *academical* than *monastic*', to 'stock the kingdom with pious and prudent ladies' able to teach in schools of a better sort. But even in non-juring circles this scheme was considered to savour of popery.⁴¹

Most Middlesex schools, however, remained unconcerned with reform or aspirations and continued to emphasize the accomplishments. Mrs. Playford's large school opposite the church at Islington in 1679 was typical, instructing young gentlewomen 'in all manner of curious works . . . reading, writing, music, dancing, and the French language'.⁴² French was considered essential, and French boarding-schools for girls, such as that of M. de la Mare in Marylebone, were a feature in and around the metropolis.⁴³ *The Spectator* complained that 'foreign fopperies' were desired by parents when they placed their daughters in such schools in Bloomsbury and St. Giles.⁴⁴

By the late 17th century other parishes were beginning to supersede Hackney as the site for private girls' schools. The 'sweet air' of Chelsea drew 'schools with a great number of boarders'.⁴⁵ Sir Robert Walpole placed his two daughters at an expensive Chelsea school.⁴⁶ Gorges House, the largest in the village, was a school from 1676 until it was demolished c. 1716. Here in 1680 Purcell's *Dido & Aeneas* was first performed, and in 1690 D'Urfey, after living in the school, wrote *Love for Money, or the Boarding School*, in which two city heiresses, 'overgrown romps', are carried off by adventurers disguised as the dancing and singing masters.⁴⁷ Other fashionable Chelsea schools early in the 18th century were housed in Chelsea Palace, Blacklands, and Henry VIII's manor-

³⁵ Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 214; Rose, *East End*, 115; Morris, 'Educ. of Girls', 100.

³⁶ Wycherley, *Gentleman Dancing-master* (1673).

³⁷ *Autobiography of Joseph Lister*, ed. T. Wright, 27; Aubrey, *Miscellanies* (1857 edn.), 219; Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 219.

³⁸ *D.N.B.*; Stenton, *Englishwoman in Hist.* 188–91.

³⁹ *D.N.B.*; Bathsua Makin, *Essay to revive the Ancient Educ. of Gentlewomen in Religion, Manners, Arts and Tongues* (1673); Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 224–6, 244–5; Morris, 'Educ. of Girls', 144, App. II, p. iii.

⁴⁰ *D.N.B.* xix. 1310.

⁴¹ *D.N.B.*; Mary Astell, *Serious Proposal for Ladies* (1694 and 1697); Stenton, *Englishwoman in Hist.* 184–8, 220–4; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 137–8; Beaver, *Chelsea*, 236.

⁴² Lysons, *Environs of London*, iii. 157. *Encyclopaedia and*

Dict. of Educ., ed. Foster Watson, art. 'Girls' Education'; Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 214.

⁴³ Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 210; Morris, 'Educ. of Girls', 147 and note; *Proc. Huguenot Soc. of Lond.* xi (1), 122; Lambley, *French Language*, 299–300, 396; Marylebone Pub. Libr. Local Colln. Ashridge 315.

⁴⁴ *Spectator*, i, nos. 18, 45.

⁴⁵ Faulkner, *Chelsea*, 349; Beaver, *Chelsea*, 49.

⁴⁶ J. H. Plumb, 'The Walpoles, Father and Son', in *Studies in Social Hist.*, ed. J. H. Plumb, 203.

⁴⁷ Beaver, *Chelsea*, 150; R. Davies, *Chelsea Old Church*, 210; Gardiner, *Eng. Girlhood*, 215–16, 220 sqq.; Morris, 'Educ. of Girls', 251, App. 7, pp. xix–xxi; Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas* (c. 1689); *D.N.B.* vi. 252; T. D'Urfey, *Love for Money, or The Boarding School* (1691); *Beauties Triumph* (1676).



EDMONTON CHARITY SCHOOL



THE MANOR-HOUSE SCHOOL, MARYLEBONE, c. 1787



INTERIOR OF THE CARVED SCHOOLROOM OF GREAT CAMPDEN HOUSE, KENSINGTON, c. 1840

*The Young Ladies BOARDING-SCHOOL,
Kept by Mr. and Mrs. PHILLIPS, in Lawrence-Street,
Great Chelsea,*

HAVING by their industrious, careful, and polite Treatment of their Boarders, increased so much, as to require their Removal from their first, to a much larger and more commodious House in the same Street, nearer the Church; whence you view the River Thames, and part of Surry, Hampstead, and Highgate. This House stands in a fine Air, hath spacious Gardens, excellent Water, numerous Apartments, a beautiful School and Dancing Room, and all necessary Offices. Here young Ladies are taught Reading, Writing, Drawing, Dancing, Musick, Arithmetick, the French Tongue, and all manner of curious Needlework: But above all, the strictest Care is taken to inculcate sound Morals, virtuous Principles, and a graceful Behaviour; at moderate Rates.

Note, That for the better and more speedy Accomplishment of the Boarders, Lectures on Religious Subjects and the Social Virtues, in French and English alternately, are given twice a Week gratis, in a new Method, never practised before in Boarding Schools for young Ladies. Moreover the Ladies attend Divine Service both in English and French every Sunday.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR AN 18TH-CENTURY BOARDING-SCHOOL

house.⁴⁸ By 1750 Mr. and Mrs. Philip's school in Lawrence Street was popular. It taught the usual subjects, 'with strict care for sound morals, virtuous principles, and a graceful behaviour, at moderate rates'. 'Half-boarders' were taken as apprentices in management and teaching.⁴⁹ Later in the century Whitelands in the King's Road and Gough House became schools, and part of Monmouth House was occupied as a school in 1815.⁵⁰

Chelsea illustrates the scale of provision in Middlesex where girls' schools were of more than local importance. The tendency was to send girls into the metropolitan area for the final stage of their education. Edmund Verney brought his daughter from Buckinghamshire to Gorges House in 1680.⁵¹ Susannah, eldest child of Josiah Wedgwood, came from Staffordshire to Blacklands in 1776 for two years,⁵² and Mary Russell Mitford came up from the country in 1797 to go to a school kept by French emigrées at 22 Hans Place, Kensington.⁵³ Parents crowded into the metropolis not only for the season, but for the 'grand work of education'. They brought their daughters for the 'best London masters', or to be entered for 'some eligible school, where eminent professors may be had upon easier terms than in a private lesson'.⁵⁴ This concentration of girls' schools in the suburbs and villages round London reflected the position of the capital in English social life and the extent of local needs. It was also the result of a system which insisted that the central role in girls' education should be amateur, and relied on visiting specialists for teaching those subjects considered to be most socially valuable and personally suitable. Suburban Middlesex, with its constantly expanding and shifting population, was able also to provide the kind of property suitable for the 'ladies' seminary'. Large houses in still fashionable districts became available—Campden House⁵⁵ and Notting Hill House in Kensington,⁵⁶ for example—and newly-built property such as 22 Hans Place⁵⁷ was also occupied by schools. Few alterations entailed capital outlay since a girls' school was essentially a large family, and such schools were not considered to lower the value of neighbouring property. A district had to be socially acceptable and healthy. Islington succeeded Hackney in catering for the business community.⁵⁸ Edmonton was known for its great number of boarding-schools,⁵⁹ and Twickenham had establishments of the most select kind.⁶⁰

Although the existence of such schools was of national importance, the quality of education imparted in them is difficult to assess. Literary glimpses, such as Mary Darby's (Perdita Robinson's) description of her Kensington schoolmistress's talents sinking under bouts of intoxication, may be overdramatized.⁶¹ Progress was often judged by improvements in deportment and the particular accomplishments for which the school had been chosen. Molly Verney distinguished herself at the school ball;⁶² Susannah Wedgwood gave satisfaction for improvement 'as well as her general carriage and behaviour, as in her music, drawing, etc.'. ⁶³ Jane Austen, visiting a pupil at 22 Hans

⁴⁸ Beaver, *Chelsea*, 189, 343; Faulkner, *Chelsea*, 350; A. G. K. L'Etrange, *Village of Palaces*, i. 180 n.; Morris, 'Educ. of Girls', 147.

⁴⁹ Lysons, *Collectanea* (B.M.), i. 17; Chelsea Pub. Libr. Local Colln. Scrapbook 9.

⁵⁰ Beaver, *Chelsea*, 92, 246, 319; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 90; Faulkner, *Chelsea*, 366; Bryan, *Chelsea*, 176, 181; Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 52, 56.

⁵¹ Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, ii. 366; iv. 221.

⁵² *Corresp. of Josiah Wedgwood*, ed. Lady Farrer, ii. 184-5.

⁵³ *D.N.B.*; Croker, *Walk from Lond.* 43.

⁵⁴ *Boarding School and Lond. Masters' Dir.* (1828), p. iv.

⁵⁵ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 180; Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 147; Florence M. Gladstone, *Aubrey House, Kensington, 1698-1920*, 7, 32.

⁵⁶ Gladstone, *Aubrey Ho.* 28, 36-39; Kensington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. 36556.

⁵⁷ Croker, *Walk from Lond.* 40-41; *D.N.B.* xi. 464; *Life of Mrs. Sherwood, chiefly AutoBiographical*, 125, 159; Mona Wilson, *Jane Austen and Some Contemporaries*, 127-46.

⁵⁸ Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* iii. 138, 299; Nelson, *Islington*, 167, 239, 258; Robinson, *Stoke Newington*, 82; Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 256.

⁵⁹ Pigot, *Nat. Com. Dir.* (1832-4), sub. 'Edmonton'.

⁶⁰ *Univ. Brit. Dir.* (1791), v. 222-4.

⁶¹ Croker, *Walk from Lond.* 137-9; *Memoirs of the Late Mrs. Robinson Written by herself*, (1930 edn.), 16-20.

⁶² Verney, *Memoirs of Verney Family*, ii. 370.

⁶³ *Corresp. of Wedgwood*, ed. Farrer, ii. 190-1, 322-3.

Place, noticed especially the elegance of her hair, which would 'do credit to any education', and thought that, but for the cupids on the drawing-room mantelpiece, 'a fine study for girls, one would never have smelt instruction'.⁶⁴ Such comments stress the prevalent view that girls' boarding-schools were essentially domestic rather than scholastic. Estimates of Miss Mitford's education under M. and Mme. St. Quentin and Miss Rowden at Hans Place show how deeply evaluation of the more intellectual aspects of education varied. On the one hand the school was praised for keeping the children healthy and happy and for helping them to learn anything they wanted to learn—Latin, French, Italian, history, geography, as much science as was 'requisite for a young lady to know', music, dancing, and drawing. On the other hand, a critic resented the indiscriminate nature of this education by a pair of French immigrants and an English lady 'who conceived herself a poetess, and took her pupils to the theatre', allowing them to read trashy as well as solid books, dance ballets, and act 'meek plays'.⁶⁵

Lack of system and discrimination was inevitable when girls' schools were still rather a survival of the older practice of sending girls into other households than forerunners of the public or high schools of the next century. When the domestic atmosphere hardened, parents were quick to criticize. Arthur Young described Campden House as a 'region of constraint and death', attributing the loss of his daughter to its formal walks and rigid discipline.⁶⁶ It was during Mrs. Terry's headship of this school (1767–91) that the English master, James Rice, made a rare experiment in the systematic teaching of girls, setting out in his *Plan for Female Education* (1791) a method aiming 'to form the mind and cultivate the understanding' by a two-year course of reading, analysis, and themes 'relating to the proprietaries of conduct in social and civil life'.⁶⁷

An important footnote to 17th-century provisions for girls' education is provided by attempts to keep alive in the London suburbs, even during the penal era, the ideal of a conventual education for the daughters of Roman Catholic families. Mary Ward (1585–1645), who became the principal organizer of such schools in England, received from the embassies and the Stuart court some protection in her struggle to organize a society of 'English Ladies' of unenclosed religious on the Jesuit model. From 1609 until the outbreak of the Civil War there was almost continuously a 'school' or house for Roman Catholic girls in Bethnal Green, Kensington, or St. Giles. Most of the pupils were on their way to the school kept by the sisters at St. Omer, but from 1638 until the flight of the queen a school was maintained almost openly in St. Martin's Lane, and when it was removed to Yorkshire three coaches were needed for the 'goodly party of children'.⁶⁸ Some settlement in London was probably kept even through the Interregnum, for when in 1669 a boarding-school for girls was openly established by the Sisters at Hammer-smith, there was a tradition that it had been removed from St. Martin's Lane. Some protection was still necessary, and the sisters styled themselves 'governesses' who had voluntarily bound themselves by rules. The school survived a visitation from Titus Oates and a Middlesex justice, the troubles of the Revolution, and reports to the Bishop of London in 1705 and 1706, to become an accepted and fashionable local institution, attended by both Roman Catholic and other boarding and day girls. During the Gordon Riots it was protected from molestation by the local tradespeople.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Wilson, *Jane Austen*, 10.

⁶⁵ *Life of Mary Russell Mitford*, ed. A. G. K. L'Estrange, i. 11–12; *Letters of M. R. Mitford*, ed. H. Chorley, i. 6; Frances A. Kemble, *Record of a Girlhood*, 73, 77, 109.

⁶⁶ A. C. Percival, *The Eng. Miss*, 86.

⁶⁷ James Rice, *Plan of Female Educ.* (1779); Morris, 'Educ. of Girls', 156.

⁶⁸ Mary C. Chambers, *Life of Mary Ward, 1585–1645*, ed. H. J. Coleridge, i. 67, 107, 196, 215 sqq., 267–8, 273–4,

285–321, 327, 366, 423–8; ii. 22, 43 sqq., 53–54, 324–6, 452–74.

⁶⁹ Ibid. ii. 511–18, 235, 525; A. C. F. Beales, *Educ. Under Penalty*, 98, 103, 203–5, 226–7, 254, 258; Mary D. R. Leys, *Catholics in Eng. 1559–1829*, 166; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 420–1; Faulkner, *Fulham*, 343–5; Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 122–3; Thorne, *Environs*, 275; *The Laity's Dir.* (1835–6); *Cath. Dir.* (1854, 1865).

Until the renaissance of girl's education in the mid-19th century, only the small Roman Catholic community could claim to have a system of girls' schools. Most convent schools were in other districts, but the oldest established was in Middlesex and so probably were the majority of private academies of the more conventional type. In 1813 there were three in Hammersmith alone, and these reflected the standards and systematic approach of the religious orders.⁷⁰

THE REIGN OF VICTORIA

By the 1830's private day- and boarding-schools for boys and girls in Middlesex were giving both primary and secondary education of all standards. Accurate or useful estimates of their number or of pupils attending them cannot be made, as official figures were incomplete and did not distinguish between different types of education.⁷¹ Directories too were inaccurate. Schools were short-lived and small, pupils attended erratically and for short periods: in 1851 an average school life of only 5½ years was estimated for middle-class children.⁷² The number of schools was certainly very large. In 1832-4 there were in Chelsea at least 95, in the Islington area 135, in Clerkenwell 144, Hackney 88, Kensington 77, Marylebone 97, St. Pancras 57, and Stepney and district 123.⁷³ Only private school proprietors, however, considered this provision adequate in either quantity or quality.⁷⁴ The unprecedented growth of population, especially of school age, was at its most intense in the expanding suburbs, and here there was an acute need for what this period recognized as 'middle-class education'.⁷⁵ The State began to interest itself in the problem with the institution of the Charity Commission inquiry of 1833-5.⁷⁶ The resultant reports were at least as much concerned with the elementary education of the poor as with the use of endowments for the education of the middle classes. Nevertheless private school-keepers were sufficiently alarmed to form the London School Society in order to oppose Brougham's proposals for a 'general system of national education'. The history of many Middlesex schools during Victoria's reign reflects the reaction of private enterprise to attempts to establish an integrated educational system.⁷⁷

I

English schooling has always been more responsive to political and social than to educational ideas. The founders of several Middlesex schools saw in education one expression of their political and social theories. The Hill brothers, Rowland, Matthew Davenport, and Arthur, opened a branch of their father's Birmingham school at Bruce Castle, Tottenham, in 1827. Strongly imbued with Utilitarian ideas, they emphasized a wide curriculum, 'to accord with the taste and capacity of the pupils', the need for active learning, a school coinage, and a constitution by which the boys managed the school and its 'criminal code'. The *Edinburgh Review* considered that under the Hills 'boys had less useless suffering and more play in the process of becoming men' than in most schools. Bentham was enthusiastic and sent pupils to the school, and boys came

⁷⁰ Faulkner, *Fulham*, 388, 359; *Laity's Dir.* (1835-8); W. J. Battersby, 'Educational Work of the Religious Orders', in *Eng. Catholics*, ed. G. A. Beck, 337-9.

⁷¹ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract*, H.C. 62, pp. 592-4 (1835), xlii.

⁷² *Census*, 1851, p. xlv.

⁷³ Pigot, *Nat. Com. Dir.* (1832-4).

⁷⁴ Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Everyman edn.), ii.

250, 263; J. S. Mill, *Autobiography*, 128.

⁷⁵ Earl Fortescue, *Public Schs. for the Middle Classes*, 1-2; Lord Norton, 'Middle Class Educ.', in *Nineteenth Century*, xiii, 233-9, 242-6; Prof. Mahaffy, 'Modern Educ.', in *ibid.* 713-14.

⁷⁶ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract* (1835), 592-3.

⁷⁷ G. Baron, 'The Secondary Schoolmaster, 1895-1914' (Lond. Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1952), 1-2.

from the newly-liberated countries of Greece and South America. A *Hillska Skola* was founded in Stockholm and Arnold was said to have been influenced by the Hills' ideas. But although Bruce Castle flourished until 1891 it remained essentially a private school, never acquiring the prestige of university successes and the social status of the public schools. In 1869, the 78 pupils, sons of merchants and professional men, mostly left at about sixteen.⁷⁸ University College School, also founded under the influence of the Philosophic Radicals, became an established public school, owing perhaps to its central position, the element of semi-public support, and the advantage of sending pupils to the College for a year before entering Oxford or Cambridge.⁷⁹

Similar Liberal ideas inspired the City philanthropist William Ellis to found in the London suburbs a chain of 'Birkbeck Schools' affording 'a type of what the education of the middle classes should be'. In Middlesex such schools for boys and girls from the lower middle class and respectable working families were established in Holborn, Finsbury, Bethnal Green, and Kingsland. Ellis provided the capital fund and continued to support the schools, but they were classed as unendowed, and, in accordance with current theory, designed to be self-supporting. In 1884 the Kingsland schools claimed to pay their way on fees of four guineas a year. Distinctive features were the wide curriculum, including physiology and 'social science'; a 'collective, conversational and catechetical' method of teaching; and a discipline relying not on punishment but on training children 'to see the importance of obedience and order, so that their school life may be turned to the best account'. They claimed to turn out citizens prepared to 'co-operate with the medical officer of health', and who had learned that 'capital can never oppress the workman' and that 'a strike may, or may not, alter the distribution of the wages' fund, but it must lessen it'. Ellis also held a weekly class for about fifty schoolmasters to instruct them in Utilitarian social science.⁸⁰

The free-trade Liberalism of the mid-19th century exhibitions led to the foundation of the International College, Isleworth, with a fund placed at its disposal by the French Exhibition of 1863. Schools in various European countries were to follow a 'uniform programme of study' to enable pupils to move from one to another 'acquiring four languages fluently'. Cobden, Kay-Shuttleworth, and Thomas Huxley were among the directors, and the Isleworth school began in 1867 under Dr. Schmitz, formerly tutor to the Prince of Wales, who opened the Gothic building with accommodation for 150 pupils. This high-sounding project in practice produced a conventional second-rate boarding-school, emphasizing modern languages and science rather than classics. Discipline seems to have been unsatisfactory and in 1870 the neighbourhood was shaken by the 'Great College Revolt', quelled finally by the police. The school's popularity with Bradford parents brought its most famous pupil, Delius, who composed his first song in the sanatorium after being hit over the head with a cricket stump. The hopeful international character of the school 'sprang out of enthusiasm, and had no bottom in experience'. Scared South Americans who 'used the knife sometimes' and a negro who raged over the football ground 'like a goaded bull' may have enlivened the school scene

⁷⁸ Thorne, *Environs*, 618-19; W. Robinson, *Hist. and Antiqs. of Tottenham High Cross*, 219-20; *D.N.B.* ix. 877, 867-8, 853-4, 844; *Gent. Mag.* 1851, n.s. xxvi (2), 326; *Edinburgh Rev.* xli. 315 sqq.; A. T. Milne, *Cat. of MSS. of Jeremy Bentham in Libr. of Univ. Coll. Lond.* Box XVIII, 178-87, 146, 148, 149, 151, 152 (folder 22); N.R.A. *Tottenham Exhib. Cat.* (1956), 24-26; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 4* [3966-IV] H.C., pp. 838 sqq. (1867-8), xxviii (4); *Scholastic Jnl.* 30 Nov. 1856, 90; *Scholastic World*, 1 Sept. 1878, 3; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 272; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 885; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 71; R. L. Archer, *Secondary Educ. in 19th Cent.* 90-96; E. C. Mack, *Public*

Schs. and British Opinion, 1780-1860, i. 147; Greenberg, 19, 87.

⁷⁹ Mack, *Pub. Schs.* i. 159; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* [3966-III] H.C., pp. 313 sqq. (1867-8), xxviii (3); *Rep. Com. Secondary Educ.* [Cd. 7862] H.C., pp. 230-2 (1895), xlv; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 310; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 763; ii. 193.

⁸⁰ *Reminiscences of Revd. William Rogers*, ed. R. H. Hadden, 187; *D.N.B.* vi. 716; *Rep. Com. on Popular Educ.* [2794-V] H.C., pp. 179-82, 406-10 (1861), xxi (5); *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* [3966-VI] H.C., pp. 351, 533 (1867-8), xxviii (6); Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 533.

but did not create 'an educational brotherhood of man'. Foreign pupils more probably sought assimilation to the English tradition rather than a new international conception of education. The school's closure in 1890 seemed, however, rather the result of a gradual financial decline than the failure of an ideal.⁸¹

These schools gave educational expression to ideas which were primarily political and economic, and indeed Victorian Middlesex was an area where almost any respectable educational experiment could bring at least temporary financial returns. Ideas or fads flourished easily in that mobile, expanding, usually prosperous, and always aspiring society. The theories of Froebel and Pestalozzi on the teaching of little children, for example, expressed themselves in the kindergarten movement, which became an important field for private enterprise. An early Middlesex kindergarten was housed in the 'Iron Room School' opened in 1863 by the vicar of Christ Church, Hampstead. Its headmistress was Mrs. Coghlan, wife of the Principal of the Home and Colonial College. Sir Robert Morant was one of its pupils.⁸² By 1884 there were a number of kindergartens, many with a particular social emphasis. The Royal English Kindergarten College in Berners Street, for example, taught 'the children of families of position' and their governesses and head-nurses.⁸³ Of a more middle-class character was the Maida Vale Kindergarten where little boys and girls of from three to eight were 'thoroughly grounded' in a 'perfectly symmetrical education', utilizing the Froebelian apparatus and tasks designed to develop the child's inherent powers and provided according to a careful system of 'the Gifts, the Games, the Occupations, and the Object Lessons', under Fräulein Steinweg, a pupil of Madame Froebel.⁸⁴ The high-schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company had their own kindergartens and at its Maida Vale School students were trained for the examination of the National Froebel Union.⁸⁵

Some private schools were for both boys and girls. Holloway College, for example, which gave 'commercial instruction', had in 1879 departments for both sexes.⁸⁶ In general co-education was accepted at the elementary level as both economic and sensible. At the secondary stage and higher up the social scale, however, the problem was much magnified and was the subject of considerable disagreement. In 1895 Miss Alice Woods at Chiswick and Miss Case at Hampstead had successful mixed schools.⁸⁷ A humbler example was School Field in South Hackney run from 1887 to 1894 by E. Sergeant as a 'private venture elementary school'. Liberal teaching methods and discipline trained the senior boys and girls to work on their own.⁸⁸ More ambitious and permanent was the Hampstead school of the King Alfred Society, opened in 1897 to give practical expression to the 'best theories of education extant', particularly those of 'Pestalozzi, Froebel, Herbart, Herbert Spencer, Louis Compton Miall, and others working on similar lines'. The school was financed by subscriptions which were to be repaid when the project succeeded, and donors of £100 were entitled to nominate a pupil at half-fees. Co-operation between parents and teachers was emphasized and both were given a share in the management. The school was co-educational; curriculum and discipline were progressive, stressing the importance of interest rather than of memory alone. Competition and punishment were both discarded and examinations

⁸¹ Thorne, *Environs*, 561; Robbins, *Mdx.* 162; *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 137; *Eng. Jnl. of Educ.* 1863, 298-9; *Illustrated Lond. News*. 7 Sept. 1867; W. Thompson, *Local Dir. of Hounslow, Heston, Isleworth, Spring Grove etc.* (1887); Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 303; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 863; M. Hewlett, 'The Gods in the Schoolhouse', *The Eng. Rev.* xiii. 43 sqq.; C. Bibby, 'A Victorian Experiment in International Educ.', *Brit. Jnl. of Educ. Studies*, v. 23-36; Hounslow Pub. Libr. Local Colln.

⁸² Hampstead Pub. Libr. Local Colln., 'Educational

Opportunities in Old Hampstead', 70-73; B. M. Allen, *Sir Robert Morant*, 4-5.

⁸³ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 610.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 612.

⁸⁵ *Paddington and Maida Vale High Sch. Mag.* June 1900, 9-10; June 1901, 23; Apr. 1902, 25.

⁸⁶ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 709.

⁸⁷ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlvi. 18-19; Alice Woods, *Educational Experiments*, 24-25.

⁸⁸ Woods, *Educ. Experiments*, 80-82.

were not allowed to dominate the curriculum. Vegetarian dinners were provided, but there was no religious instruction.⁸⁹

II

In 1847 the *Daily News* suggested that the clergy should reinforce social demands and undertake the 'important patriotic duty' of providing middle-class education;⁹⁰ and in Middlesex one of the earliest and most effective responses to this demand did in fact come from the clergy and laity of the Established Church. Earlier conceptions of education as a charitable work had vested endowments in perpetual corporations which in situation and curricula no longer corresponded to pressures of population and vocation.⁹¹ Nineteenth-century Churchmen thought in terms of institutions not only able to pay their way but also able to adapt themselves to changing social and educational demands. The parishes of metropolitan Middlesex were recognized to be in urgent need of proprietary schools of this kind. A pioneer foundation was the Philological School, established in Marylebone in 1792. This school survived early difficulties, such as a bogus collector and subscribers who considered it 'sufficient . . . to pay the amount of their subscription only as long as the boy presented by them remains in the School', to become an established local institution.⁹² Most of the proprietary schools founded by 'clerical agency', however, date from about 1830.⁹³ The first was the Western Grammar School, Brompton, founded in 1828, which made a short-lived experiment with the 'Madras System' at secondary level.⁹⁴ In 1830-1 King's College School was founded and a scheme developed by which Anglican proprietary schools could apply for 'Union with King's College', their pupils then entering as second-year students.⁹⁵ Some established schools, the London High School in Tavistock Square, for example, adapted themselves to this scheme.⁹⁶ The scheme also gave a fresh impetus to new foundations such as Hackney and Islington Proprietary Schools and St. Peter's, Eaton Square (opened in 1830), Kensington and Pimlico (1831), and Stepney (1833). In 1831 *The Quarterly Journal of Education* published the plan and rules of the Pimlico School as a useful model.⁹⁷ Other examples of schools which later obtained union with King's College were Brompton Church of England School, All Souls and St. Marylebone District School, the Philological School, St. John's Wood Proprietary School, Westbourne Collegiate School,⁹⁸ and West London Collegiate School, Notting Hill.

This does not exhaust the provision made by the Church of England for secondary education of this standard. In St. Pancras the North London Collegiate School for Boys was founded in 1850 as a result of a public meeting called by the incumbent, Canon Thomas Dale. One of his curates, W. C. Williams, became its head, and the school provided for about nine guineas a year a classical or commercial education for boys from middle-class homes.⁹⁹ In Finchley in 1857 the Revd. T. R. White drew in some measure on ancient charities to found Christ's College, a school with a similar purpose.¹

⁸⁹ Woods, *Educ. Experiments*, 25; *Prospectus of Hampstead Sch. of King Alfred Sch. Soc.* (Hampstead Pub. Libr. Local Colln.); J. Russell, 'On some of the aims and Methods of the King Alfred School Society', *Jnl. Royal Sanitary Inst.* xxxii. 161-3.

⁹⁰ *Eng. Jnl. of Educ.* i. 250-4.

⁹¹ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), pp. 454 sqq.
⁹² *Ibid.* pp. 347-8; *Rep. of Philological Sch. or Sch. of General Instruction* (1834); P. Wayne, *The Philological Sch. or St. Marylebone Grammar Sch. Past and Present*, 2 (Marylebone Pub. Libr. Local Colln.); see pp. 306-7.

⁹³ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), pp. 340-2.
⁹⁴ Croker, *Walk from Lond.* 83; *Qrly. Jnl. of Educ.* iv. 183-4; Kensington Pub. Libr. Local Colln.; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 289; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 745.

⁹⁵ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 162; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 307; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 767-9; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Hist. of King's Coll.* 80-82, 101-4.

⁹⁶ Greenberg, 21; *The Times*, 9 Nov. 1835.

⁹⁷ *Qrly. Jnl. of Educ.* i. 199-203.

⁹⁸ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 162; Enid C. Samuel, *Villas of Regents Park*, 10-11; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 301, 276.

⁹⁹ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 488-563; *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.* (1861), xiii; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 273; F. Boase, *Mod. Eng. Biog.* vi. art W. C. Williams; *Scholastic World*, 1 Aug. 1878, p. 3; S. Palmer, *St. Pancras*, 142.

¹ See p. 290.

In 1864 Ealing Deanery Middle-Class School was founded.² Post-Tractarian changes in church services introduced a new element. The St. Pancras Middle-Class Boys' School, established in 1853 near Regent's Park, provided choral scholarships and the St. Mary Magdalen (later St. Ambrose) Choir College in Paddington advertised in 1872 for 'sons of clergymen or gentlemen who possess a good voice and ear'.³ Private enterprise, lay and clerical, played the chief part in these foundations, but from 1838 the Diocesan Boards of Education had recognized the need for 'schools for the children of the commercial and middle classes'. By 1840 the Finsbury and Hanwell Collegiate Schools were opened, and the Metropolitan Commercial Schools Institution advertised schools in Rose Street, Soho, and St. George, Hanover Square. Only a detailed study of the localities can provide an estimate of provision of this type.⁴ In Islington, for example, as well as the Proprietary School founded in 1830, there was the South Islington Proprietary School, under a clerical headmaster and in union with King's College,⁵ and the East Islington Commercial School, providing an 'intermediate education' for the sons of 'respectable tradesmen'. The latter school was opened in 1841 in connexion with the Diocesan Board. Its course included scripture, English, Latin, writing, arithmetic, the elements of mathematics, history, geography, and chronology, with 'the elements of natural philosophy', French, and drawing as extras.⁶ Constant effort, both lay and clerical, was required to keep this diverse provision to a satisfactory standard. In this respect the Church of England's most important national contribution was the institution of the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations in 1858.⁷

In 1868 Fearon, in his survey of Middlesex education for the Schools' Enquiry Commission, concluded that the proprietary schools were in decline. The Stepney school had already passed into private hands, as the neighbourhood could not support a classical school of that type, and the Hackney school was in difficulties.⁸ Particular local conditions played an important part in each school's fortunes. The Islington School had close connexions with the evangelicals and the Church Missionary Society. It had early difficulties in working out a system of staff appointments which avoided the old rigidities and dangers of the 'headmaster's freehold', while allowing him sufficient independence of the 'proprietors' or shareholders; but it developed into a useful local institution giving an 'excellent training for the University' and notably good French teaching. It supplied several holders of the missionary scholarships at King's College. By 1868 Fearon considered the school to be badly in need of exhibitions, yet it was still giving a secondary education in 1891.⁹ The Kensington School, on the other hand, in spite of an 'Addiscombe Cadetship' connecting it with the Indian Regiments, and an earlier attempt in 1869 to revive its fortunes by converting proprietary rights into permanent endowments, was considered by 1891 to be 'largely preparatory', and closed in 1896.¹⁰ St. Peter's, Eaton Square, came to a more dramatic end, wrecked by its very proprietary constitution. A minority of its shareholders, wishing to realize their capital, resorted to the 'cruel expedient of blackening the

² Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 297; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 754.

³ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 303; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* 723, 759.

⁴ C. K. F. Brown, *Church's Part in Educ. 1883-1941*, 110-12; Greenberg, 21.

⁵ Lewis, *Islington*, 367.

⁶ *Ibid.* 330.

⁷ Brown, *Church's Part in Educ.* 116; *Eng. Jnl. of Educ.* 1863, 5-9.

⁸ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), pp. 343-4.

⁹ *Ibid.* 239, 343; Lewis, *Islington*, 269-70; Islington Pub. Lib. Local Colln. notice of founding of sch. 1830; *ibid.*,

printed papers relating to dismissal of second master 1836; *ibid.*, press cuttings 1857-75, reports of examiners 1848; *Rules and Regulations*, and two *Annual Reps.* 1830, 1832; Revd. J. O. Parr, *Address delivered at the Opening of the Islington Proprietary Sch.* (1830); *Eng. Jnl. of Educ.* 1863, 284; Lond. Sch. Board, *Schedule of Secondary Schs.* (1891); Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 271; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* 711.

¹⁰ Kensington Pub. Lib. Local Colln. Misc. papers 1835-1909, Constitution and prospectus of Kensington Foundation Grammar Sch. 1869; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 299; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 747; Lond. Sch. Board, *Schedule of Secondary Schs.* (1891).

character and conduct' of the headmaster, the Revd. B. W. Gibsone. He was vindicated by long investigation in the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer and presented with an impressive testimonial, but St. Peter's was liquidated in 1873 and Gibsone retired to a Midland living.¹¹

The need for proprietary schools of this standard virtually coincided with the reign of Victoria. The revival and reform of the public schools, and the emergence of the State system of secondary education, satisfied the demands which had been so usefully met. In 1895 the Bryce Commissioners noted that metropolitan conditions were unfavourable to schools of this kind.¹² The Church Schools' Company was unsuccessful with boy's schools in Middlesex; its Kensington Park School, founded in 1896, was sold in 1909.¹³ The undenominational Boys' Public Day Schools' Company was no more successful, and its school in Kentish Town was short-lived.¹⁴ Denominational factors were not of decisive importance to boys' schools of this type. Certainly in this county sectarian issues caused little trouble at the secondary stage. The prospectus of the Islington Proprietary School emphasized that, although it was organized in accordance with the principles of the Church of England, religious instruction was 'so conducted as to embrace children of all who wish for an education on the basis of the great doctrines of Christianity'.¹⁵ At the North London Collegiate School for Boys, the scriptures, Thirty-nine Articles, and Catechism were taught. Dissenters might 'opt out', but the conciliatory attitude of the clerical headmaster and the attendance of the sons of several nonconformist ministers gave them confidence and although the district had quite its 'full proportion' of dissenters, there was no difficulty.¹⁶

Probably the best example of this non-sectarian approach to middle-class education in Middlesex was the Revd. William Rogers (1819-96), who was so little concerned with denominational provision that he earned the name of 'Hang-Theology Rogers'. After being appointed to the perpetual curacy of St. Thomas Charterhouse, Rogers turned this disreputable corner of ancient urban Middlesex into a network of schools. By 1854 there were five schools, and in 1859 a 'middle-class' school opened under the Revd. J. H. Smith, later headmaster of Alleyn's School, Dulwich.¹⁷ In 1872 the St. Thomas Charterhouse Middle-Class School charged four guineas a year for training boys for 'commercial pursuits, the competitive examinations in the Civil Service and the University Local Examinations'.¹⁸ After his presentation to the rectory of St. Botolph Bishopsgate in 1863, Canon Rogers, as he had now become, concentrated on the educational needs of 'people such as clerks and what may be called the lower middle-class', as he had long had 'grave misgivings as to the conditions' under which they were being instructed, largely in suburban 'academies'. Rogers failed to get support from the Charity Commissioners, but was able to found the Cowper Street Middle-Class Schools in Finsbury largely through the help of the City Companies, banking houses, and commercial corporations. This 'Middle Class Schools Corporation' provided 'the plant', but the schools, which rapidly grew to over a thousand boys, many from Middlesex, were designed to be self-supporting, giving for £4-£5 a year 'an education not much inferior . . . to that of the sons of gentlemen for which £100 or £150 is usually paid'. It was non-sectarian, Rogers being convinced that the 'class that would use the school already filled the churches and chapels'.¹⁹

¹¹ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 294; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i, p. xxi; Boase, *Mod. Eng. Biog.* v, art. B. W. Gibsone.

¹² *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xliii. 49-51.

¹³ E. M. Bell, *Hist. of Church Schs. Company, 1883-1958*, 39, 84-85.

¹⁴ *Special Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Teacher's Registration and Organization Bill*, H.C. 335, pp. 217 sqq. (1891), xvii.

¹⁵ Parr, *Address at Opening of Islington Sch.* 13-15.

¹⁶ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 497-8.

¹⁷ *D.N.B.*; *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, ed. Hadden, 56-88; *Scholastic World*, 1 July 1878.

¹⁸ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 267.

¹⁹ *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, ed. Hadden, 157-72; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 4* (1867-8), 472-81; *Academia*,

These schools never became self-supporting, nor were the others which Rogers planned for 'places like Hoxton and Islington' ever built. He himself rejoiced that the emergence of higher forms of elementary education and the secondary school system made them unnecessary.²⁰ Yet the contribution of the Established Church in Middlesex to an unprecedented demand for secondary education may well have been the largest single factor in meeting the crisis for children of all denominations. The Philological School, the Cowper Street (Central Foundation) Schools, and Christ's College, Finchley, were incorporated in the new system. The other proprietary schools died with the need for them, leaving the county unencumbered with institutions which had outlived their use.

In addition to proprietary schools founded under the Established Church, there were in Middlesex numerous nonconformist and Roman Catholic private schools. Tottenham, for example, had long been a centre for Quaker schools. Here were sited the preparatory school kept by the Coar sisters, the boys' school kept by Josiah Forster, another member of this family, which had been connected with education in the parish since 1758,²¹ and Mr. Price's school, which specialized in foreign boarders.²² An expensive school attended by boys of the Gurney, Fry, Hanbury, and Fox families, and by W. E. Forster, A. Waterhouse, and J. H. Shorthouse was also kept in Grove House.²³ The nonconformist churches also showed official concern for the secondary education of their children. In 1811 the Society of Friends decided to enlarge and develop its Islington workhouse school, opened in Clerkenwell in 1702, on the lines of its secondary school at Ackworth. This school moved to Croydon (Surr.) in 1825 and later to Saffron Walden (Essex).²⁴ The concern of the Wesleyan Conference for the schooling of the daughters of its itinerant ministers reflected the new attitude to girls' education and led to the opening in 1869 of a boarding-school at Clapton. This was later moved to Trinity Hall, Southport.²⁵ At the beginning of Victoria's reign the Roman Catholic community was served by a number of convent and private schools for girls and by colleges corresponding to the public schools. There were some private schools for boys, such as Eton Park College on Haverstock Hill, under the 'direction of a Committee of Catholic Gentlemen', and 'The Priory' at Edmonton.²⁶ Preparatory schools to serve these colleges were developing during the period. In 1879 Rosslyn Hill House School and St. Stanislaus Preparatory School, both in Hampstead, were advertised.²⁷ Higher education was the subject of controversy within the hierarchy and Manning's victory led to the refusal of permission for Roman Catholic youths to attend the universities even after the abolition of the tests, and to the establishment of the Roman Catholic University College in Kensington in 1874. This provided higher secondary courses to some students who were admitted at seventeen. The laity in general withheld support, the old Roman Catholic families preferring to seek permission to send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge. The University College closed in 1882 and its remnants were incorporated in St. Charles College of the Oblate Fathers in Bayswater,²⁸ which Manning had founded in 1873. The Archbishop had also founded the

7 Mar. 1868; *Scholastic World*, 1 Apr. 1879; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), p. 25; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 265; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 704.

²⁰ *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, ed. Hadden, 170.

²¹ Robinson, *Tottenham*, 102; T. Compton, *Recollections of Tottenham Friends and the Forster Family*, 6-12, 14, 21-40, 54; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 73 sqq.

²² N.R.A. *Tottenham Exhib. Cat.* (1956), 21.

²³ *Ibid.* 3, 23-26; Compton, *Recollections*, 15, 48, 57; Robinson, *Tottenham*, 117; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 74; *D.N.B.* 1st Supp. 660; vii. 466; 2nd Supp. 309, 597.

²⁴ *Jnl. of Friends' Hist. Soc.* xlii. 51-66; *Pen Pictures of Lond. Yearly Meetings* (Friends' Hist Soc. Supp. 16-17, 1930), ed. N. Penney, 132, 135, n. 5.

²⁵ *Mins. of Meth. Conference*, xvii. 593; F. C. Pritchard, *Methodist Secondary Educ.* 283.

²⁶ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 273; Revd. W. J. Battersby, 'Secondary Educ. for Boys', *Eng. Catholics 1850-1950*, ed. Beck, 323.

²⁷ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 930.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 931; G. Wheeler, 'Archdiocese of Westminster' in *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 155, 159-60; H. O. Everett, 'Catholics and the Universities', in *Eng. Catholics*, 291-303.

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Kensington Roman Catholic Public School for 'the sons of gentlemen', giving a 'high classical' education, with a 'Modern School' preparing for the Army and the Civil Service.²⁹ The chief weakness of the educational position of the Roman Catholics was the lack of boys' secondary schools of a middle-class type and this may account for the 'trivial impact' which this section of the population made on commercial and industrial management.³⁰ Roman Catholic funds and enterprise had to concentrate on popular education, especially as the number of Irish immigrants mounted.³¹ A few schools, such as the Catholic Grammar School in Eden Grove, Holloway, in 1879 were attached to a parish church,³² but the provision of secondary education had largely to come from the religious orders. In the second half of the century their achievements in Middlesex were striking. St. Monica's Priory, Hoxton Square, was opened by the Augustinian Fathers in 1864.³³ The Jesuits opened St. Ignatius College, Stamford Hill, in 1894,³⁴ the Brothers of Mercy St. Aloysius College, Highgate, in 1879, and the Marist Brothers St. John's, Islington, in 1881.³⁵ Anti-clerical legislation in France and Germany joined with forces stimulating the growth of secondary education in this country, and among schools founded by the influx of teaching religious was the Benedictine Priory at Ealing in 1902.³⁶ The Cardinal Vaughan School, Kensington, was founded as a memorial to the Archbishop.³⁷

At the opening of Victoria's reign girls of Roman Catholic families were already on the whole better provided with education than other sections of the community, and by the end of the century convent schools catered for the varying needs of girls in all parts of the metropolitan area. Early Middlesex examples were the schools of the Irish Sisters of Mercy in Chelsea and of the Sacred Heart nuns at Acton (1842). By 1850 over the whole country twenty different orders provided education for different social levels.³⁸ In Middlesex the Sisters of the Faithful Company of Jesus, for example, had three schools. At Isleworth Gumley House, opened in 1841, catered for 'girls of the upper rank' with an education 'much higher' than that required for the University local examinations. The sisters here also had a day school which developed on high school lines.³⁹ In Clarendon Square, St. Pancras, the Order had since 1863 a school of a middle-class type,⁴⁰ and in Howrah House, Poplar, they had two quite separate schools, a 'boarding school for young ladies', and a 'high school for girls'.⁴¹ These convent schools both maintained an older tradition of girls' education and adapted with caution the newer ideas. Especially after the arrival of many teaching orders from France and Germany towards the end of the century, establishing such schools as that of the Sisters of St. Martin of Tours at Muswell Hill (1904), they provided another source of trained and systematic teaching. In 1896 the Holy Child nuns opened the Cavendish Square Training College for secondary teachers.⁴²

The pattern of Jewish education was similar to that of other faiths. Many Jewish children attended ordinary private schools. Isaac Disraeli was for a time at a private school at Enfield.⁴³ and in about 1900 Eva Marian Spielman, from a wealthy and orthodox Jewish family, attended Leinster House, Kensington.⁴⁴ There were also Jewish

²⁹ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 931.

³⁰ D. Mathew, 'Old Catholics and Converts' in *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 225, 241; P. Hughes, 'The Coming Century', *ibid.* 15 and note; Battersby, 'Secondary Educ. for Boys', 327.

³¹ *Ibid.* 26.

³² Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 930.

³³ *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 329.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 331; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 112-13; Min. of Educ. Sch. File 6393.

³⁵ *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 331.

³⁶ *Ibid.* 332.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 333.

³⁸ W. J. Battersby, 'Educational Work of the Religious Orders of Women', in *ibid.* 337-64; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 623-7.

³⁹ *Mdx. Chron.* 27 June 1891, 14, 21 Mar. 1958; *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 130, 136; *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 339-40.

⁴⁰ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5754.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 5750.

⁴² *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 352-7.

⁴³ Hodson and Ford, *Enfield*, 204; Whitaker, *Enfield*, 158.

⁴⁴ Diana Hopkinson, *Family Inheritance, a life of Eva Hubback*, 32-33.

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private schools. In 1816 Hyman Hurwitz had about a hundred boys at his Highgate school, which had its own synagogue. His sister kept a neighbouring school for girls.⁴⁵ From about 1840 for forty years H. N. Solomon had a celebrated Jewish school at Edmonton.⁴⁶ The Jewish community was generous and responsible in providing for education. The Jews' Free School founded at Spitalfields in 1817 provided secondary education for its one hundred student teachers.⁴⁷ In 1845 the Jewish Middle-Class School was established in Red Lion Square,⁴⁸ and in 1856 the Jews' College and College School opened in Finsbury. The usual secondary course was followed in the Finsbury school, with the addition of Hebrew. Boys who were over fifteen studied higher classics and mathematics, Hebrew literature, theology, and antiquities. The 55 students included six free scholars, the sons of Jewish teachers or ministers, studying for the Jewish ministry.⁴⁹

III

During Queen Victoria's reign Middlesex, which had always made a speciality of girls' schools, provided both the setting and the impetus for their transformation. Wide and varied demand, quick response to social and economic changes, a domestic system of education particularly sensitive to changing moral climate, and opportunities for exchange of ideas and experience were all concentrated in the Middlesex suburbs. Here, above all, women reformers could get support and advice, not only from other women but from wealthy, able, and influential men in the City, at the Inns of Court, in academic and official circles, or among clergy whose rapidly changing pastoral responsibilities made them alert to new needs. This is the particular contribution of Middlesex to the reform of girls' education.

As early as 1849 Trevellian Spicer, a barrister of Gray's Inn, was trying to prove at his Alfred House Collegiate Institute for Ladies at Islington that 'there is no difference in the intellectual capacity of the sexes; none whatever, unless it is that the mind of woman is rather more acute than that of man'.⁵⁰ The year before, Queen's College, Harley Street, had opened. It grew out of the work of the Governesses' Benevolent Institution, founded in 1843, whose secretary was David Laing,⁵¹ Vicar of the Trinity district of St. Pancras. From this attempt to raise the status of women teachers emerged the plan for a college for the higher secondary education of 'young ladies above the age of twelve years', largely the creation of F. D. Maurice and his colleagues at King's College.⁵² Queen's had some influence on the founding of Bedford College in 1849 for although Mrs. Reid moved in Unitarian circles she was 'all alive to the new female college'. Her college in Bedford Square drew support from the non-sectarian University College.⁵³ Both Queen's and Bedford found it necessary to found secondary schools attached to the colleges to prepare younger or less well-educated girls for their main courses.⁵⁴ Ultimately Bedford became a college of university standing, while Queen's continued to uphold a particular ideal of secondary education. A City branch 'was

⁴⁵ Brewer, *Beauties of Eng. and Wales*, x (5), 216.

⁴⁶ Robbins, *Mdx.* 134; F. Fisk, *Hist. of Par. of Edmonton*, 17, 73-74; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 82.

⁴⁷ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 695.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* i. 771; ii. 656.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* i. 705.

⁵⁰ T. Spicer, *Notes of an Address delivered to the Pupils of Alfred House Collegiate Institution* (1849), Islington. Pub. Libr. Local Colln. Yp A130, Cr. 98111.

⁵¹ *D.N.B.*

⁵² For a detailed history of Queen's Coll. see pp. 311-12.

⁵³ Margaret J. Tuke, *Hist. of Bedford Coll.* 23-25, 73; Boase, *Mod. Eng. Biog.* iii. 98b; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 581-7, 602; *Pt. 4*, 697 sqq.; Shirley C. Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. for Girls, 1790-1865' (Lond. Univ. M.A. thesis, 1950), 427-8; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 422-4. For a short history of Bedford Coll. see p. 345.

⁵⁴ Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. of Girls', 226, 422-4, 427-8; Rosalie G. Grylls, *Queens Coll. 1848-1948*, 71-78; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 580-1; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 424-7; *Nineteenth Cent.* vi. 310; Tuke, *Bedford Coll.* 82-83, 90-99, 103, 110-12, 119, 121-2, 125

opened in 1849 in Finsbury Square, with a boarding-house in Camden Road, but this became an entirely separate establishment, the City of London College for Ladies.⁵⁵ There was some attempt to develop a system of 'schools in union' with Queen's, but unlike King's it could offer no concessions in higher courses leading to recognized qualifications. The social support essential to success would have been too dear a price to pay for pretension to university standing and public examinations would have cramped the development of a liberal education based on courses chosen by each pupil. Schools which expressed interest in the idea, such as Mrs. Kelso's Hyde Park College, would therefore have gained nothing tangible from union with Queen's, and the scheme came to nothing.⁵⁶ Thus while Queen's set a standard and an ideal it founded no system.

Middlesex was able to provide the ingredients of such a system of secondary education for girls. The North London Collegiate School, which became the prototype of the later high-schools, grew out of a small family venture founded in 1850 in Camden Street, St. Pancras, by Frances Mary Buss.⁵⁷ The school gave a broad academic education of a high standard, organized progressively, and catering for all denominations and social classes. It was one of the first to submit pupils for the University Local Examinations when they were opened to girls and to send students to the women's colleges at Cambridge and later Oxford. With Miss Emily Davis Miss Buss gave evidence before the Schools' Enquiry Commissioners in 1865.⁵⁸ Most girls' schools in Middlesex were then still deplorable, and Fearon's report to the Taunton Commissioners emphasized the 'weight of social pressure' and the 'shibboleth of accomplishments' in their education. Teaching, even in subjects especially valued for social reasons, such as French, was poor and superficial. Fearon discerned, however, a general local desire for improvement and for the sharing of endowments. He outlined a plan for a system of 'a kind of girls' grammar schools' for the professional and mercantile classes under 'educational boards', which would also provide for the 'superior education of young women'. In the more realistic phrase of Miss Buss what Middlesex parents wanted was help with their daughters' as well as with their sons' education.⁵⁹

Direct results from this Taunton Report were slow and meagre. Even Miss Buss had great difficulty in getting endowments for her two highly successful schools, the North London and the Camden School, which she had founded for girls who left at about sixteen.⁶⁰ In Stepney the Coopers' Company Middle-Class School and the Prisca Coborn Foundation School, both giving a secondary course ending at about sixteen, were founded in 1878 and 1880 respectively.⁶¹ Eventually and gradually other endowments were also made available for girls, but, for the most part, private effort had to create some provision for middle-class girls and extend the 'high-schools'. A 'committee of ladies' established the West Central Collegiate Day School in Southampton Row in 1858.⁶² In 1875 the Victoria School for Girls was opened in Kentish Town to give a middle-class education, while the 'Middle-Class Training Schools' next door gave an efficient education at just above the elementary level.⁶³ Concentration on this type of schooling was one of the great deficiencies revealed by the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, founded by the 'Langham Place Group' which also worked for

⁵⁵ Grylls, *Queen's Coll.* 50; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 528, 742.

⁵⁶ Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. of Girls', 418-21, 469.

⁵⁷ For a detailed history of the school see pp. 308-10.

⁵⁸ Sara A. Burstall, *Frances Mary Buss*, 19, 25, 29-36; *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.* ed. R. M. Scrimgeour, 27-31, 32-34; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 4* (1867-8), 252 sqq.; Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. of Girls', 365; Josephine Kamm, *How Different from Us*, 75-79.

⁵⁹ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 381-9, 412-13; *Pt. 4*, 255.

⁶⁰ Burstall, *Buss*, 37-38; *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.* ed. Scrimgeour, 37-41; Frances Hays, *Woman of the Day*, 35; Kamm, *How Different from Us*, 101-6, 108-11.

⁶¹ See pp. 290-3.

⁶² *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 410; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 568.

⁶³ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 540.

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the higher education of women and the opening of public examinations to girls. These reformers also started schools such as that run by Jessie Boucherett in Charlotte Street to give a 'solid English education for young girls and teach older women to write a letter grammatically, to calculate rapidly without a slate, and to keep accounts by single and double entry' so that they could compete with elementary school girls for posts as clerks, cashiers, saleswomen, or in telegraph, railway-ticket, and post offices.⁶⁴ The Portman Hall School was run on progressive lines largely under the guidance of Barbara Bodichon and her sisters, Ann and Bella Leigh-Smith. Elizabeth Whitehead and Octavia Hill taught here and the school had a unique corps of volunteer teachers of drawing, physiology, 'the laws of health', and social science.⁶⁵ Annie Carey in her women's classes at the School of Design in Gower Street used art 'to raise and extend the intellectual culture of the students'.⁶⁶

Indirectly, by giving coherence and support to experiments, the Taunton inquiry had more effect. It was in Middlesex that the Girls' Public Day Schools' Company was launched, establishing its first schools in 1873 in Chelsea and Notting Hill, suburbs where good support was assured. Middlesex schools were later founded in response to local demand in Hackney, South Hampstead, Highbury, and Maida Vale. They set out to provide an education parallel to that of boys 'in grammar schools of the highest class' and were modelled on the North London Collegiate School, employing 'an ample staff of competent teachers at salaries above the market price'. Their importance can hardly be over-estimated,⁶⁷ since in turn they formed a model for other high-schools, such as the Anglican Francis Holland Schools in Baker Street and Graham Street.⁶⁸ They provided recruits for higher education especially for the teaching profession, and so helped to break the deadlock created by lack of qualified women.

TABLE I
Students from Middlesex G.P.D.S. Schools proceeding to Further Education
1873-95

<i>School</i>	<i>External Scholarships</i>	<i>Students at University College</i>	<i>Degrees</i>	<i>Training Colleges</i>
Clapton (Hackney)	6	11	..	19
Highbury	4	18	10	9
Kensington (Chelsea)	15	47	15	8
Maida Vale	12	34	21	6
Notting Hill	52	95	50	50
S. Hampstead	14	22	11	..
Total	103	227	107	92

By 1895 the Company was able to claim to the Bryce Commissioners that there was 'something approaching a sufficient provision of high schools for girls in the London area'.⁶⁹ Later, social needs made a few adjustments necessary. In 1900 the name of the Maida Vale High School, which had opened in 1878 with 28 girls, was changed to the Paddington and Maida Vale High School as 'an increasingly large number of girls' came from the former district. Shortly after this date the changing social character of the neighbourhood and the threat of the opening of a new L.E.A. secondary

⁶⁴ Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. of Girls', 188-9.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 448; Hays, *Women of the Day*, 21; W. T. Hill, *Octavia Hill*, 56; *Rep. Com. Pop. Educ. Pt. 5* (1861), 105.

⁶⁶ Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. of Girls', 458-60.

⁶⁷ *Nineteenth Cent.* vi. 308, 317; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.*

ii. 428-30; L. Magnus, *Jubilee Bk. of Girls Pub. Day Sch. Trust, 1873-1923*, 14-30, 49, 52-54.

⁶⁸ Bell, *Francis Holland Schs.* 3 and *passim*; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 439.

⁶⁹ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xliv. 168-77, 240-51; xlv. 9.

school nearby forced the G.P.D.S. Trust (formerly Company) to open negotiations with the County Council which took over the school in 1912 and enlarged it to provide for 300 girls.⁷⁰

The G.P.D.S. schools were studied by the wife of the Revd. (later Canon) Francis Holland, minister of the Quebec Street Chapel (later the Church of the Annunciation, Marble Arch), when she was considering the needs of her husband's parish.⁷¹ The Hollands admired the interdenominational high schools but felt that another kind of school, in which worship would form an integral part of education, was also needed. Their efforts resulted in the formation in 1877 of the Church of England High School for Girls Ltd. Francis Holland became a member of the Council and the Bishop of London was Patron. A house in Upper Baker Street was modestly adapted so that it could be converted into workshops should the venture fail. First pupils were secured by the Hollands from friends whose daughters were of suitable age, and the school opened with 15 pupils in 1878. There was 'no doubt that the school was needed and appreciated'.⁷² Fees were low to suit the purses of professional parents, but in 1880 the Company paid a small dividend and a second school was started in Graham Street. After 1882 the founding of the Church Schools' Company made it unnecessary for Canon Holland to open more schools, but the fact that his schools were already meeting this particular demand probably accounts for the lack of success enjoyed in Middlesex by the schools of the new Company.⁷³

The chief problem faced by girls' schools of this type was finding teachers of sufficient quality. As Charles Dilke observed at the prize-giving of Hammersmith High School in 1883, teaching in these high schools required 'far greater skill . . . than was the case with the earlier system'.⁷⁴ Several girls' schools in Middlesex grew out of this need for trained teachers. Queen's College gave up courses for practising teachers after about ten years but had included among its students Miss Buss, Miss Martin, the first headmistress of the secondary school attached to Bedford College, and the first headmistress of the Lady Holles Middle School for Girls, Hackney.⁷⁵ The Princess Helena College and High School originated in part as a charitable institution for training orphans of officers as governesses. This was founded near Regents Park in 1820, as a memorial to Princess Charlotte, and later rebuilt at Ealing. Girls on the foundation acted as assistants in the fee-paying high-school, which was designed to meet the criticisms of the Taunton Report and included science and economics in a systematic course.⁷⁶ In addition three of the societies concerned with the training of teachers founded practising schools in Middlesex. The National Society founded a girls' school attached to Whiteland's College in Chelsea.⁷⁷ The Home and Colonial Society's school was originally situated in Grays Inn Road but was moved to Highbury in 1894.⁷⁸ The 'Teachers' Training and Registration Society established a school in Bishopsgate in 1878, moved it to Fitzroy Square in 1891, and later moved it again to north London where it became the Brondesbury and Kilburn High School.⁷⁹ All these schools were giving systematic secondary education at fees a little lower than the usual price since they were using the services of women attached to the parent societies.⁸⁰

⁷⁰ *The High Schs. of the Girls' Public Day Schools Co.* 24; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 429; MS. hist. of sch. prepared by headmistress.

⁷¹ E. M. Bell, *Francis Holland Schs.* 4-5.

⁷² *Ibid.* 5-13.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 14; E. M. Bell, *Hist. of Church Schs. Co.* 7-8, 84-85.

⁷⁴ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 435-7.

⁷⁵ Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. of Girls', 218-23, 415-17; Kamm, *How Different from Us*, 20; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 534; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 4* (1867-8), 676.

⁷⁶ Jones, *Ealing*, 112; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 433-4.

⁷⁷ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5718.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 5736; L.C.C. *List of Secondary Schs.* 1959, Div. 3, 6-7.

⁷⁹ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 6371; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teacher's Registration* (1891), 103; Lond. Sch. Bd. *Schedule of Secondary Schs.* 1891; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 1-21.

⁸⁰ Min. of Educ. Sch. Files 5718, 5736, 6371.

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How far Middlesex private schools, at which most girls continued to be educated, were affected by the newer types of school is difficult to establish. They certainly wished to share in the prestige of these schools. Purely private schools advertised under such titles as the East London Collegiate School for Ladies in Poplar,⁸¹ the North-East London Collegiate School in Islington,⁸² and the Central London Collegiate School in Bartlett's Buildings, Holborn.⁸³ Numerous 'high-schools' also sprang up. Stroud Green High School was advertised in 1893, Channing House High School in Highgate developed into an expensive boarding-school,⁸⁴ while Palmers Green High School, a private day school founded in 1905, was in 1949 the oldest secondary school in the area.⁸⁵ Queen's Colleges may have reflected royal rather than scholastic loyalties. In 1884 there was a Queen's College High School in Tollington Park.⁸⁶

The 'high-school' or 'collegiate system' rapidly became a marketable commodity. Middlesex advertisements indicate that its most prized features were the organization of pupils into progressive classes and the use of public examinations. Redcliffe College, South Kensington, opened in 1878, had a 'general course on the high-school system', comprising classes in the usual academic subjects, and kindergarten classes.⁸⁷ In 1884 Woodleigh Lodge, Ladbroke Grove, and Chalcot College for Girls, Haverstock Hill, were conducted on the 'high-school system',⁸⁸ and at Bodleian College, South Kensington, 'the combination of all the advantages of a Modern College System with individual teaching [was] aimed at'.⁸⁹ At Birklands, Holland Park, 'the plan of teaching' embraced 'individual attention with the class system as pursued in the upper class colleges of London and Edinburgh'.⁹⁰ Some schools carried the organization further. The Westbourne College for Ladies had three progressive divisions,⁹¹ and at the Victoria College for the Daughters of Gentlemen, established in Kensington Garden Square in 1859, there were also by 1884 senior, junior, and elementary divisions and the system was 'adapted to the curriculum prescribed by the Oxford and Cambridge Locals'. The course, it was said, was 'gradational, and made to subserve the curriculum prescribed'. Classes were regulated to avoid 'undue pressure of work', and 'so that none can be neglected'.⁹² Many schools advertised success in examinations,⁹³ although some caution about the danger or impropriety of public examinations remained, especially in the more expensive schools.⁹⁴ Even the accomplishments, however, felt the wind of change and pupils were sometimes entered for the Trinity College of Music or Science and Art Department examinations—by the Highgate Collegiate School, for example.⁹⁵ But some schools, such as Hornsey College in Finsbury Park, showed continuing social prejudice against any public element in girls' education, advertising 'the advantages of a private family' even if 'combined with the regularity and discipline of a school'.⁹⁶

The pressure of public examinations and the criticisms of the Taunton Report combined with the serious tone of the period to produce a more academic curriculum in private schools, although accomplishments remained a vigorous element. In 1884 St. Hilda's College for Ladies, established in 1849 in St. John's Wood, taught English, Latin, modern languages, and accomplishments.⁹⁷ Queen's Road Collegiate School, Kensington, included English language, philology, grammar, literature, composition,

⁸¹ Rose, *East End*, 176.

⁸² Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 677.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 663.

⁸⁴ *Hampton's Scholastic Dir.* (1893-4), 21.

⁸⁵ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 115.

⁸⁶ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 657.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 555.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 562, 539.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 558.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 563, 755.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 562, 734.

⁹² *Ibid.* 564, 751.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 535, 597, 527.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* 563, 755.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 532, 738.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 529.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 536, 740.

elocution, history, geography, 'rudimentary science', and French, and prepared for the usual examinations.⁹⁸ A new emphasis on solid learning and thoroughness is apparent. The Collegiate School for Girls in St. Peter's Park was among schools which aimed at laying foundations for 'future work in life'.⁹⁹ Standards remained diverse, but were sometimes high. Mount View School in Hampstead, opened in 1869, became a pioneer centre of the university extension lectures of Canon Ainger and Professor Seely. Its pupils entered for the Higher Local Examinations and some went on to Newnham and Somerville.¹ Fear of overwork and cramming for girls lingered. High-schools necessarily emphasized external examinations and they were working against time. An academically successful pupil at the Maida Vale High School remembered a 'tendency to stress the brain at the expense of the body'.² One notable Middlesex school, the Crouch End High School and College, grew out of a small private school founded in 1900 by Charlotte Cowdroy, who came to believe that it was a mistake to educate girls on the same lines as boys.³

The general failure to accept girls' education as a continuous process was both a defence against this danger and a barrier to progress. Even the high-schools were attended erratically and for short periods. Miss Buss complained that in time of family misfortune the daughters' schooling inevitably suffered.⁴ Out of the 227 girls at the Highbury Hill High School in 1908 only one-third had been in attendance for four years, and the average age of leaving was fifteen.⁵ Private schools not committed to an ideal nullified by this desultory attitude often did real good, as Queen's College did at a high level by providing for girls who could only attend short courses. The suburbs were full of schools which 'charged according to requirements', for example, 'The College' at 32 Westbourne Park Villas, founded in 1847, and the 'Ladies College' in Canonbury, opened in 1865.⁶ In the Society for the Encouragement of Home Study Middlesex brought up to date its provision for girls who visited London for the season.⁷

In all these ways Middlesex provided for the secondary education of girls and for the education of little girls whose social background prevented them from attending the elementary schools. It is impossible to draw a clear line between primary and secondary education, for private schools catered for all ages, and the newer 'high-schools' had their kindergartens. Nor can a clear division be made between secondary and further, or even professional education. Not only did the schools have to meet the needs of all ages and widely different attainments, but, until satisfactory standards had been reached, even an institution as firmly determined to become a college of further education as Bedford had to provide what were virtually secondary courses. King's College for Ladies, founded in 1878 in Kensington Square, followed a similar pattern,⁸ and the music and art departments of King's raised the accomplishments to a satisfactory level.⁹ The suburbs also produced social imitations of genuinely educational institutions. In 1884 the University College for Ladies, St. John's Wood, advertised that it provided for 'the daughters of the upper classes' a training 'analogous to that occupied by the Public Schools' for their sons. Although it was under a 'Committee of Education' with Dr. Schmitz as chairman, its course was that of the usual seminary, with a kinder-

⁹⁸ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 560.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.* 567.

¹ *Ibid.* 657; Hampstead Pub. Libr. Local Colln. 'Educational Opportunities of Old Hampstead', 75.

² Gordon, 'Demands for Educ. of Girls', 429; *Paddington and Maida Vale High Sch. Mag.* Feb. 1936, 12-13.

³ Charlotte Cowdroy, *Wasted Womanhood with Biography of the Author* (by M. Bennell), 40-52; *Independent Schs. Assoc. Year Bk.* (1962), 76.

⁴ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 4* (1867-8), 252-65.

⁵ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5736.

⁶ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 568, 531.

⁷ *Ibid.* 251.

⁸ Hearnshaw, *King's College* 312-18, 376-8, 438-41, 489-509; Mrs. Stepney Lawson, 'Where London Girls May Study', Kensington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. J. 1437. For the later history of the Coll. see p. 353.

⁹ Lilian M. Faithfull, *In the House of My Pilgrimage*, 101-22; Tuke, *Bedford Coll.* 122, 125-6; Hearnshaw, *King's Coll.* 495, 498.

garten attached. Accomplishments were given some academic respectability and extras included the zither and Hebrew.¹⁰

Ultimately stronger than suburban fashion was the proximity of a constantly expanding and developing labour market. In 1884 Elgin College in Bayswater was one of the schools which advertised preparation for the Higher Locals, considered a useful qualification for teachers.¹¹ Frankfort House, Stoke Newington, also prepared students 'wishing to qualify themselves for teaching' with the French diplomas.¹² Woburn College in Guildford Street gave 'special preparation . . . for the Post Office (Lady Clerks') Examinations';¹³ Thornhill College for Ladies, established in Barnsbury in 1854, prepared for the Civil Service Examinations.¹⁴ At the turn of the century the Paddington and Maida Vale High School had old pupils at Newnham, Westfield, and Somerville Colleges; one had gained a clerkship in the Bank of England; one had begun training 'under one of Miss Hill's pupils, rent-collecting'; one had entered the Domestic Economy Training School at Battersea Polytechnic; three were 'girl-clerks' in the Prudential Assurance Company; and another was a clerk in the Post Office Telephone Service. The last of these had been one of 50 chosen from 488 candidates. In this school a class for typewriting and shorthand had been formed, 'to provide a useful technical training . . . for girls who are intending to take up secretarial and business work'.¹⁵ The increasing demand for female labour in the London suburbs coincided with the demands of feminists to draw, for the first time, a significant proportion of middle-class girls into employment outside the home.

IV

Even such powerful forces as the concern of feminists and of the Established Church had, however, to operate as factors in the open market. In Middlesex the provision of schools by private enterprise was an industry engaging much capital and skill, constantly adapting itself to a market which was only in process of discovering its needs. The changing demands of middle-class parents in Victoria's reign may be discerned in this crowded educational scene. The wider but somewhat disjointed curriculum which had developed in response to earlier needs was being consolidated into a new conception of general secondary education, although its precise dimensions and purpose were often decided by social prejudice or vocational demands. Fearon in his survey of the county's schools for the Taunton Commissioners was emphatic that they could be classified socially according to the length of a boy's school life. Upper-class parents continued their sons' education after eighteen while the lower classes removed them at about twelve. The different strata of the middle class decided on grounds of family status and future employment whether their sons should remain until eighteen or nineteen, until about sixteen, or until fourteen or fifteen. This variety of leaving ages produced schools of different types with different curricula and standards.¹⁶ The reform of the Army and the Civil Service, the growth of the other professions, and the establishment of various external examinations for 'middle-class schools' further shaped this system. The College of Preceptors' School examinations began in 1854, the Society of Arts' in 1856, and the Oxford and Cambridge Locals in 1858.¹⁷ These developments resulted in a revised attitude towards private schooling. A directory of

¹⁰ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 537.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 559.

¹² *Ibid.* 535.

¹³ *Ibid.* 569.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 530.

¹⁵ *Paddington and Maida Vale H. Sch. Mag.* Dec.

1894, 17-18; July 1898, 1; Mar. 1905, 30; Mar. 1907, 30-33; 1908, 17.

¹⁶ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 233-4.

¹⁷ *Ibid. Pt. 1*, p. 3; *Pt. 3*, pp. 3-5; *Pt. 4*, pp. 1 sqq., 38; *Pt. 6*, pp. 348-9.

1861 still listed 'Private Schools for Gentlemen' and 'for Ladies' alphabetically under the name of the proprietor.¹⁸ Directories of 1872, 1879, and 1884, however, listed them as institutions, classified according to management and ownership and arranged topographically, giving qualifications of staff, curriculum, examinations taken, numbers, and charges. A new conception of these schools was shown, many still private property, but with public responsibilities and connexions with other branches of education, assessed by external standards. Some estimate can therefore be made of the extent to which the demands of parents were shaping the education provided in such schools, for whatever the origin of these changes, they operated as a mode of attracting custom.¹⁹

Names adopted by private schools indicate the importance of social and academic pretension. Schools 'for the sons of gentlemen' abounded in all areas,²⁰ and so did 'colleges' and 'collegiate schools'. In 1872 Canonbury, St. John's Wood, Notting Hill, South Hampstead, Chiswick, Kingsland, Kilburn, and Brondesbury Lodge Collegiate Schools were all advertised.²¹ The label had reassuring echoes of external standards, a systematic course, and connexions with other branches of education. Often such schools were 'in union with the College of Preceptors', listed the external examinations for which they prepared, and hinted at 'modern improvements.' At Castle House Collegiate School for Young Gentlemen, Mildmay Park, established in 1869, the 'plan of education combines the various modern improvements that have been introduced into the scholastic world with the solid excellencies of the more ancient system'. Pupils were prepared for 'commercial pursuits' or the universities and for the examinations of the Civil Service, the Department of Science and Art, the Oxford and Cambridge Locals, and the College of Preceptors.²² The name 'grammar school' was often considered desirable, but not the narrowly classical curriculum. Church House Grammar School, Ealing, was founded in 1815 to give 'a sound general and practical education . . . for the professions or commercial business of life'.²³ Paddington Grammar School, Maida Hill, aimed to provide a sound education 'similar in tone and character to that of the older foundations but more economical, and better adapted to the requirements of modern times'.²⁴ Some names reveal dissatisfaction with the national tradition of education. The International Collegiate School was founded in 1870 to provide a 'system of instruction based on religious principles, at once thorough and economical, uniting the methods of English schools with those of Germany and France'. It was carried on in the buildings of the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street.²⁵ The distinction between traditional and newer conceptions of secondary education was sometimes made explicit, as at the Eton Park School of Modern Instruction, St. Pancras, which had a special class for science,²⁶ and the South Hornsey Latin and Modern School, which was under a clerical headmaster, and divided into sides preparing for the universities and public schools, and for the Army, the Civil Service, and the law.²⁷ There were many 'commercial schools' which gave a secondary course. Such were the South Islington Commercial and Mathematical School, opened in 1818,²⁸ College House Classical and Commercial School near Regents Park,²⁹ Stoke Newington Commercial College,³⁰ and the Holborn Commercial and Preparatory Collegiate Schools in Red Lion Square, opened in 1812.³¹ The names of other schools emphasized their social

¹⁸ *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.* (1861),

¹⁹ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls. passim*; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i, ii, *passim*.

²⁰ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 472.

²¹ *Ibid.* 268, 276, 300, 274, 304, 262, 274.

²² Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 712.

²³ *Ibid.* 754.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 760.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 769.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 719.

²⁷ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 474.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 271.

²⁹ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 723.

³⁰ *Ibid.* 713.

³¹ *Ibid.* 771.

purpose. Examples were the St. John's Middle-Class School, Tottenham,³² and Stoke Newington Middle-Class Public School, which by 1879 had become the 'Higher-Middle Class School', in Mildmay Park.³³

Preparation for external examinations or an education which would enable boys to undertake the usual method of 'in-training' in banking houses, trading companies, and the newly emerging professions, was becoming essential to the middle classes. Anthony Trollope had been lengthily and painfully educated at two Middlesex schools, one public and the other private. Although an entrance examination proved that he neither could write legibly nor knew the multiplication tables, he had then secured an appointment in the Post Office through family influence.³⁴ But as the scale and complexity of business-life increased, employers looked for some objective assessment of secondary education to replace older methods of personal recommendation.³⁵ It is not surprising that conscientious parents looked to the schools for results. The Taunton Commissioners blamed them for giving 'inordinate value to mere show', or, perhaps worse, considering no education worth having unless it could speedily be turned into money.³⁶ Yet fathers had to have something to show to prospective employers, and no one else was prepared to provide money for their sons. This need for objective standards produced financial support from the City for Canon Rogers's middle-class schools.³⁷ On their part Middlesex schools quickly responded to the needs of the labour-market. In the middle years of the century the endowed schools were not yet able to adapt themselves to the newer examinations, but on private and proprietary schools their effect was 'substantial', shaping the curriculum and giving incentive and purpose to study.³⁸ The headmaster of the North London Collegiate School for Boys, which entered for the University Locals 'about as many as any school in England', considered that the 'tone of study and application in the school' was increased and the Senior Examination was of great value and encouragement to the professional and middle-classes as 'a stamp and guarantee of acquirement'.³⁹ Fearon, reporting on a Middlesex private school 'of the first grade' which prepared for the examinations for Woolwich, Sandhurst, direct commissions, the Indian Civil Service, the Naval College at Portsmouth, the Marine Artillery, and the home Civil Service as well as the traditional open scholarships at Cambridge, considered that the teaching had 'a remarkable effect on the pupils'. As an educationalist he wondered whether in view of the 'highly technical nature' of these examinations their influence on general education was good or evil.⁴⁰ In general, however, no such doubts were entertained, and a very high proportion of Middlesex schools prepared for the various public examinations. In 1872 Eagle Hall Collegiate School in Southgate prepared for the 'Civil Service, Preliminary Medical, the Incorporated Law Society's as well as the University "Middle-Class" and other Examinations'.⁴¹ The College, Tollington Park, added the examinations of the Royal College of Surgeons, Apothecaries' Hall, and the Pharmaceutical Society.⁴² There was a border-line between secondary education and cramming. The Maida Hill College was set up in 1858 'under twenty noble and reverend chief patrons' to provide 'direct preparation for the Professions, Commerce, Army, Civil Service, University, and East India Examinations'.⁴³ Such schools had pupils of secondary age and many

³² Ibid. 885; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 272.

³³ Ibid. 271; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 713.

³⁴ Trollope, *Autobiography* (World's Classics edn.), 4, 30-31.

³⁵ Barrington Kaye, *Development of Architectural Profession in Britain*, 12-13.

³⁶ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 1* (1867-8), 15.

³⁷ *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, ed. Hadden, 159-60; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 4* (1867-8), 472-4.

³⁸ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 82 sqq., 187 sqq.; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 284.

³⁹ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 492.

⁴⁰ Ibid. Pt. 6 (1867-8), 354 sqq.

⁴¹ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 271.

⁴² Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 710.

⁴³ *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.* (1861), p. xiii.

prepared for the public schools as well. Cromwell House in Highgate was divided into 'several courses of study' to give 'distinct and efficient prominence to each line of education', preparation for public schools, universities, the armed forces, and Civil Service, and to give 'that amount of individual attention for want of which so many pupils fail to make a satisfactory progress'.⁴⁴ Two schools in St. Pancras in 1879 illustrate the overlap between secondary education and coaching. The Collegiate School at 13 Camden Cottages under a clerical warden prepared for the 'Locals' and preliminary professional examinations, the public schools, Civil Service, and the College of Preceptors' certificates which 'are recognized by H. M. Judges, and by the General Medical Council, as guarantees of a good education', exempting their holders from other preliminary examinations. A special class for the study of navigation was conducted by the headmaster, who held a certificate from the Board of Trade. Nearby at 8 High Street, Camden Town, was a coaching establishment where payment could be made by the month or even the hour and which provided a correspondence course at slightly lower fees.⁴⁵

Some coaches specialized. In 1861 R. F. Scott, 'late of the medical profession', took pupils at Prospect House, Edmonton, for botany, toxicology, elementary chemistry, and the 'composition of medicines in accordance with the London Pharmacopoeia'. This was in addition to 'the usual branches of education'.⁴⁶ Military and other 'crammers' rapidly became a feature of the Middlesex scene, erecting 'a sort of screen' between the schools and the Council of Military Education.⁴⁷ Winston (later Sir Winston) Churchill, having twice failed to pass from Harrow to Sandhurst, benefited by the 'renowned system of intensive poultry-farming' practised in a military crammer in Cromwell Road to qualify for a cavalry cadetship.⁴⁸ The Kilburn and St. John's Wood Civil and Military Institute, founded in 1859, prepared for a representative series of examinations including the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Engineers, Woolwich, the Staff College, Ceylon Civil Service, Indian Telegraph, Sandhurst, Direct Commission, Home Civil Service, and the Universities.⁴⁹ Courses at such establishments were wide. Castlebar Court at Ealing taught English, mathematics, geometrical and mechanical drawing, Latin, Greek, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Arabic, Sanskrit, 'natural and experimental sciences and the moral sciences'.⁵⁰ Rochester House, also at Ealing, added 'surveying and plan drawing'.⁵¹ Coaches in these institutions were not only remedying previous over-specialized or defective education; they also took pupils of secondary age, replacing upper-school work. The South Kensington establishment opened by Captain James, E. Carlisle, and Captain Gregson in 1881 had older men preparing for the Staff College and promotion in the militia, and a country branch for younger boys. Most of its Kensington pupils, however, were of upper secondary age. Boys from the public schools did not gain such success because they did not have the 'opportunities which are absolutely forced upon them at Lexham Gardens'.⁵² The method of individual tutoring did not sharply distinguish these from other kinds of secondary school, where the system of class teaching was only gradually taking shape, not did the pupils' attendance for limited periods and specific purposes, for many more general schools were still used in the same way.

In this age of 'payment by results' coaches could charge heavily for preparation for competitive examinations. W. Wren of Powis Square, Notting Hill, for example,

⁴⁴ *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.* (1861), p. x.

⁴⁵ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 718-19.

⁴⁶ *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.* (1861), p. viii.

⁴⁷ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 187.

⁴⁸ W. S. Churchill, *My Early Life*, 36-37, 43.

⁴⁹ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 275.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 297; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 754, lxxxviii.

⁵¹ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 755, lxxxvi.

⁵² 'Training for the Army and Navy, A Successful Tutorial System', in *St. James Budget*, 11 Jan. 1895 (Kensington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. Box H 1005).

advertised his high charges as an investment. He claimed that during seven years 118 vacancies out of 237 in the Indian Civil Service had been 'carried off' by his pupils and successes in other examinations ('all of these are much more easy') were 'too numerous to be mentioned'.⁵³ Payment often varied according to the 'class of examination',⁵⁴ for old distinctions of professional standing, newly created hierarchies of ability and status, and calculations of future pay, promotion, and security were all reflected in the price which families were prepared to pay.

In the same way as coaches prepared for competitive examinations private enterprise in Middlesex catered for the special needs of newly-emerging technical professions. At the opening of Victoria's reign the West Metropolitan Academy in Quebec Street was 'conducted on those broad and liberal principles which can alone form the good man, the correct scholar and the virtuous and enterprising citizen'. Its principal, T. K. Heath, took his pupils for 'vigorous and healthy exercise daily in Hyde Park' and in 1831 a twelve-year-old pupil solved one of the mathematical juvenile problems in the *Academic Chronicle*. In this unmistakably secondary setting there was a class for 'mechanical, architectural, and geometrical drawing' under a civil engineer, which embraced 'sectional and perspective drawing, architectural plans, elevation, etc., plans of surveys, mapping perspective, ornamental designing, art floors' work, etc.' This course, with lectures on scientific subjects, lasted for six months and could be taken by the regular pupils or by 'youth not connected with the Academy'.⁵⁵ Other professions were similarly served. In 1840 the 'High School for Mathematics, Engineering, etc. important for those designed for the Engineering Profession', was opened near the Middlesex Hospital.⁵⁶ The Islington School of Science and Art was opened in 1852 as a 'secondary or middle-class school in connexion with the Science and Art Department'. In 1879 its 220 day pupils included juniors from the age of seven, and its upper-school studies included 'experimental physics, mathematics, mechanics, human physiology, zoology, botany and chemistry'. The 'requirements of the Civil Service' were 'constantly kept in view'.⁵⁷ These 'science schools' were for one social level what the military crammers were for another. The importance of preparation for public examinations not only transformed secondary schools, but created them. The Civil Service Department of Evening Classes, opened at King's College in 1875, disclosed a need for day classes not only preparing younger boys for these examinations but also giving them a general education. These King's College Civil Service Day Classes developed into a secondary school which in 1897 occupied the basement rooms vacated when King's College School moved to Wimbledon. From 1900 this Strand School was recognized by the L.C.C. and further broadened its curriculum. In 1913 it moved to Brixton.⁵⁸

Towards the end of the century a new demand produced a similar amalgam of secondary and technical education in Middlesex. In 1880 G. E. Clark founded a 'college' in Southgate Road to give secretarial and general education. Its immediate success was due largely to its results in the Civil Service examinations. Further branches, including one in Wood Green, were opened. By 1949 this branch of Clark's College had more than a hundred students who received a general education, preliminary training for careers in business and the professions, and a general commercial training designed to meet the needs of large firms.⁵⁹ Middlesex quickly produced a crop of secretarial colleges suited to different grades of society and employment. In 1893, for example, the Mayfair Secretarial College for Gentlewomen was founded in Duke Street.⁶⁰

⁵³ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 759.

⁵⁴ Ibid 757.

⁵⁷ Greenberg, 711, 404.

⁵⁵ *The Times*, 4 July 1835; 23 July, 10 Dec. 1840; Greenberg, 71, 152-4.

⁵⁸ TS. hist. of Strand Sch. Brixton *pene* the headmaster.

⁵⁹ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 118-19.

⁵⁶ *The Times*, 14 Dec. 1840; Greenberg, 70.

⁶⁰ *Paton's List of Schs. and Tutors* (1956), 432.

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During these important years before the emergence of the state system secondary education in the Middlesex suburbs was being shaped by these external demands. As a business enterprise operating in a complex market and as a skill and a vocation, it was subject to equally powerful economic and professional pressures from within.

No useful estimate of the considerable amount of private capital invested in education in the Middlesex suburbs can be made. In 1895 it was estimated before the Bryce Commissioners that over the whole country each private school required on establishment an average capital outlay of £2,817 (girls' schools £1,831, boys' £3,603). The witness, Miss S. A. Olney, herself owner of a private school in Hampstead, in making this inquiry had visited a large number of girls' schools including some at Stamford Hill, Stroud Green, Tollington, Tottenham, Enfield, Hampstead, and Ealing. By this period more ambitious ventures probably had a better chance of success than the more cautious. The Commissioners found that since 1868 the number of private schools had greatly decreased, but it was the smaller and especially day schools which had tended to go out of business. Day schools, if properly run, were rarely remunerative, but private boarding-schools 'when placed in a good district' could 'generally command good support'.⁶¹ Middlesex continued to be a district of this kind, and most school-keepers advertising for schools still preferred the suburbs.⁶² Investment was hazardous,⁶³ and the fortunes of a few schools show that the picture was complex. Tollington Park College was bought in 1879 by W. Brown, a former elementary schoolmaster with experience in teacher-training and inspection. He had no experience of secondary education, but showed a remarkable flair as a businessman and headmaster. His school grew from eighty to four hundred by 1893. In 1902 a branch was built at Muswell Hill and within eighteen months this had developed into a school of a 'thoroughly secondary character' with 225 boys. Brown astutely recognized the local need for schools emphasizing language and science teaching. He took boys from seven to about sixteen and charged an average fee of £11 5s. The Board of Education's Inspector early recommended both schools for recognition as in the absence of endowed schools in those parts of the suburbs they were 'supplying a great want'.⁶⁴ A less successful and perhaps more typical venture was Henley House School, Kilburn, bought by J. V. Milne in 1878 when he was unexpectedly lent £100. The school was accommodated in two houses knocked into one and grew to contain about fifty boys. The usual course of English subjects, mathematics, languages, physics, with freehand-, model-, and mechanical-drawing, and land-surveying were offered. It prepared for the universities, professional examinations, and matriculation. The school provided a family home and a livelihood until the 1890s, when the neighbourhood began to 'go down', and Milne, convinced that only the preparatory school for boys under fourteen had a future, sold out.⁶⁵

The economics of these smaller boarding-schools were domestic rather than institutional. College House School, in a large rambling house next to the Bell Inn at Edmon-ton, was a paying proposition from some time before 1850 until 1887. In 1851 it was in the hands of D. H. White, a returned missionary, and was well enough established to attract City parents looking for a healthy country school. In about 1873 this master was succeeded by a younger brother, C. F. H. White. In his time the school contained about fifty boys, mostly from City and suburban middle-class homes. There were four

⁶¹ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xliii. 51-52; xlv. 279-82; xlv. 573 sqq.; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), 9.

⁶² *Scholastic Gazette*, 1 Jan. 1882, p. 21.

⁶³ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 351-2; C. Booth, *Life and Labour of People of Lond.* 1st. ser. iii. 263; *Ret. of Pupils in Pub. and Private Secondary and Other Schs.* [C. 8634] H.C., p. 10 (1897), lxx.

⁶⁴ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), 42; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 297-8; Min. of Educ. Sch. File 6388.

⁶⁵ A. A. Milne, *It's Too Late Now*, 2-8, 21-22, 81; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 722.

resident masters, visiting masters, and an inside domestic staff of eleven, as well as the estate servants. The school brought only modest financial returns, but gave its owner a secure social position locally and a family home, as well as the 'hidden income' from providing schooling for his four sons and enabling him also to educate his daughters by 'exchanging children' with other boarding-school keepers. After the railway was carried through the school grounds the amenities of the neighbourhood were destroyed and in 1887 White moved his school to Eastbourne where it survived as a family business until 1935.⁶⁶

Other schools in the same district were also destroyed by the coming of railways. Solomon's Jewish School and Hyde Side Academy also in Edmonton and Clarke's school at Enfield, for example, suffered from this development.⁶⁷ In these northern suburbs the railways altered the rural character of districts long considered as healthy pleasure resorts by citizens, while in western and riverside suburbs easy transport drove up the price of suitable property. In 1861 Mount Pleasant House Boarding School at Sunbury advertised its 'beautiful and healthful situation' and the 'buses from Piccadilly and trains to Hampton Court'.⁶⁸ Moreover, as a business enterprise, education in this county stimulated demands which it was increasingly expensive to meet. In 1831 Mr. Softley of Manor House Academy, Upper Holloway, advertised that he had expended £2,000 on improving 'this delightful situation'.⁶⁹ Tottenham School in 1879 advertised its grounds and playing fields, new swimming-bath, covered fives court, warm baths 'for winter use', specially built bedrooms, class-rooms and senior studies, work-shops, laboratories, library, 'new and complete' sanitary arrangements, and separate infirmary.⁷⁰ The coming of gas-lighting, piped water, and water-closets necessitated a heavy capital outlay for enterprises which relied on using old property left vacant by outward suburban movement.

Success in ventures of this kind rested precariously on the health of the owner. In 1882 a 'superior middle-class day school for boys' in north-west London, established for over forty years, was offered for £150, including the lease of house and school-rooms accommodating one hundred pupils, goodwill, gas-fittings, and school furniture. The numbers had declined during the ill-health of the late principal, but the school would readily become 'by far the largest and most important in the neighbourhood, which contains no other school of the same class'. Retirement was another problem and even a good sale produced little enough when a new home had to be found. In 1882, when the 'present lady principals were retiring', £400 was asked for the goodwill of a boarding and day school for girls in north London, established for twenty years. Furniture was offered 'at valuation', and the 24-roomed house and playground was leased for £180 a year. Gross receipts from the 16 boarders and fifty to sixty day pupils were said to be £1,500 a year. The only advertisement that had ever been needed for the school was its list of successes in the College of Preceptors' examinations published in the *Educational Times*.

Advertisements also show the desperate need for assistance from a partner involved in the success of the school. In 1882 a half share in a girls' boarding and day school, which also took little boys, in the eastern suburbs was offered for £100 to a 'gentleman, Church of England, who would share the work and introduce pupils'. In north London a half-share partnership for £250 was offered in a day school for girls whose principal was 'desirous of meeting with a lady of ability, to assist in the management'.⁷¹

⁶⁶ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 83-86; personal reminiscences and papers of Mrs. Lacy, daughter of C. F. H. White.

⁶⁷ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 81-82, 88.

⁶⁸ *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.* (1861), p. xx.

⁶⁹ *Morning Herald*, 1 Jan. 1831; Greenberg, 150.

⁷⁰ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. pp. 885, xlv.

⁷¹ *Scholastic Gazette*, 1 Jan. 1882.

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It was in fact the difficulty of paying skilled assistants adequately which was eventually to destroy education as a private business enterprise. A writer in 1868 described the difficulties of a 'middle-class schoolmaster' who had sunk his capital in a school in the inner suburbs. Accommodation here was difficult since small houses had inadequate rooms, and large ones were often in poor repair. Children in such a district tended to be 'birds of passage'. Competition from the 'public schools' was severe, and just when parents were showing a tendency to pay for better instruction 'comes in the Revd. Mr. Rogers with his cheap schools'. This master survived his difficulties when the school was under his sole charge, but as it grew larger it also decreased in efficiency since he could not afford an assistant on the fees which parents would pay.⁷²

Educational as well as economic pressures were towards larger schools, and the older kind of school, concentrating on classics with visiting masters for extra subjects, was becoming an anachronism. Parents were coming to expect an effective general education at an inclusive fee. Both principal and assistants needed qualifications and skill in teaching a range of subjects up to the standards demanded by the various external examinations, and, as schools grew larger and standards rose, specialization of staff increased. To facilitate this kind of teaching, schools were gradually divided, either by age, ability or progress, into groups of pupils of much the same level of attainment, the elementary 'standards' becoming 'forms' at secondary level. This change was made more necessary by prevailing social philosophy which advocated the replacement of punishment by competition. In larger schools organized on these lines teachers could no longer regard their time as assistants as merely a period of training before opening their own schools. Adequate salaries and, eventually, pensions became necessary.

Middlesex schools illustrate all stages of this professional transformation. Samuel Kinns, principal of Highbury New Park Collegiate School, claimed to have collected between 1858 and 1879 a Ph.D., Membership of the College of Preceptors, and an F.R.A.S. as attractive qualifications, and added the cultural reassurance of lectures on Assyrian antiquities at the British Museum. He secured the headmaster of King's College School as examiner, and gave an imposing list of visiting staff, including the 'late tutor to the Prince of Orange' and Hafiz Sudrool Islam Khan Bahadoor for 'Hindustanee and Persian languages and other acquirements necessary for gentlemen proceeding to India'. Other visiting masters taught 'painting, drill, callisthenics, dancing and deportment'. At the base of this pyramid were 'two resident masters', apparently with no qualifications, who probably did a great deal of the work.⁷³ There were few attractions for ushers of this kind. Men with qualifications did not take such posts for longer than was necessary,⁷⁴ especially as private schools, in contrast to the public schools, drew some of their custom from parents who favoured the constant supervision which they exercised over their pupils. Many middle-class parents were not prepared to tolerate a system which left large numbers of boys of mixed ages to their own social devices, and while the public schools were still evolving a 'prefect system' which reformed, or at least formalized, abuses, the private schools gained custom.⁷⁵ Mr. Robson's Hyde Side Academy and Dr. Ireland's Elm House School, at Edmonton, were examples of schools which advertised this unceasing watch over their pupils. While the principal of a school had a financial interest in maintaining taboos, it placed

⁷² 'Difficulties of a Middle-Class Schoolmaster' in *The Academia*, 14 Mar. 1868, p. 257.

⁷³ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 269; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 709; cuttings in Islington Pub. Libr. Local Colln. AY 166 SHA.

⁷⁴ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 13; G. Baron,

'Secondary Schoolmaster', 44; A. Tropp, *The School Teachers*, 99-100.

⁷⁵ E. C. Mack, *Public Schs. and British Opinion, 1780-1860*, i. 107 sqq., 140, 151-5 158-9, 218; Hearnshaw, *King's Coll.* 372-3.

an intolerable burden on ill-paid assistants, and further depressed their position. The third usher at College House, Edmonton, in the middle of the century was described as the 'drudge of the school', who remained with the pupils during play-times and holidays. He was an actor who had drifted down to teaching by 'strange by-ways of misfortune, perhaps of misconduct'. This type of school-mastering was the resort of failures or of men waiting for a better outlet for their abilities.⁷⁶ Middlesex had some remarkable schoolmasters of this kind. H. G. Wells taught for a time at Henley House, Kilburn,⁷⁷ and Vincent Van Gogh was an assistant at two impoverished little schools in Isleworth.⁷⁸

The struggle to transform the teaching profession, although a national movement, centred on Middlesex and was to some extent directed and shaped by the particular pressures of suburban schooling. The London School Society, founded to oppose Brougham's threat of state interest in secondary education, opened a free register and agency for teachers in Oxford Street, but was chiefly concerned with the business security of its members.⁷⁹ After the College of Preceptors had moved to Bloomsbury in 1846 it was much influenced by Middlesex schools. For the first fifty years of its history the office of Dean of the College was held by Middlesex headmasters. These were Dr. Richard Wilson of St. Peter's Proprietary School, Dr. Jacob of Christ's Hospital, A. R. Isbister, headmaster in turn of the East Islington Proprietary School, the Jew's College, and the Stationers' School, and H. W. Eve, of University College School. This was more than a geographical accident, for all these men had experience of the element of social and vocational urgency in education, so characteristic of this county.⁸⁰ The policy of the College reflected the problems of building a new kind of secondary education in a hurry on the insecure foundations of schooling as a business enterprise. Its first aim was to 'distinguish good teachers from bad', but from the outset it was necessary to accept established school-keepers as members without a qualifying examination,⁸¹ and when the examination of schools was proposed by John Paxton Hall, headmaster of Oxford House School, Chelsea, pressure was again towards a minimum qualification. The low standard of these first 'middle-class examinations' enabled them to be taken by the average private school.⁸² Examination fees were an important factor in the survival of the College, and so was its new headquarters built in Bloomsbury Square between 1885 and 1887 largely with the funds thus provided.⁸³

Through its Licentiate and Fellowship examinations the College had from the outset made a contribution to teacher training.⁸⁴ Lectures and discussions for the exchange of ideas and experience were also held at headquarters from early days. Dr. Schaible, L.C.P., who kept a school on Haverstock Hill, had, for example, lectured on the teaching of modern languages.⁸⁵ In 1871 a lectureship in Education was founded, and converted two years later into the first professorship of education in the country. Attendance at Professor Joseph Payne's lectures was encouraging, but an attempt to make this the first step towards the foundation of a training college for secondary teachers was a failure.⁸⁶ After the building of the new headquarters another attempt was made, and a few young men attended evening lectures and had practice in schools such as Tollington Park

⁷⁶ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 77-78, 80-81, 84-85; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 13.

⁷⁷ Milne, *It's Too Late Now*, 47-48.

⁷⁸ *Letters of Vincent Van Gogh*, ed. J. Van Gogh Bouger, i. 62, 68, 71-84, 89.

⁷⁹ *Scholastic Jnl.* Sept. 1856, introd.; 31 Dec. 1856, 115-20; 30 June 1857, 299.

⁸⁰ *Fifty Years of Progress in Educ., A Review of the Work of the Coll. of Preceptors, 1846-96*, 4, 6, 14, 15, 19, 26, 29-31.

⁸¹ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 3-4; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlvi. 97.

⁸² *Scholastic World*, 1 July 1879; *Fifty Years of Progress*, 13-14; *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 3, 12; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlvi. 97.

⁸³ *Fifty Years of Progress*, 31-32; Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 433-4.

⁸⁴ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 3* (1867-8), 1-7; *Scholastic Jnl.* 31 Jan. 1857, 146.

⁸⁵ *Fifty Years of Progress*, 16-19.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 22-26; *D.N.B.* xv. 558.

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College.⁸⁷ There was not sufficient support for this scheme, nor for a similar attempt in 1895. Equally unsuccessful was the Finsbury Training College for Secondary Schoolmasters, established briefly in rooms provided by Canon Rogers, 'always a friend to the movement', in the Cowper Street Schools. Headmasters of endowed schools continued to consider a university degree sufficient guarantee of teaching ability, while private-school owners perhaps could not risk inflating the value of their assistants.⁸⁸

During this same period, in contrast to unsuccessful schemes for training male teachers, Middlesex supported several successful establishments for training women teachers.⁸⁹ The oldest recognized establishment was the Home and Colonial Society's Institution and practising school, which began in Southampton Street and later moved to Highbury. This college for training infant teachers on Pestalozzian principles introduced about 1846 courses for 'middle-school mistresses'. The institution's training acquired a considerable reputation and Miss Buss encouraged her young staff to attend its courses.⁹⁰ The Teachers' Training and Registration Society's College, opened in 1878, provided training in Froebel principles.⁹¹ The Froebel Education Institute was itself established in Fulham Road in 1895,⁹² and about the same time Bedford College opened a department for training secondary school teachers under Miss Mary Thomas, a former pupil of Miss Buss.⁹³ The convent of the Holy Child, Cavendish Square, was opened as a college for Roman Catholic secondary school teachers in 1876 on the initiative of Cardinal Vaughan.⁹⁴ Headmistresses of high-schools sincerely supported training; there were still few university graduates to enter the profession; and there was not yet that degree of urgency in girls' secondary education which required that every pupil be fitted for the labour market.⁹⁵

In 1897 the proportion of graduate men and women in schools in Middlesex outside the L.C.C. area was rather lower than in the country as a whole:⁹⁶

TABLE 2
Proportion of Graduate Teachers in Middlesex Schools in 1897

	<i>Middlesex</i>	<i>England and Wales</i>
	per cent.	per cent.
Boys		
All Schools	53·7	55·9
Private	33·3	47·8
Endowed	78·7	64·7
Subscribers	81·8	49·2
Company	None	68
L.E.A.	50	40·7
GIRLS		
All Schools	7·7	12·7
Private	7·4	10·6
Endowed	33·3	23·8
Subscribers	4·5	7·3
Company	22·7	28·1
L.E.A.	None	16·7

For men it was the private schools which pulled down the county average, while for women it was only in endowed schools that the proportion of graduates was not consider-

⁸⁷ *Fifty Years of Progress*, 33-34; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), 42, 47.

⁸⁸ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), 142-3; Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 142 sqq.; *Rep. of a Conference on Sec. Educ. convened by Vice-Chancellor of Univ. of Camb.* 1896, 65-66.

⁸⁹ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xliii, 71.

⁹⁰ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 252, 589; *Pt. 4*, 258; *Mins. of Cttee. of Council on Educ.* [787] H.C., pp. 548-9 (1847), xlv; *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), pp. 178, 152; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* ii. 611;

Foster Watson, *Encyclopaedia and Dict. of Educ.* arts. 'Home and Colonial Soc.', 'Mayo Family'; Tropp, *Sch. Teachers*, 46; *Min. of Educ. Sch. File* 5736.

⁹¹ *Mdx. Chron.* 3, 10, 17 Jan. 1958; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlvii, 9, 15-16; *London Sch. Board Schedule of Sec. Schs.* 1891; *Min. of Educ. Sch. File* 6371.

⁹² Féret, *Fulham*, ii. 279

⁹³ Mrs. Arthur Hughes, *London Family*, 407-19, 477-90.

⁹⁴ *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 357.

⁹⁵ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlvii, 22, 42, 53, 63-64.

⁹⁶ *Ret. of Pupils in Schs.* (1897), Table IV A.

ably lower than in the country as a whole. No figures are available for the proportion of teachers with some form of professional training in the various types of school, and information about individual schools is apt to be unrepresentative. In 1902 the staff of the Brondesbury and Kilburn High School (184 girls) consisted of the headmistress and five assistants, all holding the Cambridge Teachers' Certificate. Each member of the staff had an additional academic qualification also: either the Intermediate B.Sc. of London, London Matriculation, the Cambridge Higher Local, the National Froebel Union Certificate, or the LL.A., St. Andrews. Visiting staff also had appropriate qualifications. This, however, was the practising school of the Teachers' Training and Registration Society.⁹⁷ In 1907 the Muswell Hill branch of Tollington School (301 pupils) consisted of the headmaster, a Cambridge graduate and F.C.P., and ten assistants, whose academic and professional qualifications ranged from a B.A. and B.Sc. (London) to London Matriculation and 'part of the Associateship of the College of Preceptors'.⁹⁸ In both these schools the Board's Inspector considered that salaries were inadequate to attract properly trained staff, but that it would be unwise to raise the fees, which were lower than the estimated cost of efficient secondary education in these areas. Education as a business enterprise had finally come into conflict with education as a profession.

Educational considerations were not altogether ignored in this struggle between financial and professional vested interests. The Middlesex schoolmasters who guided the College of Preceptors, Miss Buss and other pioneers of women's education, valued professional standards more than private profits, and so did many of those engaged in the business of education in the county. C. H. Lake, one of the founders of the Teachers' Guild, from the age of sixteen taught in turn every class at Oxford House School, Chelsea, eventually succeeding J. P. Hall as headmaster. Under Lake it was a considerable school of 120 boys and ten masters, preparing for the public schools and 'business and mercantile pursuits'. Lake qualified himself by taking the diploma of the College of Preceptors and then a London degree, and devoted himself to the advancement and unification of his profession. He was on the committee of the Scholastic Registration Association, and one of the supporters of the Teachers' Association, which attempted to 'draw together all the teaching power of the country'. By 1880 many of the leaders of the National Union of Elementary Teachers were among its 800 members. As a member of the Council of the College of Preceptors, Lake proposed that in the teachers' examinations the theory and practice of education should be given a scientific basis. He contributed articles on the 'science of education' to *Mind*, and he strongly advocated the need for professional training and registration. In 1875 he convened a meeting which led to the establishment of the Education Society, a learned body rather than a professional association.⁹⁹ From this, with the support of the London Associations of Headmistresses and Schoolmistresses and the more liberal-minded of the endowed and public schoolmasters, grew the Teachers' Guild, formed in 1884, which advocated a scientific approach to the study of education and concerned itself with such professional matters as proper training, registration of teachers, and the provision of pensions. It founded a non-profit-making employment agency and an 'educational museum' of books, equipment, and illustrations in Gower Street, and published *The Teachers' Guild Quarterly* for the exchange of ideas and experience. This Guild, later known as the Education Guild, continued to promote professional unity between secondary and elementary teachers until its final dissolution in 1929.¹

⁹⁷ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 6371.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 6388.

⁹⁹ *Scholastic World*, 1 July 1879; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 289.

¹ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), 116-42; *Special Rep. on Educ. Subjects* [C. 8943] H.C., p. 269 (1898), xxiv; Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 65, 79, 88, 418 sqq.

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V

By 1895 private enterprise could claim to have created a system of secondary education.² Private schools had now to adapt themselves to the growth of voluntary and provided education, to the reshaping of the endowed schools,³ and, in the early 20th century, to the new maintained secondary schools. Progress towards an integrated system during the 19th century is revealed by the series of official educational surveys which followed the earliest systematic assessment, made for the Charity Commissioners in 1833-5.⁴

The educational census conducted by Horace Mann in 1851⁵ revealed that out of 3,427 schools in Middlesex 2,655 were private establishments. These figures were, however, deceptive since private schools catered for only 62,149 children out of a total school attendance for the county of 200,257. Nevertheless the number of private schools in Middlesex, although subject to considerable fluctuation, had increased greatly since 1800:

TABLE 3

Private and Public Schools in Middlesex 1801-51

	<i>Private Schools</i>	<i>Public Schools</i>
Established before 1801	56	143
1801-11	35	29
1811-21	102	48
1821-31	218	64
1831-41	412	151
1841-51	1,505	301
Date unspecified	327	36
Total	2,655	772

Josiah Wilkinson's survey of three Middlesex poor law unions for the Newcastle Commissioners in 1861⁶ exposed some curiously diverse opinions on the interaction of public and private elementary schools. Some school-keepers claimed that children came to them from the public schools because of bad teaching, or wasting time on 'clapping hands and singing'. Others, varying from 'an intelligent and capable master' with a large boys' school in a 'dirty building' to a mistress 'bred to the profession' with 'a nice school, nicely kept', considered their numbers much reduced by the 'government schools'. Others considered that where public schools were established 'they create such an appetite for education in the neighbourhood as more than compensates for the number they take from the private schools'.

Fearon's survey for the Taunton Commissioners seven years later emphasized the social rather than the educational facets of private provision. As one of the Inspectors obliged to administer the Revised Code, Fearon was more sensitive to the stunting of those forms of secondary education thrown up by the growth of elementary schools than to any connexion which might have developed or might be encouraged between private and other types of schooling.⁷ Mid-century legislation also tended to emphasize competition rather than integration. The suggestion of the Newcastle report that suitable private school-keepers should be eligible to sit for the Government examinations, and with it a possibility of drawing together two sectors of the profession at least at

² *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xliii. 14; xlv. 513-15; xlv. 279-83.

³ For changes in the administration of and teaching in the major Mdx. endowed schools see pp. 290-314.

⁴ *Educ. Enquiry Abstract* (1835), 592-3.

⁵ *Census, 1851: Education*, pp. xiii-xx, xxxii-xxxviii, cii-cliii, 4, 8.

⁶ *Rep. Com. Pop. Educ. Pt. 1* [2794-1] H.C., pp. 7-8, 13 (1861), xxi (1); *Pt. 3* [2794-III] H.C., pp. 321, 380, 411-46 (1861), xxi (3).

⁷ *Schs. Enquiry Com. Pt. 6* (1867-8), 350, 236-9, 240-2, 581.

elementary level, came to nothing.⁸ The recommendations from Dr. Frederick Temple, formerly principal of Kneller Hall Training College, Twickenham, and the Revd. W. J. Unwin of Homerton Training College (which had practising schools in Dalston), that parents should be encouraged to take an active part in the management of their children's schools, were also ignored.⁹ Parental interest was largely confined to choosing schools for their children, frequently on social rather than educational grounds. During this period, when the Revised Code was depressing the position of public schools and teachers, private schools worked as an organic part of the education system, distorting the attitude of both parents and teachers.¹⁰ After the Act of 1869 the endowed schools were drawn into the arena of competition and obliged to show results in examination successes.¹¹ At the same time the School Boards began their work, and in a remarkably short time the more enterprising reached and crossed the boundary between elementary and secondary education: schools such as the 'Organized Science School' at Finchley in 1877 were bitterly resented as providing a 'secondary education for nothing'.¹² In 1878 the headmaster of the North London Collegiate School warned middle-class schools of this danger and challenge. In an area so thickly congested with expedient and enterprise there were several possible points where connexions between public and private systems might have developed. There was some contact between elementary and private schools. Tollington Park College, for example, took pupils from the VIIth standard, but although they were 'thoroughly well taught', their lack of subjects such as botany and French was a disadvantage, owing to the way in which the Revised Code was administered.¹³ When in 1891 the London School Board drew up a schedule of secondary schools to which pupils from its elementary schools might proceed, some kind of proprietary status was required. The list included the Philological School, the proprietary schools in Islington and Kensington, the Maria Grey Girls' School, then in Fitzroy Square, the Cowper Street Middle Class Schools, King's College School, and St. Mark's College Schools, Chelsea.¹⁴ At this same period, however, Sidney Webb and W. Garnett, Chairman and Secretary of the Technical Education Board of the L.C.C., complained before the Bryce Commissioners of the shortage of secondary schools to which scholarship holders might be sent. They had to send boys a long way—from Shepherd's Bush to the Regent Street Polytechnic, for example—and while there were a number of good proprietary schools for girls, their use was prohibited by the Technical Instruction Acts 'when the school is conducted for private profit'. The only 'higher grade board schools' at which these scholarships were tenable in Middlesex were the Boutcher and Raines Foundation Schools, both old charities, and St. Thomas Charterhouse School, a product of Rogers's parochial enterprise. Private school-keepers complained before the Bryce Commission of this injustice. The London School Board certainly interpreted the word 'proprietary' rather differently and the Technical Board's departmental opinion had not been tested in the Courts.¹⁵

During this period some Middlesex private schools, for example Byron House, Ealing Grammar School, Worcester House College (Hackney), Highbury Hill High School, Fortress Road High School and Hillmartin College (both in Kentish Town), Islington High School, and Hornsey Grammar School, were examined free of charge by the Department of Science and Art, having complied with the necessary conditions.

⁸ *Rep. Com. Pop. Educ. Pt. 1* (1861), 96-97.

⁹ *Ibid. Pt. 6* (1861), 272-98, 326-67.

¹⁰ *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, ed. Hadden, 152; Tropp, 'Sch. Teachers', 96.

¹¹ Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 7.

¹² *Secondary Educ.* 1 Dec. 1897; *Scholastic World*, 1 Aug. 1878; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 533, 361.

¹³ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. Teachers' Registration* (1891), 44, 48; *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 230-1.

¹⁴ *Lond. Sch. Board Schedule of Sec. Schs.* 1891.

¹⁵ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 264, 280; xlv. 292-7.

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'No payments or prizes were claimable' for pupils' successes, however, and the Department considered that if this use 'grew largely' it would be unable to undertake the examining of private schools,¹⁶ which on their part found the conditions 'irksome'. Another possible contact between the private and experimental forms of secondary school was in classes for pupil teachers. St. Aloysius Convent School in St. Pancras began such classes in 1893,¹⁷ but schools of religious orders were in a special position and in general the social cleavages of the teaching profession prevented useful developments of this sort.¹⁸

In these ways several promising points of contact were nullified by official or social attitudes. It is not surprising that Llewellyn Smith in his survey of urban and suburban education for Charles Booth in 1890 said that there was nothing which could be described as an 'organized system' of secondary schools, 'but a considerable number of endowed schools are scattered irregularly over the Metropolitan area, and the gap partly filled by "proprietary" schools managed by Joint Stock Companies, partly by private adventure schools'. He defined secondary education not in relation to other branches of education or to the pupils' development, but socially. 'At present', he said, 'secondary schools mean schools in which the children of clerks, tradesmen, managers, manufacturers, and professional men receive their education'. This was not a 'fundamental definition, being merely an accident of the existing distribution of wealth'. Proprietary schools were some link between public and private schools, 'where the youth of a large though decreasing section of the middle class receive such education as they have', were very numerous and many of them were 'mushroom growths'.¹⁹

The only reasonably complete and reliable survey of educational provision at the end of Victoria's reign, made in 1897 for the Committee of the Council on Education, recognized that the subject was 'exceedingly obscure', especially the difficult borderline between the public, private, and proprietary schools. The thoroughness with which the problem was approached underlines the concern in official circles for throwing light upon this dark subject.²⁰

The Bryce Report concluded that 'the ground of Secondary Education is . . . already almost covered with buildings so substantial that the loss to be incurred in clearing it for the erection of a new or symmetrical pile cannot be contemplated'.²¹ No survey of Middlesex schooling was made for these Commissioners, but they summoned a number of witnesses from the county, which also provided witnesses from a number of educational organizations. These included the Headmasters' Association, the Association of Headmistresses, the Assistant Mistresses, the College of Preceptors, the Private Schools' Association, the Teachers' Training and Registration Society, and the Teachers' Guild.²² Witnesses for all these bodies, in their different ways, and other witnesses also, upheld the right of private schools to be considered as part of the 'general scheme'²³ of secondary education, wished to avoid 'factious or sectarian' competition,²⁴ and advocated systems of inspection and registration which would enable such schools to be linked with the projected state system. Divergences of view were serious, however, especially on methods of inspection, on the powers of the proposed central and local educational authorities, and above all on the possibility of uniting secondary and ele-

¹⁶ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 292, 536; 43rd *Rep. Dept. of Science and Art of Cttee. of Council on Educ.* [C. 7941] H.C., p. 225 (1896), xxx; *Rep. of Board of Educ.* 1899-1900 [Cd. 329] H.C., p. 175 (1900), xix.

¹⁷ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5754.

¹⁸ Tropp, *Sch. Teachers*, 99-100; Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 133, 161-2.

¹⁹ C. Booth, *Life and Labour of People of Lond.*, 1st ser. *Poverty*, iii. 248-50, 263.

²⁰ *Ret. of Pupils in Schs.* (1897), 3-4, 6, Tables I, IV, V.

²¹ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xliii. 1-2.

²² *Ibid.* 2-3; xlv. 236 sqq.; xlv. 9 sqq., 130 sqq., 279 sqq.; xlv. 7 sqq., 22 sqq., 42 sqq.

²³ *Ibid.* xlv. 505.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 144.

mentary teachers on one register.²⁵ Equally significant was the difference in the views of two expert witnesses, both concerned with standards, and both with particular knowledge of Middlesex schooling. Dr. Temple, then Bishop of London, considered that private schools had greatly increased in their 'chance of stability as educational institutions', in their quality and the attainments of their teachers, and in their claim to be considered a 'branch of the educational appliances of a district'. Proprietary schools, which had 'more of an element of a public character', had increased and were doing good work. While speaking with caution of the possibility of private schools doing 'the whole job' if it 'is to be as good as the country should obtain', Dr. Temple wished that 'private schools, conducted by duly-qualified teachers, in suitable buildings, with an adequate staff and with the necessary apparatus and appliances for teaching, should be recognized as efficient; and that due precaution should be taken against injuriously affecting their interests'. Scholarships should be held at such schools.²⁶ In contrast was Fearon's uncompromising rejection of the private schools' claim. They were 'here today and gone tomorrow', and worse, they 'may be here good today and here bad tomorrow'. Private schools sending in candidates for scholarships should have no other gain but that of reputation.²⁷

Fearon represented the point of view which triumphed both in the legislation of 1899 and 1902 and which was subsequently responsible for modelling the new maintained secondary schools on the revived endowed schools, which themselves followed the public school pattern. The problem of creating a genuine process of education from the adverse elements of entrenched grammar schools and socially depressed primary schools was thus bequeathed to the 20th century. The alternatives put forward before the Bryce Commission, so strongly coloured with suburban educational experience, might have preserved or encouraged some coherence at secondary level and provided for professional participation in administration. These plans were defeated by internal divisions, lack of prestige, and the element of private financial interest which discredited otherwise respectable arguments. Almost every contradictory argument advanced before the Bryce Commissioners and at the Cambridge Conference on Secondary Education in 1896 could be supported by evidence from the metropolitan area. This relaxed the moral tension of the debate, and with it any articulation of secondary education which had resulted from the process of growth and development.²⁸ The way was left clear for vested scholastic interests, more acceptable and less obvious than those of business enterprise.²⁹

The private schools had not waited for their defeat to be embodied in legislation and administrative practice. Already in the last decade of the century, Middlesex provided the locus, experience, and opportunity for the organization of private schools as a separate vested interest and for the completion of their rival system of schooling by the speeding up of a gradual process of educational adaptation. It was in this county that the Private Schools' Association and the Preparatory Schools' Association were formed.

The struggle over the registration of teachers destroyed the confidence of many school-keepers in the policy of the College of Preceptors. The Private Schools' Association was formed to 'unite the members in a common bond, to protect the interests of

²⁵ Ibid. 286-99, 130-1, 143-4; xlv. 516-20; xlv. 97.

²⁶ Ibid. xlv. 360-1, 443-63.

²⁷ Ibid. xlv. 435.

²⁸ *Rep. of Conf. on Sec. Educ.* 1896, 10-11, 19-20, 64-65, 121-5; *Fifty Years of Progress in Educ.* 35, 39; G. Baron, 'Teachers' Registration Movement' in *Brit. Jnl. of Educ. Studies*, ii. 133-7; Tropp, *Sch. Teachers*, 53-54, 99-100.

²⁹ Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 436-40; Tropp, *Sch. Teachers*, 53-54, 99-100; *Brit. Jnl. of Educ. Studies*, ii. 138-44; *Rep. of Conf. on Training of Teachers in Secondary Schs. for Boys, Cambridge, 1902*, 65-66, *passim*.

the profession, and to hold periodic meetings in London and elsewhere for the discussion of educational topics, more especially such as relate to the position of the private school-master'. Membership grew slowly at first, more rapidly at the time of the College of Preceptors' Teachers' Registration Bill in 1890 and the rival measure supported by the Teachers' Guild. Before the Select Committee to examine these Bills, the Private Schools' Association presented an uncompromising case for separate registers for elementary and secondary teachers.³⁰ W. Brown of Tollington Park College summed up the Association's policy in his presidential address of 1896: 'We must press on the registration of teachers, and then we can entrench ourselves behind it'.³¹

The ingredients of a system of preparatory schools had long been present in the suburbs and by the later 19th century both social developments and the needs of other stages of education produced schools conscious enough of their own special characteristics to form the Preparatory Schools' Association in 1893.³² Before this the characteristic school had combined the functions of preparing for the public schools, the professions, and the universities.³³ The age of entry to the public schools, however, rose steadily as did the standard required at entry. Canon Rogers, born in Bloomsbury in 1819, was sent to a 'preparatory school' kept by a Frenchman at Tavistock House, not because its instruction was particularly efficient or even suited to this purpose, but because Rogers was not to enter Eton until he was eleven whereas his father had gone at six. Arnold preferred not to take boys before they were twelve or thirteen and the first strictly preparatory school was said to have been kept by one of his friends.³⁴ Numbers of these schools were developing in Middlesex and even in the mid-19th century in a large number of private schools, such as Burlington House at Isleworth, attended by R. L. Stevenson for a short time, the number of 'small fry' far exceeded that of the 'middling size' and 'big boys'.³⁵ In 1879 Chase Side, Enfield, founded in 1858, was advertised as 'Preparatory for the Public Schools', with no mention of other functions.³⁶ In 1855 Miss Innes opened her school in Highbury Park to prepare boys under twelve for the public schools, such as 'Islington Proprietary School'.³⁷ Upper Holloway Preparatory School was kept in 1872 by Mrs. Ward for boys between six and thirteen for the same purpose.³⁸ In 1879 at the St. John's Wood Preparatory School for the Sons of Gentlemen at Gloucester Gate, Regents Park, the 'divisions of the terms correspond to Eton and Harrow'. It had a kindergarten for boys under seven.³⁹ Already there was a tendency to consider that only schools for very small boys should be kept by women. Stanfield House, Hampstead, in 1879 had an 'elementary class, under the superintendence of a lady'.⁴⁰ Hampstead was a favourite district for such schools. As early as the 1860's 'two or three preparatory schools for boys divided the field'. One opened in 1860 at West View and in 1872 still prepared for 'professional life' as well as the public schools. In 1876 it moved to Heath Mount, still under Mr. Goldsmith, who had been a public schoolmaster. By 1879 it prepared for the public schools alone, teaching classics, mathematics, and French.⁴¹ As might be expected, the Harrow neighbourhood also developed the system quickly. In 1872 Miss Sheppard had a school for boys 'previous

³⁰ *Brit. Jnl. of Educ. Studies*, ii. 134.

³¹ Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 100, 161-2; *Scholastic Jnl.* 1 Oct. 1896, 1 Feb. 1897.

³² *Special Rep. on Educ. Subjects* [Cd. 418] H.C., pp. 9-11 (1900), xxii (2).

³³ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 304; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 575.

³⁴ *Reminiscences of William Rogers*, ed. Hadden, 3; Greenberg, 206; *Rep. Educ. Subjects* (1900), 2-9.

³⁵ Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 303; Robbins, *Mdx.* 162; S. J. Cooper, 'Literary Associations of Heston and Isle-

worth', TS. in Local Hist. Colln. in Hounslow Pub. Libr.; framed letter of R. L. Stevenson in Hounslow Pub. Libr.

³⁶ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 613.

³⁷ *Crockford's Scholastic Dir.*, p. x; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 269.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 27c.

³⁹ Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 726, 724.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* xxxiii, 720.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 720; Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 298; *Hampstead Annual 1906-7*; 'Educational Opportunities of Old Hampstead', TS. in Hampstead Pub. Libr. Local Colln., p. 69; B. M. Allen, *Sir Robert Morant*, 5.

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to their entering the preparatory schools', the Revd. C. H. Tandy at Harrow-on-the-Hill Preparatory School helped boys to gain a 'good position' at entrance to Harrow and other public schools, and at Pinner Mrs. Martin had a school preparing for 'Eton, Harrow, Rugby, and the London Public Schools'. By 1879 this last school was under a master, W. J. Jervis, a Cambridge graduate, and there were two more preparatory schools in Harrow, one kept by a clergyman for 'little boys' and giving special attention to modern languages.⁴²

At the time of the Bryce Enquiry the position was still to some extent fluid. Dr. Temple suggested that preparatory schools should be provided from public funds as they were often either inadequate or too expensive. The headmaster of Owen's School, Islington, considered that 'private preparatory schools under ladies' for very little boys would 'always hold their place' as they were 'the proper people' to teach them, and parents preferred not to use the elementary schools. An alternative was to put them 'in a preparatory division in connexion with the second grade schools', taught by women. Both systems might continue as the demand was great.⁴³

The establishment of the Preparatory Schools' Association in 1892 rapidly helped to give coherence of aim and policy. By 1900 competition had done its work, 'no eligible spot remains unoccupied', and the supply of boys was said to be running out.⁴⁴ The relation between these schools and the rest of the educational system had important consequences, especially in a district such as Middlesex. Sir Michael Sadler considered that the tuition in preparatory schools was of a secondary nature, illustrating their degree of subject specialization by the time-table of Heddon Court, Rosslyn Hill. Children from state schools could rarely compete against boys already well advanced in academic subjects, especially languages.⁴⁵ Private education had responded to exclusion from any contact with the new system of maintained secondary schools by providing an enclosed system of its own, attaching it to the most firmly established sector of independent education, the public schools.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The first Middlesex school in which public secondary education under the Act of 1902 was provided was Christ's College, Finchley, founded by clerical enterprise with some help from parish charities, but latterly an entirely private school.⁴⁶ A number of other schools which owed their origin to private or voluntary enterprise passed into the control of the new local education authorities, some, such as the Paddington and Maida Vale High School of the Girls' Public Day School Trust, on account of the threat of competition from projected maintained schools.⁴⁷ The Philological School was from 1908 held in trust by the L.C.C. as the St. Marylebone Grammar School.⁴⁸ The Cardinal Vaughan School for Boys in Kensington, founded for the 'higher education of Roman Catholic boys' as a memorial to Vaughan, also entered into partnership with the local education authority while maintaining voluntary status.⁴⁹ The Cowper Street schools of the Middle-Class Schools' Corporation had been provided with an instrument of government under the Endowed Schools' Act in 1891 and from the outset received scholarship-holders and contributions from the L.C.C.⁵⁰

⁴² Bisson, *Schs. and Colls.* 230, 339; Bisson, *Endowed Schs.* i. 641, 814.

⁴³ *Rep. Com. Sec. Educ.* (1895), xlv. 452-3; xlv. 150-1; xlv. 352.

⁴⁴ *Rep. Educ. Subjects* (1900), 9-10, 18-23.

⁴⁵ *Ret. of Pupils in Schs.* (1897), 7; *Rep. Educ. Subjects* (1900), 79-90, 43.

⁴⁶ For the history of this school see p. 290.

⁴⁷ *Paddington and Maida Vale High Sch. Mag.* 1912; MS. Hist. prepared by headmistress.

⁴⁸ Wayne, *Philological Sch.* 8. See p. 307.

⁴⁹ *L.C.C. Sec. Sch. List.* 1959, Division 1, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5426.

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Local and social concern was now directed to the building of the municipal secondary schools, and the picture is often complicated. The Isleworth Grammar School for Boys was in part an offshoot of an old charity, the Blue School, whose governors in 1883 formed an upper department teaching Latin and other subjects of a secondary type of curriculum. The Borough Road College of the British and Foreign Schools' Society, now established in the buildings of the old International School, needed this as a practising school. Negotiations were complicated by the governors' fears of exceeding their powers by providing grammar-school education from funds bequeathed for an apprentice school, but finally in 1895 the generosity of Sir William Pears, the enthusiasm and perseverance of W. Regester, Chairman of the Middlesex Education Committee, and of the Principal of the Borough Road College produced a workable solution. Pears offered the site; the Blue school governors were empowered to divert £100 to maintain twenty pupils at the school; the Middlesex County Council used money which had accumulated from grants for technical education to help in its building, control, and management, in return for the grant of scholarships to elementary school pupils; the British and Foreign Society was to have financial responsibility and the right to use the school not for practice but for observation. The governing body consisted of five representatives of the Society, two from the local charity, and two from the County Council, Regester, and the Earl of Jersey, who also represented an older tradition of benevolent local interest, providing a drill court and his countess to open the new building. The school had alarming financial and administrative difficulties, and in 1906 the British and Foreign Society handed it over to the Middlesex County Council, although with the Blue School governors it continued to be represented on the new governing body.⁵¹

The supervision of the building of a coherent system of secondary education from such diverse elements was the responsibility of the newly-created Board of Education. As fees were still charged to most pupils even in provided schools, the factor of supply and demand was still important. Schools which had been established by private or voluntary enterprise were, moreover, able to provide candidates for the training colleges and enable the Board to replace the pupil-teacher system. In 1908, for example, the North London Collegiate School had 28 Bursars aged 16 and 108 pupil-teachers of seventeen.⁵² On their side the proprietary and private schools were usually eager to qualify for the various grants, especially as they now had to compete for staff with the provided schools.⁵³ The three girls' schools in the county maintained by teachers' training organizations were particularly sensitive to the pressure. Whitelands College School, which later became the Lady Margaret School at Parson's Green, was recognized as efficient by the Board in 1902. In 1908 the Board's Inspector reported that of the 176 pupils 60 per cent. were from public elementary schools, including 20 per cent. from Higher Elementary schools, and 95 scholarship-holders were from the L.C.C. This figure included 19 pupil-teacher candidates, three of them Bursars. The Council paid full fees for these pupils, but did not assist the school by any maintenance grant. As it had no endowment or subsidy from the College, only the low salaries of the staff enabled the fees to be kept down to between £6 and £9 a year. The legal position of the school in relation to the National Society caused something verging on despair at the Board.⁵⁴ The same problems arose with the Home and Colonial Society's school at Highbury Hill,⁵⁵ and the Teachers' Training and Registration Society's Brondesbury

⁵¹ *Richmond and Twickenham Times*, 7 Aug. 1937; *Mdx. Chronicle*, 24, 31 Jan., 7 Feb. 1958.

⁵² Allen, *Morant*, 215-20, 252; *List of Schs. in Eng. recognised as efficient* [Cd. 4374] H.C. (1908), lxxxiii.

⁵³ Baron, 'Sec. Schoolmaster', 264.

⁵⁴ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5718.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 5736.

school,⁵⁶ but they paled beside those presented by the schools of religious orders.⁵⁷ In negotiations over such problems as the instrument of government of each school, the proper autonomy of the headmistress, the provision of a qualified staff, and the organization of the curriculum and syllabuses, the Board showed urbanity and tolerance, and the religious orders combined a determination to qualify for grants and status with habits of humility and obedience which made an appreciable contribution to the solution. Conviction that neither the Middlesex nor the London County Council was attempting to avoid the provision of new schools by making use of existing Roman Catholic schools enabled the Board to accept their recommendations for recognition.⁵⁸ Friction was not entirely avoided. The case of Howrah House, Poplar, caused delay which led to tension between Sir Robert Morant and Graham Wallas and complaints in the Roman Catholic press.⁵⁹ Morant also suspected that over St. Aloysius Convent School, St. Pancras, the L.C.C. was trying to drag the Board into 'quite needless discussion' over the 'private profit' question of schools conducted by religious orders.⁶⁰ In the early years of the century, however, successful compromises were reached in such cases as the Highgate Road Convent of La Sainte Union des Sacrés Coeurs⁶¹ and the Islington Convent of Notre Dame de Sion High School, which was recognized first as a pupil-teacher centre and then, in 1909, as a school 'required as part of the secondary school provision for London.'⁶² The Hammersmith Convent of the Sacred Heart School was converted from a higher grade into a secondary school. The new institution combined as far as possible with the centre for pupil-teachers 'to give them a good sound general education leading up to the Oxford Senior Local Examination'.⁶³ St. Aloysius Convent School, which established a pupil-teacher centre in 1893, applied for recognition as an Organized Science School in 1900, and was recognized as 'filling a useful place in the educational scheme of this part of London' in 1905.⁶⁴ Howrah House High School was recognized first as a pupil-teacher centre in 1904 and as a secondary school receiving about a quarter of its girls from elementary schools in accordance with the recent regulations on 'free-places' in 1908.⁶⁵ St. Ignatius College, Stamford Hill, was similarly recognized. The Middlesex Education Committee recommended it as a necessary part of the educational provision of the district, and the school admitted 15 per cent. free place holders for 1908-9 and thereafter 25 per cent.⁶⁶ Of schools conducted entirely for private profit Tollington Park College and its Muswell Hill branch were recognized in 1903.⁶⁷ These examples indicate ways in which various elements of private and voluntary enterprise and concern contributed to the newly-provided system of secondary education.

The old schools, however, continued in large numbers, although in a somewhat different form, adapting themselves to 20th-century educational and social demands. A few of the numerous suburban preparatory schools were attached to London public schools: Colet Court to St. Paul's,⁶⁸ Belmont to Mill Hill.⁶⁹ The girls' high schools continued to have 'kindergarten and preparatory' departments.⁷⁰ Some preparatory schools were kept by proprietors for private profit, for example Orley Farm School at Harrow and Arnold House School, Marylebone, recognized as efficient by the Board in 1934, and 1920 respectively. In 1958 the first of these had 125 pupils, 62 of

⁵⁶ Ibid. 6371. ⁵⁷ Allen, *Morant*, 221, 238.

⁵⁸ Min. of Educ. Sch. Files 5750, 6393.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 5750.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 5754.

⁶¹ Ibid. 5753; Min. of Educ. List 70, 1949.

⁶² Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5734; *L.C.C. Sec. Sch. List* 1959, Division 3, p. 10. ⁶³ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5727.

⁶⁴ Ibid. 5754; *L.C.C. Sec. Sch. List* 1959, Division 2, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁵ Allen, *Morant*, 238-9; Min. of Educ. Sch. File 5750; *L.C.C. Sec. Sch. List* 1959, Division 4, p. 10.

⁶⁶ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 6393; Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 112-13.

⁶⁷ Min. of Educ. Sch. File 6388.

⁶⁸ *Pub. and Preparatory Schs. Year Bk.* (1962), 676, 677.

⁶⁹ Min. of Educ. List 70, 1949.

⁷⁰ *Girls' Sch. Year Bk.* (1962), 159-60.

them boarders.⁷¹ Others were in the hands of companies or trusts. Northwood Preparatory School, recognized from 1922, was owned by a limited company until it was converted into a trust in 1958.⁷² Keble House in Southgate was under a proprietor in 1950 but by 1958 was run by a limited company.⁷³ Sussex House Preparatory School in Chelsea belonged to Davies Tutors Limited.⁷⁴ Considerations of status reinforced a tendency which was partly the result of economic risks.

The rising cost of land in the suburbs and increasing ease of transport meant that Middlesex was no longer an ideal area for strictly preparatory schools, and there was a trend towards more flexible institutions, adapted to the needs of parents who did not want to send their sons away to school at eight, or who preferred co-education for their little boys. Many preparatory schools were mainly for children below eleven, combining nursery and pre-preparatory classes with teaching for boys and girls usually preparing for the public schools, and sometimes also for the entrance to the county secondary schools at ten or eleven. The changes introduced by the Education Act of 1944 created a need for schools which ensured a good chance of children gaining a grammar school grading in the selection tests. Byron House School in Highgate in 1958 had 33 children of nursery-school age and 187 boys and girls between eight and eleven. Ashton Preparatory School at Isleworth, Norland Place School in Kensington, and Camden House Preparatory School in Marylebone were meeting much the same needs.⁷⁵ Socially these schools served as alternatives to primary schools. Bycullah School at Enfield, opened in 1919, was a 'private primary school which was very successful in preparing for the public schools and county and other secondary schools'.⁷⁶ In 1956 Halliford School, Shepperton, had nearly 250 boys from four and a half years, and in the early forms the 'curriculum was designed to fit them for the ten-plus examination of Middlesex or Surrey'. This was an example of the many schools in the county which continued the old tradition of combining primary and secondary education, for its older pupils were prepared for the Ordinary and Advanced Level examinations. Here pupils had to satisfy the clerical headmaster that they were 'capable of benefitting from the grammar school course offered',⁷⁷ but many such schools met the needs of children who failed to get a grammar-school place in the county tests, or were unable to pass the Common Entrance examination. Linton House, Kensington, established in 1877 strictly as a preparatory school, found it necessary in 1922 to open a school 'to provide sound education on modern lines' to boys between fourteen and eighteen 'who do not proceed to Public Schools'. The curriculum prepared for the London Matriculation and a 'commercial or professional career'.⁷⁸ Winchmore Hill Collegiate School, founded in 1906, was, in the mid-20th century, still preparing for London Matriculation.⁷⁹ The private secondary school keeping some boys until eighteen was either a tougher institution than had been imagined or had been revived by new needs. Warwick House in Hampstead, founded in 1883, was in 1956 still preparing for the public schools, the General Certificate, and university entrance.⁸⁰ Buckingham College at Harrow was in 1956 a day school for boys between five and eighteen, preparing for the College of Preceptors as well as the General Certificate examinations. In 1962 the school was divided into senior and junior branches at the age of eleven.⁸¹

The county contained many private schools of all kinds for girls. Channing House at

⁷¹ Min. of Educ. *List* 70, 1949, 1958.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid. 1951, 1958; *Independent Schs. Year Bk.* (1962), 78.

⁷⁴ Min. of Educ. *List* 70, 1958.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 180.

⁷⁷ *Paton's List of Schools* (1956), 153; *Independent Schs. Year Bk.* (1962), p. xli.

⁷⁸ Prospectus in Local Hist. Colln. Kensington Pub. Libr. 33240.

⁷⁹ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 116.

⁸⁰ *Paton's List* (1956), 143.

⁸¹ Ibid. 137; *Indep. Schs. Year Bk.* (1962), 85-86.

Highgate took day girls at five, boarders at nine, and gave an expensive education of a public school type.⁸² Northwood College was another rather less expensive boarding and day school with 250 girls between eleven and sixteen and 34 over sixteen in 1958.⁸³ St. Helen's School, in the same parish, was rather more expensive. It was recognized in 1918, and in 1958 had 563 girls, 154 of them boarders. It advertised its 'high bracing neighbourhood'.⁸⁴ The Mount at Hendon was an expensive all-age school of over 200 pupils which maintained an earlier tradition by advertising particular timetables and a situation 'on the heights . . . surrounded by fields . . . though only twenty minutes by car from town'.⁸⁵ Heathfield High School at Harrow had 410 day and boarding pupils in 1958.⁸⁶ There were also many preparatory Girls' schools on the pattern of St. Christopher's and Queen's House schools in Hampstead.⁸⁷ There was the same trend away from purely private ownership. The Queen's Gate School for girls in Kensington, an expensive junior, secondary, and finishing school, and the Palmer's Green High School in Southgate, with more moderate fees,⁸⁸ were examples of businesses which passed from the hands of private proprietors to limited companies.

Middlesex continued to provide for special local or sectional needs. From 1951 Hampstead Garden Suburb Institute had Ministry recognition for its Henrietta Barnett Junior School, with 350 boys and girls from nursery age to about eleven in 1958.⁸⁹ The Ministry recognized Jewish primary schools at Willesden in 1951⁹⁰ and in Hendon in 1955,⁹¹ and the Jewish Secondary Schools Movement opened the Hasmon-ean Grammar School for Boys at Hendon in 1950 and, rather later, a similar school for girls.⁹² There were numerous Roman Catholic schools of all kinds. In Ealing alone in 1958 St. Benedict's School had nearly 700 boys of secondary age, St. Anne's Convent School nearly 500 girls of all ages, St. Augustine's Priory School 265 girls, and the Lourdes Mount Convent High School over 300 boys and girls.⁹³ Many pupils who were not Roman Catholics attended these schools. Being dependent on fees, the schools run by religious orders found it necessary to admit these children although there were not sufficient places for all Roman Catholic children of secondary age.⁹⁴ A school catering for a special community but also used by other children in the county was the Lycée Français de Londres, opened by the Institut Français in Kensington, recognized in 1920, and with over 1,700 pupils in 1958.⁹⁵

Surburban demand for supplementary secondary education by coaches and tutors and for further semi-vocational instruction continued unabated. The influx of overseas students brought a new demand. In 1956 Stafford House Tutorial College, Kensington, advertised 'short or long courses in English language and customs', as well as the more usual coaching, and St. Christopher's College, Regents Park, a year's course for overseas students with 'full collegiate life'. The cramming establishment in Lexham Gardens which had become Carlisle and Gregson (Jimmy's) Limited, prepared for all the usual examinations, and gave 'special English courses for overseas students'.⁹⁶ Secretarial training at such colleges as St. Godric's in Hampstead, with its 250 students and 'active social life', still contained an element of upper secondary education.⁹⁷ Twentieth-century schooling in Middlesex was still being influenced by centrifugal and centripetal forces similar to those at work when a genuinely secular process of secondary education began to emerge in the City suburbs during the 16th century.

⁸² *Paton's List* (1956), 286; *Min. of Educ. List* 70, 1949.

⁸³ *Min. of Educ. List* 70, 1949; 1958.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 1949; *Paton's List* (1956), 201.

⁸⁵ *Min. of Educ. List* 70, 1949; 1958; *Paton's List* (1956), 286.

⁸⁶ *Min. of Educ. List* 70, 1949; 1958.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 1949; 1951.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 1951.

⁹² *Ibid.* 1951; 1958.

⁹⁴ *Eng. Catholics*, ed. Beck, 360-1.

⁹⁵ *Min. of Educ. List* 70, 1949; 1958.

⁹⁶ *Paton's List* (1956), 365-70.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 438 sqq.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 1951; 1958.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 1955.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 1958.

SCHOOLS¹

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, FINCHLEY

IN 1857 the Revd. Thomas Reader White, Rector of Finchley, converted the Queen's Head Tavern, near St. Mary's church, into a school, opened as Finchley Hall School with three boys. By 1860 there were 150, all boarders, and a new building was erected opposite on the east side of Hendon Lane. After the first year or two White did little teaching, but appointed himself 'Warden'.² The first headmaster, the Revd. T. C. Whitehead (1866-73), believed in military discipline and constant supervision; the boys were known by numbers, were marched to and from meals with their band, and slept as many as 60 to a dormitory.³ The Revd. R. W. Gallop succeeded Whitehead as 'Headmaster and Chaplain' and became proprietor on the death of White in 1877. In 1895, when numbers were down to 65, mostly day boys, the school was bought by the father of the new headmaster, J. T. Phillipson, who aroused much opposition by changing from rugby to association football; one result was that the school had two independent Old Boy associations for half a century. By 1902 numbers had decreased to 50, but Phillipson nevertheless managed to get the school taken over by the Middlesex County Council on his own terms, with himself as headmaster, his existing staff, and Church of England services in the chapel. Numbers rose and by 1914 there were almost 250 boys. In 1927 there were 380 on the roll, new buildings were erected, and the chapel was demolished. Under the new headmaster, H. B. Pegrum, who succeeded Phillipson in 1929, the school continued to flourish, and by 1944 the number of boys exceeded 500.⁴ By January 1965 there were 582 pupils on the roll.⁵

COBORN SCHOOL

PRISCA COBORN or Cobourne (1622-1701), the widow of a Bow brewer, left property at Bow, Stratford, and Bocking (Essex) to maintain a school for not more than 50 poor children at Bow; the boys were to learn reading, writing, and accounts, and the girls reading, writing, and needlework. The master and his wife were to receive £50 a year and the balance was to be used for placing out the children. She left it to the discretion of her executors either to maintain a separate school or to add the Coborn revenues to those of the Jolles school, which was originally a grammar school but by 1711 was teaching only reading, writing, and arithmetic.⁶ The two

schools are shown separately on Gascoigne's map of Stepney (1703), Mrs. Coborn's free school being on the north side of the road between Bow church and Bow bridge. The schools appear to have been amalgamated later, but in 1809 the Coborn trustees, anticipating an increase in the revenues of the charity, applied to the Court of Chancery for leave to erect a new school and school-house. The new buildings, on a site to the west of Old Ford Road,⁷ were opened in 1813, but their cost considerably exceeded the estimate and the trustees had to seek parliamentary powers to sell part of the estate and to grant building leases.⁸ The resources of the foundation remained so strained that by 1819 the biannual gifts of shoes and stockings to the children had been discontinued, the payment of apprenticeship grants had been suspended, and it was proposed to reduce the salary of the master, Charles Champnes, Curate of St. Mary's, from £100 to £80, and that of his wife from £60 to £50. There were no boarders and no foundationers, but about 70 boys and 30 girls were taught in association with the National Society.⁹

By 1869 numbers had risen to 250 boys and 170 girls, but it was still organized as a National school. In 1873 a new scheme was prepared under the Endowed Schools Act to reorganize the school in order to give secondary education to 200 boys and 200 girls. The Bocking estate was sold and part of the proceeds used to purchase and extend a building in Tredegar Square known as Stepney Grammar School. The school did not prosper in its new surroundings, and by 1884 was in financial difficulties; two years later the girls' school was closed and the master's salary reduced, but as the decline continued the Charity Commission decided to strengthen the Coborn foundation by amalgamating it in 1891 with the Coopers' Company's schools under the name of the Stepney and Bow Foundation.¹⁰ The Coopers' Boys' School took over the Tredegar Square building, and the Coopers' Girls' School at 86 Bow Road was renamed Coborn School, moving to new buildings at 31-33 Bow Road in 1898. Miss Jessie Winifred Holland, headmistress 1903-10, married Sir William Foster, historian of the Coopers' Company and its schools, and was herself the authoress of a short history of Coborn School.¹¹ Miss M. G. Philpot, headmistress 1929-56, was awarded a C.B.E. for her services to education. In 1951 the school was granted voluntary aided status, and in 1963 there were over 540 girls on the roll. In 1963 there were plans to remove the school to a site in Essex.

¹ This section contains histories of some of the more important or educationally significant schools in Middlesex founded more than a century ago. Other schools have been or will be treated in other volumes of the *Middlesex History*. Schools which originated in the cities of London or Westminster, whether remaining there or not, are reserved for treatment in *V.C.H. London*. University College School is dealt with in the section on University College (see p. 357).

² *Centenary Book of Christ's College*, ed. A. T. Milne, 1-5.

³ *Ibid.* 6-10; H. W. Nevins, *Changes and Chances*, 20-24.

⁴ *Centenary Bk.*, ed. Milne, 11-34.

⁵ Ex inf. the headmaster.

⁶ P.C.C. 3 Hern. The school archives are to be found in Coopers' School.

⁷ A tablet erected in 1813 to the memory of the foundress was incorporated in a wall of Messrs. Bryant and May's match factory: *Brymay Mag.* Summer 1951.

⁸ Act for Incorporating the Trustees of Prisca Coborn's Charity, 56 Geo. III, c. 30 (priv. act): preamble includes summary of Chancery proceedings.

⁹ *2nd Rep. Com. Char.* H.C. 547, pp. 133-6, App. 297-300 (1819), x-B.

¹⁰ *Ret. Endowed Char. Lond.* H.C. 394, pp. 606-9 (1897), lxvi (2); see p. 293.

¹¹ Lady Winifred Foster, *Notes on Hist. of Coborn Sch.* to which the present writer is indebted.

THE COOPERS' COMPANY'S SCHOOL¹²

IN or before 1536¹³ Nicholas Gibson, Prime Warden of the Grocers' Company 1536–7 and Sheriff of London 1538–9, founded in Ratcliff Highway a school for boys¹⁴ and an almshouse for men and women. On his death in 1540 he left his whole estate to his widow, Avice, on condition that she endowed the foundation.¹⁵ Within a year Avice married Sir Anthony Knyvett (d. 1548 or 1549), a gentleman of the royal household,¹⁶ and in 1552 settled the property upon herself for life and thereafter in trust to the Coopers' Company for the purposes of the charity.¹⁷ Since the founder was a grocer it may appear surprising that Lady Knyvett preferred the Coopers as trustees. The only explanation for this choice that has been given is that the Coopers were her tenants in Ratcliff.¹⁸ Lady Knyvett directed that the schoolmaster should receive £10 salary and the usher £6 13s. 4d., both being accommodated in the building. The older boys were to be taught grammar, the little ones spelling and the like.¹⁹

Among early masters were Richard Reynolds (1561–2), a scholar who wrote on rhetoric and Roman history,²⁰ and Thomas Ward (1562–71), dismissed for his evil demeanour and lack of diligence,²¹ but remembered as the teacher of Lancelot Andrewes.²² John Turk (1594–1613), alleged to have been lazy, insubordinate, and lacking in grammar, good letters, and manners, was dismissed with a pension and accommodation in the almshouse. His unlicensed successor was inhibited by the Bishop of London, so Turk took the opportunity to resume the duties of schoolmaster. He was expelled; by appeal to the bishop he recovered his pension and rooms, but failed in his claim for payment as master. The Company's next nomination also failed to satisfy the bishop, but finally Samuel Wilson (1616–18) was appointed, although he resigned after only two years as master.²³ A more distinguished appointment was that of Edward Howes, the mathematician, as usher 1643–6.²⁴

In 1574 Henry Cloker, another grocer,²⁵ left to the Coopers' Company some London property, the proceeds of which were to be applied in part to the augmentation of the salaries of the schoolmaster and the usher;²⁶ with additional gratuities from the Company their salaries had risen to £23 6s. 8d. and £9 13s. 4d. by 1596, but for long after that date there

was no further change and the holders had to rely increasingly on fees from private pupils and other perquisites.²⁷ About 1590 the permanent association between the Coopers' Company and the charity was symbolized by the removal of the arms of the Grocers' Company from the outer wall of the school-house and the substitution of those of the Coopers, an action deplored by Stow.²⁸ In 1654 it was decided that in future the thirty free scholars were to be chosen not by the schoolmaster but by the Company, and that admission fees were not to exceed 18d. Since it was claimed that the founder had intended that instruction should be limited to Latin, reasonable fees (fixed in 1674 at 12s.) might be demanded for teaching writing and arithmetic. Additional private pupils might be taken and the usher was permitted to continue the practice of teaching girls and 'incidental' scholars after school hours.²⁹ William Speed (1663–72), author of *Juvenilia Epigrammata* (1669),³⁰ pointed out that, as he was not in orders, it was necessary to hire a clerk to read prayers; for this purpose he was allowed £3 by the Company, but he was alleged to have made a profit of 10s. on the transaction.³¹ A pupil of this period was John Lewis (born 1675), later to become the author of theological, biographical, and topographical works.³²

In 1694 it was decided to rebuild the original almshouse, and in 1698 repairs and alterations were made to the school.³³ The Company threatened that if the parents of boys breaking windows did not make prompt restitution, the cost of replacement would be borne by the schoolmaster, Alexander Jephson (1689–1700). Perhaps on this account Jephson moved to Camberwell, taking with him, it is said, some of his Ratcliff pupils.³⁴ Strype gave a favourable account of the school; thirty foundationers, besides other children who resorted to the school for good learning, annually entertained the Stepney parishioners with speeches and verses in Latin and Greek, but they lacked exhibitions to take them to the university. There is no other reference to the teaching of Greek, and Strype exaggerated the salary of the schoolmaster, stating in one place that it was £30 and in another £36.³⁵ A pupil of the period was Charles Smith (1713–77), who later wrote tracts on the corn trade which were highly praised by Adam Smith.³⁶ In 1730, for unexplained reasons, it was resolved to restrict the office of schoolmaster to laymen, to demand of the successful candidate a

¹² This account is based largely on Sir W. Foster, *Nicholas Gibson and his Free School at Ratcliff* (reprinted from *Lond. Topog. Record*, xvii), and *The Ratcliff Charity 1536–1936*. Mr. C. J. Hodge, a master at the school, has kindly helped in its compilation. The archives of the Coopers' Company, which are extensive, contain many references to the school; they are to be found in Guildhall, London.

¹³ The date of foundation has often been assumed to be 1538, see, for example, memorial erected in Stepney church by the Old Boys' Association. This is probably taken from J. Stow, *Chronicles of Eng.* (1580), 1014. The date 1536 comes from Stepney court rolls, Guildhall MS. 7549, f. 7.

¹⁴ Foster states that the number of free scholars was to be limited to thirty (Foster, *Nicholas Gibson*, 15), but although this limit was adopted by the Company the present writer can find no authority for it. Stow, *Chronicles*, 1014, speaks of a school for 'threescore poor men's children'.

¹⁵ P.C.C. 12 Alenger (Nicholas Gibson).

¹⁶ Foster, *Nicholas Gibson*, 17. Portraits of Sir Anthony and Lady Knyvett hang in the school hall and are reproduced in Foster, op. cit.

¹⁷ Guildhall MS. 7549, ff. 13 sqq.

¹⁸ Foster, *Nicholas Gibson*, 19.

¹⁹ Guildhall MS. 5633, ff. 11 sqq.

²⁰ Guildhall MS. 5602/1, f. 21.

²¹ *D.N.B.*

²² *D.N.B.*

²³ Guildhall MS. 5602/2, ff. 123v, 131, 137v, 138, 139, 157, 158v, 159, 161, 177v.

²⁴ *D.N.B.*

²⁵ Sir W. Foster, *Hist. Coopers' Company*, 117.

²⁶ Guildhall MS. 7549, ff. 288 sqq.

²⁷ Foster, *Ratcliff Char.* 10.

²⁸ Stow, *Survey*, i. 116.

²⁹ Guildhall MS. 5502/5, ff. 20–20v, 178v, 180, 282.

³⁰ *Ibid.* f. 118v.

³¹ *Ibid.* f. 74v; Foster, *Ratcliff Char.* 16. Speed became head of Oundle (*Cooperian*, x. 235).

³² *D.N.B.*

³³ Guildhall MS. 5602/6, f. 569v; 5602/7, ff. 39–41v.

³⁴ *Ibid.* 5602/7, f. 42v; a glazier's bill for £6 10s. was paid, *ibid.* f. 45; D. A. Allport, *Hist. Wilson's Grammar Sch.* 63, 205.

³⁵ J. Stow, *Survey of Lond.* ed. J. Strype, i. 170–1; ii. 217.

³⁶ *D.N.B.*

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security of £200 against his taking orders, and to make the appointment subject to annual election like those of the Company's other officers.³⁷

In 1748, after complaints of irregularities in the management of the school, it was agreed to raise the salary of the schoolmaster to £60 on condition that he provided books, slates, and all other necessities for teaching, to maintain the limit of thirty free scholars, to recognize the master's right to take boarders and private pupils, and to continue the existing arrangements for the usher and for reading prayers.³⁸ An inventory made at the time lists seats and desks for only 19 pupils and no books other than a Bible and a prayer book.³⁹ In 1786 the schoolhouse was rebuilt, but together with the almshouse and many other buildings it was destroyed in the disastrous Ratcliff fire of 1794. The erection of new buildings was completed by the end of 1796 and the school reopened.⁴⁰

In 1818 the Charity Commissioners found that the whole income of the charity was £595 and expenditure £562, of which about a quarter went to the school; the income would have been greater but for the imprudent conditions of a lease of some of the Ratcliff property granted to the East India Company in 1770. Since 1813 the schoolmaster's salary had been fixed at 70 guineas with unfurnished accommodation and coals. No usher had been appointed for many years. There were 30 boys on the foundation and 8 or 10 private pupils who paid 8d. a week for reading and writing and 2d. extra for ciphering; these private pupils were generally elected to vacancies on the foundation as they occurred. Instruction was limited to the rudiments, the catechism, and a little history; no classical literature was taught. The pupils, at that time all sons of the working poor, were admitted at the age of seven and could stay until they were fourteen if their parents could spare them.⁴¹

During the 1820's the Company's interest in the school seems to have increased considerably. A separate minute book was kept, vacancies were ordered to be notified to the Clerk and advertised on the church door, and notice boards were erected. Expenditure amounting to £19 in 1829 and £21 in 1831 was incurred on quills, ink, copy books, slate pencils, catechisms, spellers, and the like. It was agreed to enlarge the school to accommodate 20 more boys, to set aside £150 to meet the cost of repairs, alterations, and extensions, and to erect a memorial tablet to the founder and his wife.⁴² A committee appointed to inquire into the various documents relating to the charity reported with regret that the income from a property in Fenchurch Street, purchased with the proceeds of a bequest and let at that time at £163 a year, had since 1560 been credited to the Company and not to the charity.⁴³ In 1825 Edward Burrow was appointed schoolmaster; two years later his petition for a salary increase was

ordered to lie upon the table, although a committee appointed soon after to inquire into the duties of the schoolmaster and the chaplain found fault only with the latter. Nevertheless, a later proposal to dismiss Burrow for improper conduct was defeated only by the casting vote of the Master of the Company.⁴⁴ For many years the schoolmaster seems to have acted as unofficial warden of the almshouse, being expected even to eject inmates on orders from the Company; these duties were recognized by a reference in the minutes to the schoolmaster as 'governor of the almshouse', but despite this his repeated petitions for an increase in salary were rejected.⁴⁵ During the 1840's petitions from the local inhabitants complained that the school was inefficient and no longer fulfilled its original purpose, but attempts to dismiss Burrow failed.⁴⁶ A revised curriculum was drawn up with the assistance of the headmaster of Mercers' School⁴⁷ and funds became available to put it into effect; the revenue of the school, it was estimated, would increase from £538 in 1847-8 to £810 in 1853-4, partly as a result of the satisfactory conclusion of a long lawsuit with the East India Company. Burrow, now nearly 70, professed himself too old to adopt new methods, but was prepared to retire on a pension not less than his salary. His illness in the spring of 1848 had the effect of reducing the number of pupils in the school to five, whereupon the Company pensioned off Burrow on his own terms and accepted the offer of Henry Hart, proprietor of a finishing academy in Stepney Causeway, to undertake the management of both the Ratcliff school and his own.⁴⁸

The school was re-opened in July 1848 by J. B. Firth, the Master of the Company, who had taken a keen interest in the reorganization.⁴⁹ To the sons of 'respectable persons' it offered the elements of education, with book-keeping, English grammar, geography, and composition; no pupil was to be admitted who could not already read. The Company was to supply stationery, but parents were to purchase textbooks and to pay a fee of 5s. a quarter.⁵⁰ There was a rush of applicants and even before the official opening Hart had agreed to close his own school and become master of the Coopers' School at a salary of £180, from which he was to pay an usher. At Firth's suggestion, French and Latin were added to the curriculum.⁵¹

In 1854 the schoolroom was enlarged to take 175 pupils, the headmaster's salary was raised to £250 without house, and the staff increased to three. It was agreed to invest any surplus until £5,000 had accumulated, when a new school was to be built; the committee recommending this proposal expressed the hope that it might prevent the Charity Commissioners from inquiring too closely into the past administration of the charity.⁵² In the event the report of the Taunton Commission was almost uniformly favourable. A staff of four masters, a

³⁷ Guildhall MS. 5602/8, f. 256v.

³⁸ Ibid. 5602/9, f. 124v.

³⁹ Ibid. f. 127v.

⁴⁰ Ibid. ff. 158v, 294v, 334.

⁴¹ *1st Rep. Com. Char.* H.C. 83, pp. 185-7, App. 297-303 (1819), x-A.

⁴² Guildhall MS. 5604, 1 Jan. 1825, 3 Mar. 1825, 7 Mar. 1826, 6 Apr. 1830, 22 Mar. 1832; tablet at Tredegar Square.

⁴³ Ibid. 3 Jan., 7 Mar. 1826.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 7 June 1825, 3 July 1827, 5 Feb. 1828, 6 Nov. 1832.

⁴⁵ e.g. *ibid.* 7 Oct. 1828, 3 July 1834, 2 Dec. 1828, 5 June 1832.

⁴⁶ Ibid. 25 Sept. 1839, 1, 22 June 1841; *ibid.* 5602/14, ff. 154, 260, 270; 5602/15, f. 5.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 5602/15, ff. 5v, 54.

⁴⁸ Ibid. ff. 5, 35, 100v.

⁴⁹ Foster, *Hist. Coopers' Company*, 118.

⁵⁰ Guildhall MS. 5602/15, ff. 102v-104.

⁵¹ Ibid. ff. 113, 133.

⁵² Ibid. 5602/16, ff. 162-4, 170-6, 182-4, 186.

visiting French master, and a drill sergeant taught 196 boys. The instruction was sound and suitable, but the premises were unsatisfactory, boys were still admitted with inadequate grounding, and few stayed beyond the age of fourteen.⁵³ In 1869–70 new buildings were provided for an upper school of 200 boys, all of whom should have reached the equivalent of Standard VI of the Revised Code; the old school was made a preparatory department for 100 boys.⁵⁴ Having re-established the school on a firm foundation Hart resigned in 1877 and was succeeded by Henry Pinder.⁵⁵

In the late 1870's the Company began to apply some of the trust income to the education of girls, and on 1 July 1878 the Coopers' Company Girls' School was opened in rented premises at 141 Mile End Road.⁵⁶ So successful was Miss Chell, the headmistress, that in 1880 the school moved to larger premises at 86 Bow Road. All went well until 1886 when the Charity Commissioners demanded by what authority the girls' school had been founded. Although the expenditure had been included annually in the accounts submitted to the Commission, it appeared that these were never studied and only the failure of the Coborn Girls' School brought the existence of the Coopers' Company Girls' School to the notice of the Commissioners.⁵⁷ Towards the end of 1887 the Coborn governors wrote to the Coopers' Company suggesting that the two charities might merge.⁵⁸ The suggestion was rejected at the time, but under strong pressure from the Charity Commission the Coopers' Company reluctantly agreed to the amalgamation.⁵⁹ The scheme provided for the administration of both schools by a new body, the Stepney and Bow Foundation, of which half the governors were to be nominated by the Company and half by the local and educational authorities. The Ratcliff buildings were vacated and the boys moved into the former Coborn building at Tredegar Square; Henry Pinder, now ordained, continued as headmaster, with the former headmaster of the Coborn school as his chief assistant. The girls' school remained at 86 Bow Road with Miss Chell as headmistress, but was renamed Coborn School.⁶⁰ The association of over 400 years between Ratcliff and the Coopers' Company's School was still in 1963 commemorated in the names of Schoolhouse Lane and of the Nicholas Gibson L.C.C. Primary School.

S. Elford, headmaster from 1903 until his death in 1929, convinced the governors of the need to rebuild the school, a task carried out, despite financial difficulties, in 1908–9. In 1921 a higher scale of fees was introduced for out-county pupils, and as a result very few new boys came from Essex and the roll fell from almost 600 to 390 in 1927. Soon after the appointment of A. J. White, headmaster 1929–53, agreement was reached between the county councils and numbers rose to about 540 where, apart from the war years, they have remained.

⁵³ *Schs. Enquiry Com.*, [3966 XI] H.C., pp. 73–75 (1867–8), xxviii (10).

⁵⁴ Guildhall MS. 5602/18, ff. 112, 176, 195–6, 206–10.

⁵⁵ Ibid. 5602/19, ff. 446, 475.

⁵⁶ Ibid. ff. 509, 571, 621.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 5602/21, ff. 355, 406.

⁵⁸ Ibid. f. 520.

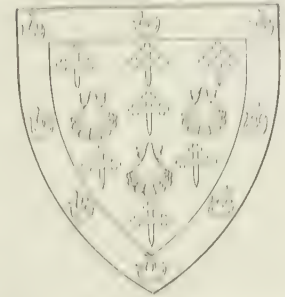
⁵⁹ Foster, *Hist. Coopers' Company*, 118.

⁶⁰ Com. Char. No. 664 (E.S. no. 954), approved 30 July 1891; cf. p. 290.

In 1954, when Mr. A. G. Standing succeeded White as headmaster, the school accepted voluntary aided status. The links with the Company remain strong; a senior boy is generally apprenticed each year to the Master of the Company, members of the livery are governors, more than forty old boys of the school are liverymen of the Company, and the Company continues to administer that part of the Foundation income derived from the original Ratcliff Charity. In 1963 there were plans to remove the school to a site in Essex.

DAVENANT FOUNDATION GRAMMAR SCHOOL

THE Davenant Foundation Grammar School was founded and endowed in 1680 by Ralph Davenant, Rector of St. Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel, Mary his wife, and Sarah his sister-in-law.⁶¹ Ralph and Mary Davenant declared their intention of maintaining a schoolmaster to give free instruction to forty poor boys of the parish in reading, writing, ciphering, and the principles of the Church of England. In the same document Henry and Sarah Gullifer undertook to provide for the education of thirty poor girls; a schoolmistress was to teach them the catechism, reading, knitting, plain sewing, and any other useful work.



DAVENANT FOUNDATION SCHOOL. *Gules three escallops between seven crosses crosslet fitchy three one two and one argent within a border argent charged with eight lions of flame proper* [Granted 1962]

Davenant died before buildings could be erected, but in March 1686 a licence was obtained from the Bishop of London to build the school on a detached part of the burial ground of St. Mary's about a quarter of a mile east of the church.⁶² In 1701 an unknown benefactor gave the foundation £1,000, expressing the wish that the children might be clothed as well as educated.⁶³

During the 18th century the school, which enjoyed an income of over £500 a year, appears to have accepted children at the age of eight, educated and clothed them to the age of fourteen, and then apprenticed them to masters or mistresses who were of good character, Anglicans, and in useful trades.⁶⁴ Between 1783 and 1830 the school received a score of gifts totalling over £5,000. Of these the most munificent was the sum of £1,000 from Luke Flood, a former treasurer of the trustees, the interest on which was to be distributed annually among such old boys as were able to furnish proof that they had completed their apprenticeships satisfactorily and attended divine worship regularly.⁶⁵

⁶¹ *32nd Rep. Com. Char.* (pt. 2), H.C. 140, pp. 551–2 (1837–8), xxvi.

⁶² *Ret. Endowed Char. Lond.* H.C. 394, p. 767 (1897), lxvi (2).

⁶³ Stow, *Survey of Lond.* ed. Strype, ii. 46–47.

⁶⁴ Cutting (c. 1819) in Stepney Pub. Libr., source of information stated to be Revd. Daniell Mathias, then rector of the parish.

⁶⁵ Ibid.; *32nd Rep. Com. Char.* (pt. 2), p. 556.

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In 1806 Bell's monitorial system was introduced with the help of Bell himself, who visited the school daily in the September of that year. Bell chose a dozen of the best and cleanest boys and appointed them monitors, two to a class; the best of all was made usher. Another boy was sent from the Sunday school at Swanage (Dors.), where Bell lived, to assist.⁶⁶ The results drew enthusiastic comments from the trustees and led a number of clergy and educationalists to visit the school.⁶⁷ Among the latter was Mrs. Trimmer, who declared herself pleased, but added that the noise was greater than she had expected.⁶⁸ In 1813 a Whitechapel branch of the National Society was formed and opened schools in St. Mary Street⁶⁹ immediately to the west of the existing school. These later became known as the Davenant schools, while Davenant's original foundation took the name of Whitechapel Foundation School.

The introduction of Bell's system led to an increase in numbers from 60 to 100 boys and from 40 to 100 girls.⁷⁰ To accommodate this increase a new building for the Foundation School was erected in Whitechapel Road in 1818, the cost being partly met from gifts of £500 from a coachbuilder called Lewis and £300 from Samuel Hawkins.⁷¹ Annual expenditure fell from £690 in 1816 to about £600 in 1836. In each year clothing was the biggest item (£310, £281). Salaries accounted for about £140, shared in 1816 between a master (£100), and a matron (£38), and in 1836 between a master and his assistant (£100) and the assistant's wife (£40). In 1836 the sum of £44 was spent on apprenticeship fees for 12 children, and £25 was raised by the sale of the children's work, including stockings knitted by the boys.⁷²

In the 1850s, through the efforts of Canon William Weldon Champneys, Rector of Whitechapel, and other trustees, various charities were amalgamated to form the Whitechapel Foundation Commercial School. Buildings were erected in Leman Street, and the school opened in 1858 with 50 boys, soon increased to 200. The curriculum included the principles of Christianity, Latin, French, German, and such other languages and sciences as might be considered expedient, and the fee was £3 a year.⁷³ In 1888 the Commercial School and the boys' department of the Foundation School were amalgamated; the combined school was carried on temporarily in the cramped Leman Street premises, and the Whitechapel Road building was converted to provide a chemical laboratory and workshops. Elementary schools for boys, girls, and

infants were continued in the Whitechapel Society's building in St. Mary Street.⁷⁴

In 1896 the Leman Street premises were closed on the completion of a new hall and classrooms behind the Whitechapel Road school; further extensions were made in 1909.⁷⁵ In 1928 the name of Davenant was restored shortly before the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the foundation. The school was granted voluntary aided status in 1953. Because of the decreasing child population of the area it was decided to move into Essex. In 1963 the building of a new school at Loughton was begun,⁷⁶ and the school was scheduled to move in September 1965.

ENFIELD GRAMMAR SCHOOL

THE origins of Enfield Grammar School are confused and obscure. The accepted date for its foundation is 25 May 1558⁷⁷ and from this time onwards it has a continuous history, but it inherited part of a charity called Poynetts, originally established at South Benfleet (Essex) by the will of Robert Blossom (d. 1418). This property became the endowment of a chantry at Enfield in 1471. On the dissolution of the chantries in 1547 the property passed to the Crown, but the Court of Augmentations declared the King's title doubtful and in 1550 the property was restored.⁷⁸ Three years later Queen Mary relinquished all claims and in 1558 an attempt was made to endow a school with the Poynetts estate. One of the proposed trustees died before the deed could be executed; unfortunately for the school a second deed granted only £6 13s. 4d. (the salary of the former chantry priest) for the school, while the residue was to be used for the relief of the poor. The schoolmaster was to teach the children of the poor of Enfield Latin and English 'according to the trade and use of grammar schools'.⁷⁹ In 1586 William Garrett left £50 to build a school-house, and this money was probably used to erect the Tudor school which was still in use in 1963.⁸⁰

The first known headmaster was William Bradshawe, who either died or left in 1600, since Thomas Taylor received 14s. to serve out Bradshawe's time and was then himself appointed master. Taylor was succeeded by Richard Ward (1606-47).⁸¹ In 1615 James I attempted to reclaim Poynetts and actually sold the rents, but four years later they were bought back for £100 by the parish. In 1621 a new trust deed was drawn up; the master was to receive £20 a year and was to teach the children of the inhabitants of Enfield the cross-row or alphabetical letters,

⁶⁶ R. Southey, *Life of Andrew Bell*, ii. 164-9.

⁶⁷ J. B. E. (J. B. Evans, headmaster 1934-42) and R. R. (R. Reynolds, headmaster 1944-54), *Davenant Foundation Sch.* (priv. printed), 11. In 1958 Mr. Reynolds (then clerk to the governors) was kind enough to answer a number of the present writer's questions.

⁶⁸ Southey, *Bell*, 170-5.

⁶⁹ Renamed Davenant Street.

⁷⁰ *Rep. Sel. Cttee. on Educ. of Lower Orders in Metrop.* H.C. 498, p. 50 (1816), iv.

⁷¹ *32nd Rep. Com. Char.* (pt. 2), p. 555; cutting (c. 1819) in Stepney Pub. Libr. Still standing in 1963 as 179 Whitechapel Road; claims that this is the 1686 building extensively altered are not supported by the architectural evidence.

⁷² *32nd Rep. Com. Char.* (pt. 2), pp. 558-9.

⁷³ *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966-VI] H.C., pp. 460-4 (1867-8);

Ret. Endowed Char. Lond. (1897), p. 759; *D.N.B.* x. 36.

⁷⁴ They were not reopened after the Second World War (*Lond. Schs. Plan 1947*, p. 109). Buildings briefly described in Pevsner, *Lond.* ii. 426 as 'the former Davenant School'. *Ret. Endowed Char. Lond.* (1897), pp. 770-1, 778-80.

⁷⁵ *Ret. Endowed Char. Lond.* (1897) pp. 778-9; Evans and Reynolds, *Davenant*, 16.

⁷⁶ *West Essex Gazette*, 22 Nov., 20 Dec. 1963.

⁷⁷ L. Birkett Marshall, *Brief Hist. Enfield Grammar Sch.* 1558-1958, 15.

⁷⁸ W. Robinson, *Hist. and Antiquities of Enfield*, ii. 165.

⁷⁹ J. Tuff, *Notices of Enfield*, 131-2. Dr. Marshall points out that there was a schoolmaster at Enfield in 1524: see account of funeral of Sir Thomas Lovell in *L. & P. Hen. VIII*, iv (1), p. 152.

⁸⁰ Robinson, *Enfield*, 180; building described in *Hist. Mon. Com. Mdx.* 23.

⁸¹ Robinson, *Enfield*, 188.

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writing, grammar, and arithmetic;⁸² Prouns' house, adjacent to the school, which had been purchased by the parish in 1516, became the master's house, but the use of the chamber and garret over the school was reserved to the trustees and vestry.⁸³

Dr. Robert Uvedale, the botanist, was master from 1664 to 1676. He established a private school in the manor-house, and was accused by the parishioners of neglecting the grammar school; although he won his case he decided to resign and devote his time to his private pupils and his botanical studies. The school has adopted the Uvedale coat of arms and motto, and possesses part of his Hebrew testament, including the flyleaf on which he recorded the birth-dates of his children.⁸⁴

The Revd. John Allen (1732-61) was so successful that the school was extended. The vestry gave up the upper part of the school-house, which was then fitted up for boarders, and a new master's house was added to the building.⁸⁵

The Revd. Samuel Hardy (1762-91) was an author and theologian.⁸⁶ During his mastership Thomas Liley, the parish clerk was appointed usher, the first whose name is recorded. He was the 'ingenious schoolmaster' who in 1779 established the dimensions of a cedar tree planted by Uvedale and for many years a local landmark.⁸⁷ During this period the school suffered financially, for between 1773 and 1795 the timber on the Poynetts estate was sold for £1,849 and the proceeds applied to the relief of the poor—a proceeding which reduced the parish rate but did nothing for the school.⁸⁸

The next master, the Revd. John Milne (1791-1831), was successful during the first half of his long headmastership. There were about 110 boys, aged 7 to 14, all the sons of parishioners both rich and poor alike. They were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; geography, mathematics, and classics were available for those willing and able to profit from their study. The parents provided the books and stationery, but there were no fees, although some parents whose boys benefited from the higher education made gifts to the master. The latter did not take private pupils, but he occasionally coached university entrants. In 1818 Milne was first asked to resign and then dismissed on account of his severity to the boys. He contested the dismissal and claimed a further increase in his salary which then stood at £100.⁸⁹ He was at length successful and in 1825 a new scheme was drawn up for the government of the school. The master was to receive a salary of £120 a year, but if the number of boys fell below 60 his salary was to be cut by one-third. The master, with the assent of the trustees, might appoint an usher at a salary of £50 a year, but the usher was to be dismissed if the numbers fell below 60. There were to be three hours of teaching each morning and afternoon; instruction was to be given in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the master and boys were to attend church on Sundays and prayer days. The trustees seem to have been smarting from their

defeat, for they pointedly demanded Milne's strict compliance with the provisions regarding hours of attendance and holidays.⁹⁰

Relations with the next master, James Emery (1831-46), were also unhappy, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to eject him for neglect of duty. He was eventually bought out by his successor, Charles Chambers (1847-74). In 1858 the trustees fell out with Chambers and attempted to dismiss him, an action which had the support of the Charity Commission.⁹¹ Chambers refused to go and the trustees appointed another master. This course was opposed by the Vicar of Enfield, J. M. Heath, who thought that further litigation would be both costly and unsuccessful; he added that being bankrupt did not make a man a worse schoolmaster. Chambers won his case and the school had to meet a further heavy bill for costs. Since 1819 the charity had spent in all £2,838 on litigation at a time when its normal expenses were £230 a year.

The uncertainty and expense occasioned by the lawsuits naturally affected the school adversely, while rival National and private schools all benefited. This was confirmed by the Schools Enquiry inspection in 1865. There were then 75 boys who were taught the elementary subjects and history, grammar, and geography. There was no Latin, French, or drawing, nor were there examinations or prizes; the books were antiquated, the school was badly organized, and the buildings were unsatisfactory. Chambers kept an entirely separate private school of 17 boarders and 5 day boys and was therefore unlikely to be able to give proper attention to the grammar school.⁹²

In 1872 a parish meeting was held to discuss the future of the school and it was decided to apply to the Endowed School Commissioners for a new scheme. This permitted the sale of the Poynetts estate and the introduction of school fees. A pension was to be provided for Chambers, who eventually retired in 1874. Despite his differences with the governors he appears to have retained the affections of his former pupils, who presented him with a silver salver at a dinner held in his honour.⁹³ The estate was sold for £6,000, debts were paid off, and in January 1876 the school reopened with 11 boys under the headmastership of W. G. Macdonald. The curriculum included mathematics, history, geography, French, natural science, and vocal music, for a fee of £6 a year; Latin, German, and drawing were extras at £1 a year for each subject.

Macdonald stayed for only a year and was succeeded by W. S. Ridewood, who remained headmaster until 1909. During this period numbers increased to 159 and several extensions were made to the school buildings. The first of these was a headmaster's house, the gift of Edward Ford, one of the governors. In 1894 the South Block was erected with the aid of a grant from the Middlesex County Council, and six years later the 18th-century Assembly Rooms were purchased; these additions

⁸² Ibid. 168-9.

⁸³ Tuff, *Enfield*, 119; E. Ford and G. H. Hodson, *Hist. Enfield* (priv. printed 1873), 319.

⁸⁴ D.N.B.; Lysons, *Environs of Lond.* ii. 285; Marshall, *Enfield G.S.* 27, 52.

⁸⁵ Ford and Hodson, *Hist. Enfield*, 317.

⁸⁶ *Gent. Mag.* 1793, lxiii (2), 1156; *ibid.* 1794, lxiv (1), 275.

⁸⁷ Ibid. 1779, xlix (1), 138-9; *ibid.* 1814, lxxiv (2), 206.

⁸⁸ 2nd Rep. Com. Char. H.C. 547, p. 85 (1819), x-B.

⁸⁹ Ibid. pp. 83-85, App. 266; 9th Rep. Com. Char. H.C. 258, p. 188 (1823), ix.

⁹⁰ Tuff, *Enfield*, 134-5; Marshall, *Enfield G.S.* 33.

⁹¹ Tuff, *Enfield*, 140, 229.

⁹² *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966-XI] H.C., pp. 23-26 (1867-8), xxviii (10); Marshall, *Enfield G.S.* 30, 34-35.

⁹³ Ford and Hodson, *Hist. Enfield*, 325; Marshall, *Enfield G.S.* 36.

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provided laboratories, a library, a staff room, and several classrooms.

In 1908 the school passed under the control of the County Council and in the following year E. M. Eagles became headmaster. The school continued to grow and in 1909 a new hall and three more classrooms were erected. In 1924 the balance of the money derived from the sale of the Poynetts estate was used to purchase Enfield Court; the house accommodated the junior forms and the grounds became playing fields.

L. C. Soar was appointed headmaster in 1934. In 1938 a new hall was begun and other additions included a new library, classrooms, and laboratories. These extensions involved the demolition of the old Assembly Rooms. Under the 1944 Education Act the school became a voluntary controlled school.⁹⁴ In 1964, when there were 778 pupils, Mr. Soar retired and was succeeded by Dr. L. Whitworth.

HABERDASHERS' ASKE'S SCHOOLS

IN 1689 Robert Aske left £20,000 and the residue of his estate, about another £10,000, to the Haberdashers' Company to build a hospital or almshouse for twenty poor men of the Company and to maintain, clothe, and educate twenty sons of poor freemen. In 1690 the charity was incorporated by Act of Parliament and the money invested in 21 acres in Hoxton and 1,500 acres in Kent, yielding in 1696 an annual income of £765.⁹⁵ The hospital, designed by Robert Hooke, the natural philosopher, was erected on a site between Pitfield Street and Charles Square in Hoxton and opened in 1695; it had a colonnade 340 feet long, with the chapel and school in the middle.⁹⁶ The Revd. Thomas Wright, the first chaplain, was master of Bunhill School (Finsbury) and consequently unable to teach Aske's boys; therefore in 1697 John Pridie was appointed chaplain and was to teach English, the catechism, and the rudiments of grammar, at a salary of £40 with house and board. The children were to be admitted between the ages of nine and twelve and were to leave at fifteen; to ensure their withdrawal security was to be taken from the parents or friends of each child. Six months later Pridie received permission to take private pupils, which enabled him to engage an assistant at no cost to the governors.⁹⁷

In 1701 new statutes were drawn up which excluded brothers and deformed or diseased children, enforced the wearing of caps and gowns, required the dismissal of any boy lucky enough to receive a legacy of £100 or more, and provided for the appointment of an assistant to teach writing and arithmetic.⁹⁸ By 1714, however, the charity had run into financial difficulties, and the writing master was dismissed and the number of pupils reduced to eight. In 1733 school equipment seemed to consist only of half a dozen books, a master's desk, and two desks and

forms for the boys.⁹⁹ In 1738 the Court of Assistants decided that the circumstances of the Company justified the restoration of the school, and the vacant places were advertised; one candidate was later rejected for inability to read. Shortly after, the wearing of caps and gowns was abolished, and Latin was removed from the curriculum.¹ Two years later Mr. Dove, the writing master, was found to be teaching his own pupils with those of the foundation and was ordered to desist; soon after this he was reported to have supplemented his salary of £30 by accepting a place in the Victualling Office, and was accordingly dismissed. His successor advertised his official house to let immediately after his appointment, which was therefore cancelled. Finally in September 1741 George Purdy was appointed at a salary of £15 and meals with the almsmen; he was to be supervised by the chaplain and was to teach no other children without permission. He must have given reasonable satisfaction, for he was re-elected annually until his death in 1760, but even so he got into trouble for occupying the wrong apartments, and his son, for reasons not stated, was forbidden to enter the hospital on any account whatsoever.²

Edward Rayne, the next schoolmaster, was not allowed to take boarders, although Purdy had apparently done so, but he was permitted to take up to twenty day pupils. In 1763, by reason of the great improvement of the children in learning and behaviour and by reason of his own exemplary conduct, his salary was raised to £20, his coal allowance was doubled to a whole cauldron, and his candle allowance increased from 39 to 52 a year; but two years later he was ordered to hand over his key to the outer gate to the chaplain every evening, and by 1766 he was judged incapable of performing his duties.³ His successor, Christopher Podd, received a five-guinea gratuity for the behaviour of the boys nearly every year until 1776, although he himself was reprimanded for 'keeping bad hours', and was also informed that he would have to pay for broken windows himself unless he found the culprits.⁴ Thomas Gatherwood, master from 1777 to 1787, was followed by Nathaniel Gatherwood, who resigned in 1794.⁵ In 1778 it was ordered that eleven boys' beds were to be cleaned of bugs at a cost not exceeding 30s. and that an additional 5s. was to be allowed for the nurse's bed; such disinfestation was to be repeated annually.⁶ William Webb, the next master, received gratuities of £20 in 1818 and 1819, and finally in 1820, after just over a quarter of a century's service at Aske's, he was appointed master of Haberdashers' Trotman's school in Bunhill Row. The schoolmaster's salary was still £15, compared with £50 for the chaplain, £16 for the matron, £12 for the nurse, and £8 each for two maidservants; clothing for 20 boys cost £120, books, slates, pens, and ink cost £12, and four committee dinners with wine £77.⁷ In 1818 the Charity Commissioners reported that the

⁹⁴ Marshall, *Enfield G.S.* 37-49.

⁹⁵ P.C.C. 13 Ent; *City of Lond. Livery Companies Com.* [C. 4073-1] H.C., p. 462 (1884), xxxix (2); *2nd Rep. Com. Char.* H.C. 547, p. 129 (1819), x-B; Aske's Charity Act, 2 Wm. & Mary, sess 2, c. 22 (priv. Act).

⁹⁶ L.C.C. *Survey of Lond.* viii. 141.

⁹⁷ Court Minutes, iii, ff. 463-4, 467, 478, 482. Names given of first entrants 3 Nov. 1697. Minute Bks., etc., are in archives of Haberdashers' Company.

⁹⁸ Aske's Statutes.

⁹⁹ Court Minutes, iv, f. 233; Hoxton Cttee. i, f. 126.

¹ Court Minutes, v, ff. 407, 413, 447-8; vi, f. 349; Hoxton Cttee. i, ff. 118, 120-1.

² Court Minutes, v, ff. 413, 444; Hoxton Cttee. i, ff. 132, 134, 140, 154.

³ Court Minutes, vi, ff. 351, 446; Hoxton Cttee. ii, ff. 44, 57, 65.

⁴ Hoxton Cttee. ii, ff. 76, 82, 85, 97, 110, 127, 138, 148, 168.

⁵ Court Minutes, viii, ff. 18, 382; ix, f. 187.

⁶ Hoxton Cttee. ii, f. 183.

⁷ Court Minutes, ix, f. 187; x, ff. 586, 651; xi, ff. 10-11; Hoxton Cttee. iii, ff. 324, 330-1, 335.

buildings were too large for the endowment, were in bad repair, and had never been completed; through errors in book-keeping the charity appeared to be £7,000 in debt to the Company, but actually there should have been a credit balance of £900. The twenty foundationers were all sons of freemen and were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism.⁸

In 1825 new buildings designed by D. R. Roper were erected on the site of the original hospital. The schoolmaster, George Hamilton (1820–30), was himself a liveryman of the Company and had been educated at the school; his salary was increased to £52 and although he was forbidden to take private pupils he was allowed a further £25 in lieu. The stock of books was increased, regular examinations were conducted, and prizes provided. The moving spirit in this reformation was Benjamin Hawes, Master of the Company 1833–4, whose 'indefatigable exertions' were commemorated by an inscription at the new hospital.⁹ Hamilton, who earlier had incurred displeasure by contemplating matrimony, was apparently not regarded as equal to the increased responsibilities and dignities of his office and in 1830 he was not re-elected, although he received an annuity of £30 and a favourable testimonial to Farnham National School.¹⁰

In the early days of the foundation the chaplain had also been schoolmaster with a writing master to assist him, but by 1745 the chaplain had only to visit the school once a month to inquire into the conduct and behaviour of the master and the boys and the manner of their education.¹¹ In 1830 the chaplain was dismissed for scandalous conduct with a servant girl, the school was temporarily closed, and in the next month Hamilton was not re-elected schoolmaster. This enabled the Company early in 1831 to elect the Revd. J. L. Turner to the combined offices of chaplain and schoolmaster at a salary of £700, from which he had to provide an usher, domestic staff, books, stationery, food, and all necessities except clothing for the twenty foundationers, and also to keep the chaplain's house in repair. He was also responsible for the chapel services four or five times a week and for the conduct of the almsmen, and he had to find two sureties of £200. He was to take no private pupils or other preferment and he was to teach grammar, Latin, geography, mathematics, and accounts with the assistance of the usher for writing and arithmetic. A year later Turner produced accounts to show that he had spent £748; the committee was satisfied that the boys were much better educated and maintained than under the former system and raised his salary to £800 with liberty to take evening lecture-ships.¹²

During this period half-yearly examinations were conducted by the Revd. Thomas Grose, and mem-

bers of the Court regularly visited the hospital to inspect all matters connected with it. On one of these occasions Benjamin Hawes recorded his surprise and disquiet at the softness of the boys' beds, but he also pointed out the need for healthful out-of-school activities, possibly with prizes. Later it was also suggested that each boy should have a bed to himself.¹³ In the 1840's various complaints began to be made against Turner and in 1849 Dr. F. W. Mortimer, headmaster of the City of London School, commented unfavourably on some of the textbooks in use and doubted the wisdom of teaching Latin, for which he recommended the substitution of French. It appeared that in practice the boys were taught by the usher with occasional visits by the chaplain. By 1852 it was agreed that the management of the school was attended by great irregularities and improprieties and that the welfare of the boys demanded a complete revision. Turner was to be chaplain only at a salary of £150 with a house, a new schoolmaster was to be elected at a salary of £100 with a house, the French and drawing master and the matron were each to receive £30, the age limit was to be raised from 14 to 15, and the maintenance of the boys was to revert to the foundation.¹⁴ Mr. Carterfield became schoolmaster and for a year or two gave every satisfaction, but in 1858 Grose echoed Mortimer's complaints about the Latin, suggested that French was more useful, and that geometry, trigonometry, mechanics, and natural philosophy should be added to the curriculum. To this Carterfield replied that Grose's examinations distorted the syllabus and that they were not fairly conducted. In 1864 the visitors noticed a great deal of dissatisfaction among the older boys, and later in the year Carterfield resigned and the chaplain, the Revd. A. Jones, applied for and was given the head-mastership.¹⁵

In 1866 the clergy and inhabitants of Hoxton petitioned that the school might be opened to the sons of parishioners. Under pressure the Company agreed to open the school to the sons of its own tenants, but soon after this negotiations were begun with the Endowed Schools Commission for an entirely new scheme.¹⁶ The remaining foundationers were transferred to another boarding-school, the chaplain, schoolmaster, matron, and almsmen were pensioned, £5,000 was spent on additions and alterations to the Hoxton buildings, and two schools were created, one for 300 boys and the other for 300 girls. At the same time two similar schools were opened at Hatcham.¹⁷ In 1883 the age limit was raised to 18 and in 1898 the boys' school was removed to West Hampstead and the girls' to Acton.¹⁸ In 1961 the boys' school moved to Aldenham (Herts.). In 1964 there were 400 boys in the Junior School and 680 in the Senior School, including 75 boarders.

⁸ 2nd Rep. Com. Char. H.C. 547, p. 129 (1819), x–B.

⁹ L.C.C. Survey of Lond. viii. 141–2; Court Minutes, xi, f. 15; Hoxton Cttee. iv, ff. 80–115, *passim*; Char. Cttee. i, ff. 3, 9–11, 15; Grand Cttee. 461, 463–4. Inscription still to be seen in 1960 on what had become the L.C.C. Furnishing Trades Tech. Coll. Hawes was the father of Sir Benjamin Hawes, the Victorian politician.

¹⁰ Court Minutes, xi, ff. 499, 515; Hoxton Cttee. iv, f.

53.

¹¹ Aske's Statutes.

¹² Court Minutes, xi, ff. 484, 493, 549; Hoxton Cttee. iv, ff. 115–16, 138–9; Char. Cttee. i, f. 244.

¹³ Visitation Bk. ff. 5, 69, 99.

¹⁴ Court Minutes, xiii, ff. 640, 652; Hoxton Cttee. iv, ff. 285, 325–7, 343, 369; v, ff. 44–47, 61–62, 64–65, 114–15; Char. Cttee. iv, ff. 85, 114–16.

¹⁵ Hoxton Cttee. iv, ff. 357–8, 370; Char. Cttee. iv, ff. 123, 385–8; Visitation Bk. f. 66.

¹⁶ Char. Cttee. v, ff. 327, 472–9; vi, ff. 7–10, 46, 100,

134.

¹⁷ V.C.H. Surr. iv. 42.

¹⁸ Ret. Endowed Char. Lond. H.C. 252, pp. 467–76 (1900), lxi (3); L.C.C. Survey of Lond. viii. 142.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

HAMPTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL

By will¹⁹ proved in 1557 Robert Hammond, a prosperous London brewer, left a house and land worth £3 a year to support a free school at Hampton; Richard Alcocke, Vicar of Hampton, was to act as master and receive the whole of the rents. The school-house was built, but Alcocke was deprived of his living after the accession of Elizabeth I; by 1573 at the latest the school had closed and the endowment reverted to Hammond's heirs in accordance with the terms of his will.²⁰

The Charity Commission of 1612 found that Nicholas Pigeon, who had bought the property, was undoubtedly its legal owner, but an appeal was made to him by the commission to restore peace in the village by refounding the school. This he did willingly, bearing part of the additional expenses as well. In 1657 his grandson, Edmund Pigeon, devised to the school his stables which lay immediately to the north of the original Hammond property along the west side of the churchyard. In 1900 the school adopted the Pigeon arms and crest as its own, a tribute to its second founder.²¹ In 1692 another benefactor, Captain John Jones, by an unwitnessed will²² left the rectory meadow and tithes in trust to provide £6 each for six poor aged men and schooling for six poor children of the parish. In 1697 Jones's executors transferred to the trustees a half share in Nando's coffee house, Fleet Street; this benefaction, worth £864, was for the purpose of including Latin in the curriculum, so adding a grammar school to Hammond's original free school.²³ In 1726 extensions to Hampton church included a room on the north side of the chancel for use as a school for about 80 pupils and as a vestry-room, George I providing £500 of the £900 required. During the 18th century most of the grammar school masters appear to have been curates or lecturers at the parish church; under Hammond's will they were first elected by the vestry to the mastership and were then granted the additional benefits by the Jones Trustees, but in 1816 the two groups of trustees were merged into one. The masters generally had ushers to attend to the work of the lower school.²⁴

Dr. Samuel Hemming, master 1803-28, was a scholar of ability, but he had a number of disputes with the trustees over the teaching of Latin, the use of the monitorial system, and the management of the school property. There were usually about 50 boys in the school, of whom only a few learnt Latin, and in addition Hemming took three or four private pupils. The income of the charity went to the schoolmaster, who paid the £36 to the six old men and retained £287; from this he provided the usher's salary (£60), books, slates, pens, and firing, and was left with an income of about £220.²⁵

In 1830 the old parish church was demolished, together with the schoolroom, and the trustees were faced with the problem of finding other accommoda-

tion. To accumulate funds they suspended the mastership with the consent of the Court of Chancery, and continued the elementary class under the usher in temporary premises. An additional expense was occasioned by the successful petition of the parishioners of Hampton Wick for the provision of a separate school.²⁶

A new building was opened in Hampton in 1834; it provided two large schoolrooms, one for the grammar school and one for the English or lower school, separated by accommodation intended for the master but occupied by the under-master. Three years later a new scheme laid down that the headmaster should receive £140 and might take up to 15 boarders, while the under-master and the Hampton Wick master were each to receive £80. There were to be no fees, but Latin books were to be paid for by parents.²⁷ In 1839 the Revd. Robert Peel was appointed headmaster under the new scheme; he appears to have been popular and efficient at first, but by 1866 he was old, infirm, and the occupant of a sinecure, since none of the boys wanted Latin. There were then 101 boys in the lower school, where the teaching was satisfactory.²⁸

A new scheme came into force in 1868. The three Hampton schools were separated, the elected trustees were replaced by representative and co-optative governors, the grammar school was opened to boarders without limitation of numbers, fees were charged, and the curriculum was widened to include Greek, natural science, and a modern foreign language. A further revision in 1878 fixed the day boys' fees at 4½ guineas a term and the boarders' at £60 a year. The headmaster was to receive a salary of £100 and a capitation allowance of £3 per boy. In 1868 the Revd. G. F. Heather was appointed head of a school of nine boys. Twelve years later new buildings to accommodate 125 day boys and 25 boarders were erected on the north side of the Upper Sunbury Road, but despite Heather's efforts numbers rose to a maximum of only 74 in 1882 and had declined to 28 in 1897, the year of his resignation.²⁹

In 1896 yet another new scheme brought to an end the teaching of Greek, introduced commercial subjects, and provided five to ten foundation scholarships. The new headmaster, W. A. Roberts, increased the number of boys in the school to 100 in 1903, and by 1906 the total was nearly 200. This increase necessitated the building of a larger assembly hall which, with other additions, was opened in 1909, but the maintenance of the enlarged buildings proved to be beyond the resources of the governors, and in 1910 control of the school passed to the Middlesex County Council, which for several years had been giving the school considerable financial assistance. Roberts, a firm but friendly disciplinarian with a robust sense of humour, successfully guided the school through the difficulties of the First World War and into the post-war period. He resigned in 1924 after 27 years as headmaster.³⁰

¹⁹ P.C.C. 18 Wrastley.

²⁰ B. Garside, *Hist. of Hampton Sch. 1556-1700*, 18, 33-34, 72-75; Garside, *Brief Hist. Hampton Sch. 1557-1957*, 7-8. Garside, historian of Hampton and history master at the school 1924-59, on whose work this article is based, died in 1963 shortly before it was written.

²¹ Garside, *Hist. Hampton Sch.* 77-82, 91-95.

²² P.C.C. 206, 240 Fane.

²³ Garside, *Hist. Hampton Sch.* 112-20; Garside, *Free Sch. of Robert Hammond*, 19-21.

²⁴ Garside, *Brief Hist.* 14-17, 20.

²⁵ Ibid. 21-23; 9th Rep. Com. Char. H.C. 258, pp. 287-91 (1823), ix.

²⁶ Completed 1844: Garside, *Brief Hist.* 24.

²⁷ Ibid. 25-26.

²⁸ *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966-XII] H.C., pp. 30-31 (1867-8), xxviii (10).

²⁹ Garside, *Brief Hist.* 32-38, 50-53.

³⁰ Ibid. 55-58, 64-65, 74-75.

The next headmaster, A. S. Mason, was both a scientist and a linguist who from the first cherished the history and traditions of the school. In the 1880's Heather had encouraged the performance of plays and had enjoyed the assistance of Ben Greet; between 1926 and 1935 this association was renewed and the Ben Greet Players performed every summer at the school. Mason also invited distinguished musicians to give recitals, and established annual productions of Gilbert and Sullivan. The school made good progress both in work and sport, and the increased numbers made either considerable extension or a new building a necessity. After prolonged discussion it was agreed to build a new school at Rectory Farm, Hanworth Road. The opening of the new school coincided with the outbreak of the Second World War,³¹ but despite many vicissitudes Mason maintained something approaching peacetime standards. So successful was he that by the end of 1945 there were 674 boys in the school. After the war, until his retirement in 1950, he revived and developed all the activities which had been dropped.³²

In 1950 Mr. G. J. N. Whitfield became headmaster. One of his first acts was to have the stage improved and to arrange for the annual production of a full-length play. In 1952 a contingent of the Combined Cadet Force was established, for which a rifle range was subsequently built. The Boat Club was re-established. In 1955 the school was granted voluntary aided status and two years later celebrated its fourth centenary. By 1964 numbers in the school had risen to 900, with a staff of 50, and plans had been drawn up for a major extension of the buildings to provide extra accommodation for the 250 boys in the sixth form.³³

HARROW SCHOOL

IN February 1572 John Lyon, a yeoman of Preston in Harrow, secured from Elizabeth I a charter to



HARROW SCHOOL. *Azure a lion rampant in dexter chief two arrows in saltire points downward tied in the centre with a bow and enfiled with a wreath laurel all argent*

[Granted 1929]

re-found a free grammar school for the boys of the parish of Harrow, to send two scholars to Cambridge and two to Oxford, and to improve the highways between Edgware and London.³⁴ These intentions were amplified by Lyon's 'Orders, Statutes and Rules' (often called his will) drawn up in 1591. The schoolmaster was to be at least an M.A. and the usher a B.A., with salaries of £20 and £10

respectively, which were to be increased to 40 marks and 20 marks if Lyon left no heir. The schoolmaster

might also teach fee-paying 'foreigners' provided that this did not adversely affect the children of the parish. Texts were prescribed for each of the five forms. There was to be no playtime except sometimes on fine Thursdays; church attendance was compulsory, but punishment with the rod was permitted only 'moderately' on pain of dismissal. No English was to be spoken above the First Form; two monitors were to be appointed to report (but not to punish) these and other faults, and a third was secretly to watch the other two. Parents were to provide paper, ink, pens, books, candles, and bows and arrows.³⁵

On the death of Lyon's widow in 1608 the Governors elected Anthony Rate to be master, although he does not appear to have been a university graduate and did not draw the full salary. In 1615 a new school building (the west wing of the present Old Schools) was ready; the Revd. William Lance, was appointed master with his brother Thomas as usher, the son of the vicar became the first recorded pupil, and the school settled down to follow the pattern provided in the Statutes.³⁶ The first notable Harrovian was William Baxter (1650-1723), a nephew of Richard Baxter the nonconformist divine, and a Welsh speaker at the time of his admission.³⁷ William Horne, headmaster 1669-85, the first of several Etonians to hold office, appears to have been successful. A letter written by a boy's mother in 1682 reveals that there were then about 120 boys and many boarding houses; in the master's house the fee for board and schooling was £22, but in a dame's boarding house only £14. During Horne's time a playing field was purchased, the school yard levelled, and the Silver Arrow archery competition instituted.³⁸

Under Thomas Brian (1691-1730), another Etonian, the school continued to flourish, although there was a period of depression towards the end of Anne's reign. With the accession of George I in 1714 Harrow became popular with the Whig aristocracy, since Tory Eton was suspected of Jacobitism. Harrow also enjoyed the patronage of James Brydges, later Duke of Chandos, a man of outstanding business capacity and a governor from 1713 to 1740, but the same period saw the number of free scholars decline to 14, while the Lyon exhibitions at the universities were often held by non-Harrovians or not at all.³⁹ The Revd. Dr. James Cox, usher under Brian, was appointed to succeed him, but according to the governors' minute he led a disorderly, drunken, idle life, and by 1746, when his debts forced him to abscond, numbers were down to 46.⁴⁰

In this crisis the governors appointed Dr. Thomas Thackeray, an Etonian and former Eton master whose strong Whig sympathies had made him unwelcome there. Numbers rose, additional masters were appointed, a further playing field was secured, and there was some reform of the curriculum, although this last improvement was only made possible

³⁶ Ibid. 27-28.

³⁷ P. M. Thornton, *Harrow School and its Surroundings*, 92; *D.N.B.*

³⁸ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 34-35.

³⁹ Ibid. 36; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 108-13; P. H. M. Bryant, *Harrow*, 22.

⁴⁰ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 37; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 115-26; E. W. Howson and G. T. Warner, *Harrow Sch.* 36.

³¹ Ibid. 44-45, 76-80, 88-93.

³² Ibid. 98, 111.

³³ Paragraph ex inf. the headmaster.

³⁴ The phrase *de novo erigere* is ambiguous, but there is evidence for the existence of an earlier school. The foundation date of 1571 arose from a misunderstanding in the early 19th cent.: E. D. Laborde, *Harrow School Yesterday and Today*, 20-24, 216-25.

³⁵ Ibid. 226-40.

by allowing assistant masters and even independent tutors to charge fees for private lessons in non-classical subjects. Naturally this widened the breach between the foreigners (boarders, who were not local boys) and the foundationers, since few of the latter could afford the fees. Moreover, Thackeray fostered his connexions with the Whig nobility by granting special privileges to aristocratic pupils, an indulgence which led to slack discipline and later to a decline in numbers.⁴¹ Robert Sumner (1760–71), Thackeray's successor, incurred the wrath of some influential parents by curtailing these privileges, but discipline improved, the staff was increased to seven, some recognition was given to the private tutors, and numbers rose to over 230, partly as a result of the Eton rebellion of 1768.⁴² In 1755 a boy paid £7 for half a year's board, or £12 8s. 7d. including all outgoings, and the total cost of his seven and a half years at Harrow was £206; but in 1770 another boy paid £21 and £40 six months later.⁴³

On Sumner's early death in 1771 Benjamin Heath, another Eton master, was appointed. The governors passed over the claims of Samuel Parr, an Harrovian, Sumner's assistant and expected successor. Parr was young, without a degree, a supporter of Wilkes, and—perhaps worst of all—poor; but he had the enthusiastic support of the boys who, resenting the continued dependence on Eton, petitioned the governors in Parr's favour and destroyed one governor's carriage. The petitioners claimed that 'as we are most of us independent of the foundation we presume that our inclinations ought to have some weight in the determination of your choice'. Heath quickly restored order and in the following year instituted speech days to replace the archery contests which had attracted unruly crowds from London and disorganized the school. In 1775 the VI Form appeared in the school lists for the first time, but the number of free scholars fell to seven or eight.⁴⁴

Heath was succeeded by his assistant and brother-in-law Joseph Drury (1785–1805), whose pupils momentarily outnumbered those of Eton and included five future prime ministers, the poet Byron, and many other aristocrats and men of letters.⁴⁵

The appointment of George Butler (1805–29) to succeed Drury provoked another rebellion of which Byron, now a monitor, was a leader. It is said that a proposal to blow up the new headmaster was abandoned because it would have involved the destruction of panelling on which the boys' predecessors

had carved their names.⁴⁶ In 1808 there was a third rebellion when Butler resisted the claims of the monitors to beat offenders with as much severity as they thought fit, confiscated their canes, and declared their claim to inflict corporal punishment a usurpation.⁴⁷ The rebels held the Fourth Form Room against the authorities and barricaded the London Road. Butler acted vigorously: he expelled the ringleaders, stopped blanket tossing and other ill-treatment, and restricted abuses of the fagging system.⁴⁸ He promoted scholarship, encouraged the writing and public speaking of Greek, Latin, and English verse, and introduced some science, French, and Italian as extras. He also extended the buildings, added the east wing to the Old Schools, erected the clock, enlarged the yard, and made a pool called Ducker the official bathing-place. Nevertheless he allowed the school routine to be repeatedly interrupted by holidays to celebrate victories in the Peninsula, saints' days, and political events. The boys seem to have spent this free time exploding gunpowder, firing cannon, and rambling in the surrounding countryside.⁴⁹ At this period a cricket match against Eton became a more or less annual event.⁵⁰

In 1806 the parishioners attempted to reassert the rights of local boys against the foreigners; they complained of bullying and ill-treatment, of the expense of books and clothing, of the corrupting influence of the wealthy non-foundationers, and of the limited value of the classical education offered, but in 1810 judgement was delivered in Chancery in favour of the governors.⁵¹ Anthony Trollope, a foundationer 1823–6 and 1831–4, suffered many humiliations, and Charles Merivale, later to become Dean of Ely, said he felt for years the 'social inferiority' impressed on him at Harrow.⁵²

Dr. Longley (later Archbishop of Canterbury), the next headmaster, failed to stem the decline in both discipline and numbers which had begun under Butler and which continued under Dr. Christopher Wordsworth (1836–44), nephew of the poet. Wordsworth attempted to bring about reforms, but his impatience and tactlessness aroused widespread opposition. He legalized fagging by reducing its rules to writing, appointed J. W. Colenso to teach a widened mathematical curriculum,⁵³ and built the first school chapel, but his high church leanings offended the Evangelicals, including Peel, who sent his younger sons to Eton. Wordsworth's good intentions failed to restrain brutal practices; according to C. S. Roundell, head of the school 1845–6, 'we

⁴¹ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 38–40; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 121–30.

⁴² Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 40–43; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 152; V. Ogilvie, *English Public Schools*, 107; Bryant, *Harrow*, 28; *V.C.H. Bucks.* ii. 200.

⁴³ G. E. Eland, *Shardeloes Papers*, 76; M. E. Ingram, *Leaves from a Family Tree*, 87.

⁴⁴ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 43; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 124, 165–78; *Works of Samuel Parr*, ed. J. Johnstone, 11–12, 59–60; eyewitness accounts of rebellion and ending of archery competition in Ingram, *Leaves from a Family Tree*, 90–93, 97–98.

⁴⁵ Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 196–208, 434–5. Byron called Drury 'the best and worthiest friend I ever possessed' (*Childe Harold*, canto iv, stanza 75, note); Byron played in the first cricket match against Eton in 1805 (*Works*, ed. Protheroe, i. 70–71) and the Peachey Stone is in Harrow churchyard.

⁴⁶ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 46; T. Moore, *Life of Byron*, 29.

⁴⁷ Parr supported Butler in this view: letter in Vaughan Libr.

⁴⁸ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 40, 46, 179; Howson and Warner, *Harrow Sch.* 66; Bryant, *Harrow*, 28–29.

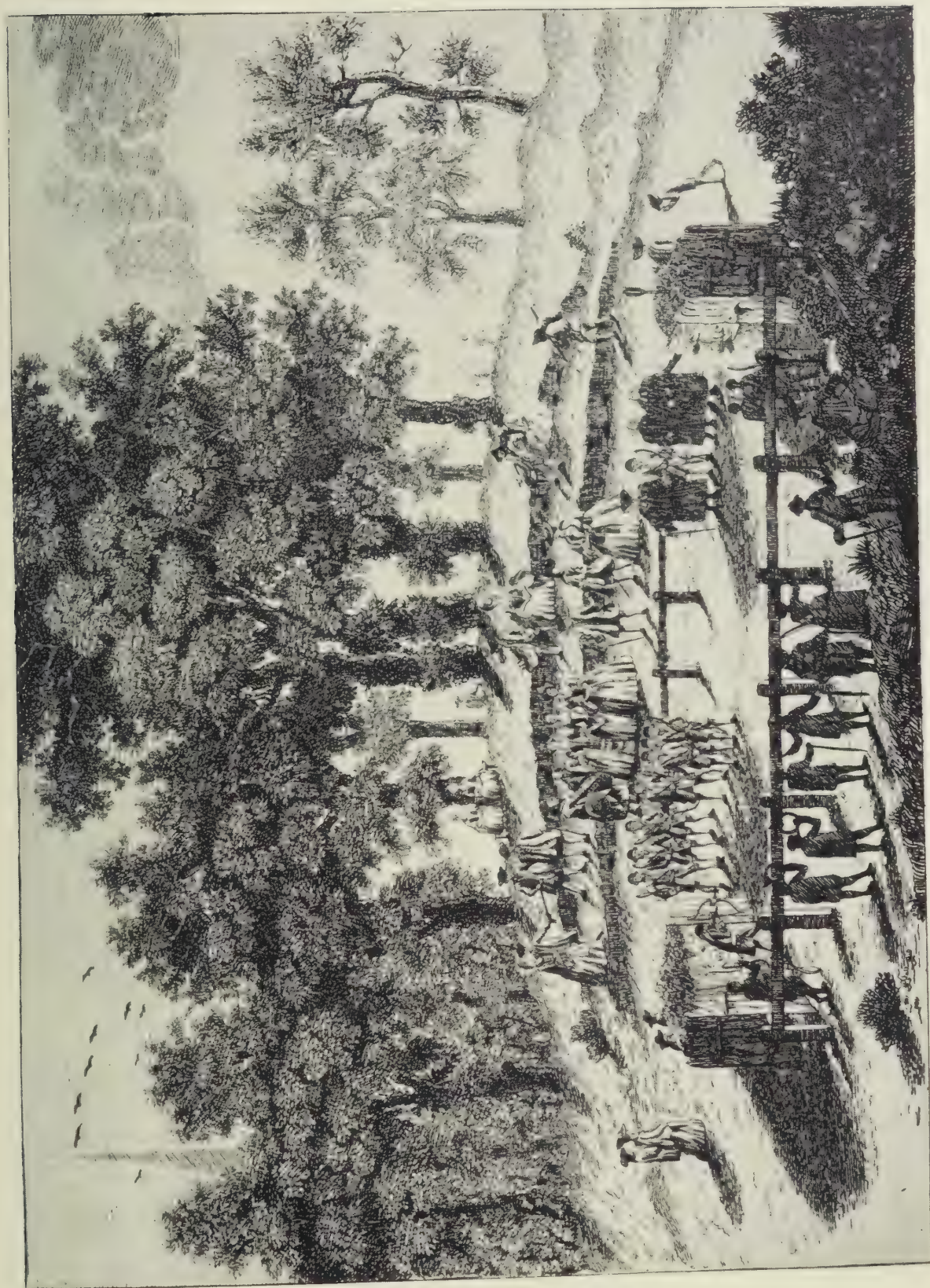
⁴⁹ G. T. Warner, *Harrow in Prose and Verse*, 93–111; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 229–31.

⁵⁰ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 192; Howson and Warner, *Harrow Sch.* 69; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 239, 319–20; C. Wordsworth, *Annals of My Early Life*, 10; *V.C.H. Bucks.* ii. 202.

⁵¹ R. Ackerman, *History of the Colleges . . . with the Schools of . . . Harrow*, 12; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 230, 327; F. Vesey, *Chancery Cases*, xvii. 498–507; T. F. May, 'Relations Between Harrow School and the Parishioners in the Nineteenth Century' (Exeter Univ. Dissertation, 1962), 10–24.

⁵² A. Trollope, *Autobiography*, i. 16; C. Merivale, *Autobiography*, 36.

⁵³ Afterwards, as Bishop of Natal, the centre of religious controversy.



SHOOTING FOR THE SILVER ARROW AT HARROW SCHOOL IN 1769

were extremely expert at stone-throwing; no dog could live in the street'.⁵⁴

Dr. C. J. Vaughan (1845–59), a pupil of Arnold at Rugby, was appointed headmaster at the age of 28 and was welcomed by Robert Grimston, the embodiment of the Harrow tradition, as 'one who is able and willing to carry out the Arnold system of education'.⁵⁵ A scholar and administrator, he enforced discipline without friction, attracted a strong and able staff, and increased the number of boys from under 70 to over 460. He rebuilt the chapel, founded the rifle corps, improved Ducker, and extended the playing fields;⁵⁶ nevertheless, Augustus Hare, the artist and writer and a pupil in 1847–8, although denying that he himself was ill-treated, speaks of bullying, excessive fagging, and repeated beatings. The Platt–Stewart case, arising from an incident in a football match after which Stewart received 31 strokes from Platt, a prefect, resulted in a public controversy involving Palmerston, the Home Secretary and an Old Harrovian.⁵⁷

In 1849 the governors rejected an appeal by the parishioners for the foundation of a commercial school, but Vaughan established one at his own expense 'to meet the wants of a class of residents who may not desire for their sons a high classical education and who are reasonably unwilling to confound the mutual division of ranks by sending them to the National School'. This 'English Form', as it was called, was established in an old coach-house well away from the main school. Latin was both compulsory and free, but for other subjects parents had to pay a fee of £5 a year, provide books, and relinquish their sons' privileges as Lyon scholars; on no account were the boys to mix with those of the 'higher schools'.⁵⁸ At the same time well-to-do parents moved into the Harrow district to enable their sons to enjoy these same privileges—an attraction sometimes referred to in estate agents' advertisements.⁵⁹

Vaughan thought it a mistake to stay too long and in 1859 he resigned, having in fifteen years restored the fortunes of Harrow.⁶⁰ The Vaughan Library, opened in 1863, is a permanent memorial of his headmastership. His successor was the Revd. Montagu Butler (1860–85), son of the former headmaster. At this period the public schools were subjected to a good deal of criticism and a Royal Commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Lord Clarendon. The evidence given by Butler and other members gives a detailed account of the school's organization, curriculum, and discipline. The governors apparently left the headmaster in

complete control, paying him only his official salary of £50 a year, but capitation fees, the profits from his boarding-house, and other sources made his income up to about £10,000 gross or £6,000 net; from this he was expected to contribute to the maintenance and improvement of the school buildings. All the foundationers were sons of the 'higher classes', but there were 24 tradesmen's sons in the English Form. Mathematics and modern languages were compulsory, but the marks gained in these subjects counted for much less than those gained in the classics. History consisted mainly of holiday reading and physical science formed no part of the regular course. All compositions were looked over by the tutor before being shown to the form-master, and only classical masters could be tutors. One witness G. F. Harris, the Under Master, was unaware how or in whose presence punishments were inflicted in his own house, but he considered the accommodation 'infamous'—ventilation was bad and his house had no bathroom for the boys. No witnesses represented the parishioners of Harrow.⁶¹ The Commission proposed that class distinction should be eliminated by abolishing the privilege of free education and the preference given to Harrow-born boys in the award of university scholarships; for local boys an entirely separate school was to be provided to accommodate the English Form. Despite the objections of the parishioners⁶² the Public Schools Act became law in 1868. An enlarged and more authoritative governing body was set up, the old constitution was abrogated, new statutes were drawn up, and the Lower School of John Lyon, opened in June 1876, replaced the English Form.⁶³

Butler encouraged higher standards of learning by introducing entrance scholarships, offering an increased number of prizes, and superannuating dullards. He also allowed E. E. Bowen to establish the Modern Side, but the abler boys were still persuaded to keep to the classics; Bowen himself resented the increasing regimentation of later Victorian public school education, and did not consider that the house, any more than the school, was a fitting altar on which the individual should be sacrificed. Bowen is best remembered for his songs which, set to music by John Farmer, the school organist, enshrined Harrow life and tradition. 'Willow the King' (1867), 'Forty Years On' (1872), and many others, to which later authors and composers have added, form a unique collection of school songs.⁶⁴ One of the changes of this period was the gradual transfer of the responsibilities for house and school government from boys who

⁵⁴ Howson and Warner, *Harrow Sch.* 82–100; Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 50, 91–92; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 280; J. G. C. Minchin, *Old Harrow Days*, 94–98; J. H. Overton and E. Wordsworth, *Christopher Wordsworth*, 80–86. There was still some stone-throwing towards the end of Vaughan's headmastership: P. M. Thornton, *Some Things We Have Remembered*, 131–3.

⁵⁵ *The Times*, 3 Mar. 1845.

⁵⁶ Howson and Warner, *Harrow Sch.* 108–14; Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 52–54; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 286.

⁵⁷ Augustus J. C. Hare, *Story of My Life*, 215–28, 241–2; Thornton, *Harrow Sch.* 290, 448–50; Randolph Stewart, Earl of Galloway, *Observations on the Monitorial System at Harrow*; Anon., *Monitorial System at Harrow by One Who Was Once a Monitor*; Anon., *Reply to preceding*; *The Times*, 14 Dec. 1853, 13, 19 Apr. 1854. Intellectual discipline was also lacking: H. R. F. Brown, *John Addington Symonds*, 1. 218.

⁵⁸ *Rep. Com. on Revenues and Management of Certain*

Schs. and Colls. [3288] H.C., p. 274 (1864), xx (2); Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 52–54; Ogilvie, *Eng. Pub. Schs.* 162–3; May, 'Relations between Harrow Sch. and Parishioners', 31–36.

⁵⁹ e.g. advts. in *The Times*, 13 Apr. 1854, 17 Apr. 1855. Matthew Arnold is said to have moved to Harrow for this reason.

⁶⁰ See also Phyllis Grosskurth, *John Addington Symonds*, 32–37.

⁶¹ *Rep. Com. Certain Schs. and Colls.* xx (1), 208–13; xx (2), 277–84, 359–62, 428–39, 475–9, 494–7; xx (4), 200–3. In some classes the rate of progress was one sum a term and cribs were unnecessary: Minchin, *Old Harrow Days*, 24, 31.

⁶² May, 'Relations between Harrow Sch. and Parishioners', 40–68.

⁶³ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 56–58.

⁶⁴ E. Graham, *Harrow Life of H. M. Butler*, 171–8; W. E. Bowen, *Edward Bowen*, 58, 207–8; Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 55, 59; E. Graham, *Notes on Harrow Songs*.

excelled in study to those who excelled in sport, especially cricket. This was partly the result of the enthusiasm of Robert Grimston and Frederick Ponsonby, Earl of Bessborough, who from 1829 to 1884 spent much of their spare time in summer coaching the Sixth Form Game.⁶⁵

The Revd. J. E. C. Welldon (headmaster 1885–98, and later Bishop of Calcutta and Dean of Durham), a powerful preacher and stern disciplinarian, had a personal and individual interest in the boys, all of whom he knew by name. He reorganized the timetable to allow more specialization, made Greek optional, encouraged Sixth Formers to enter for Civil Service and other competitive examinations, and increased the amount of class teaching. These changes aroused some opposition among both boys and masters, and in 1893 Bowen resigned his position as head of the Modern Side. In 1885 the governors initiated an important change of policy when they began to acquire the boarding-houses which had hitherto been run as private ventures by their housemasters.⁶⁶ Dr. Joseph Wood (headmaster 1899–1910) introduced no great educational changes, but successfully maintained and developed a high standard of scholarship, although latterly discipline slackened and numbers fell. The periods of Welldon and Wood are contrasted in two novels by Old Harrovians—H. A. Vachell's *The Hill* (1905), which gives an idealized picture of school life, and Sir Arnold Lunn's *The Harrovians*, said to be based on his diary, in which the atmosphere is one of submission to the tyranny of athletes and bloods.⁶⁷ Wood's most enduring memorial is the 250 acres around the school which he preserved from the speculative builder, partly by generous contributions from his own salary.⁶⁸

Lionel Ford (1910–25) insisted on hard work; after the innovation of a Board of Education inspection he reorganized the timetable and abandoned the traditional pupil-room system. He introduced Spanish and Economics, and in 1917 abolished the distinction between the Classical and Modern Sides, introducing a number of specialized sixth forms. He erected the War Memorial Building and began the demolition of the shops on the west side of the High Street to the south of the School Yard, completely transforming the central area of the school and creating the present vista.⁶⁹

His successor, Dr. (afterwards Sir) Cyril Norwood (1926–34), already a leading educationalist, strengthened the classical teaching, but at the same time widened the curriculum. He also completed the gradual process by which houses and their housemasters came under the direct control of the school.

Another innovation was the introduction of rugby football as the official game for the Christmas term and the relegation of Harrow football to the Easter term, a change confirmed by the majority in a ballot of the whole school. Norwood was succeeded by P. C. Vellacott (1934–9), afterwards Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. During the difficult period 1940–2 A. P. Boissier, an assistant master, was appointed head. Numbers declined because of the dangers of air attack and four houses were closed; these were occupied from 1942 to 1945 by Malvern College, whose own building had been requisitioned. A clock on the school stores commemorates this association. Dr. R. W. Moore was headmaster from 1942 until his death in 1953, and was succeeded by Dr. R. L. James.⁷⁰ In 1962 there were about 660 boys in the school, of whom about half were pursuing post-Ordinary-Level G.C.E. courses; in the Sixth Form the classicists and historians still outnumbered the scientists and mathematicians.

Seven Old Harrovians have become prime ministers, the most famous of them Sir Winston Churchill.⁷¹ Nineteen have been awarded the Victoria Cross, and six the Order of Merit.⁷²

HIGHGATE SCHOOL⁷³

In 1565 a free school for the education of boys and young men in grammar was founded in Highgate by Sir Roger Cholmeley, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench. The right to frame the statutes was reserved to the founder, after whose death supplementary statutes might be made by six governors with the advice of the Bishop of London. Nothing, however, was to be enacted which conflicted with the wishes of the founder.⁷⁴ Sir Roger's gift was confirmed by the Crown, and the governors were incorporated and given the right to co-opt new members upon a vacancy.⁷⁵ Bishop Grindal of London granted the chapel and former hermitage of Highgate, with other lands and rights on his manor of Hornsey, for the use of the school.⁷⁶ The Crown's rights, which had come into private hands, were purchased for the school in 1583.⁷⁷ Sir Roger never lived to frame the statutes, which were drawn up by the governors with the advice of the bishop in 1571. The number of free scholars, drawn from Highgate and the surrounding villages, was fixed at forty. A competent schoolmaster was to instruct the boys 'in the A.B.C. and other English books', in writing, and in grammar 'as they shall grow ripe thereto'. The schoolmaster was also to read the services in the chapel, which was to serve virtually as a chapel of ease for Highgate.⁷⁸ This regulation was almost certainly included at the

⁶⁵ Howson and Warner, *Harrow Sch.* 280; Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 59, 165; H. Staunton, *Great Schools of Eng.* 330. The game of squash rackets was invented at Harrow: *Enc. Brit.* (11th edn.), xxii, 783.

⁶⁶ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 60–62; J. Fischer Williams, *Harrow*, App. C; W. S. Churchill, *My Early Life*, 36.

⁶⁷ Bryant, *Harrow*, 94.

⁶⁸ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 198–200.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 63–64; Bryant, *Harrow*, 96–98.

⁷⁰ Laborde, *Harrow Sch.* 65–66, 176–7; *Harrow School—A Brief History*, 5.

⁷¹ Goderich, Perceval, Peel, Aberdeen, Palmerston, Baldwin, Churchill. Baldwin, determined that his government should be one 'of which Harrow should not be ashamed', included six Harrovians in his Cabinet: S. Baldwin, *On England*, 283. Jawaharlal Nehru, another Harrovian, was first prime minister of India.

⁷² Lord Rayleigh, Sir George Otto Trevelyan, John Galsworthy, Dr. G. M. Trevelyan, Sir Winston Churchill, Field Marshall Lord Alexander of Tunis. For this information and several other references the author is indebted to Mr. L. J. Verney.

⁷³ The writer is indebted to Mr. A. W. Palmer, assistant master at Highgate School, for his help and advice.

⁷⁴ Original charter of Sir Roger, *penes* Messrs. Bower, Cotton and Bower, Lond.

⁷⁵ *Cal. Pat.* 1563–6, 207.

⁷⁶ Original charter of Bp. Grindal *penes* Messrs. Bower, Cotton and Bower. The hermitage and chapel had escaped confiscation in the reign of Edward VI.

⁷⁷ Governors' Minute Bk., *penes* Messrs. Bower, Cotton and Bower, i, f. 30v.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* ff. 42–43.

wish of the bishop, who was anxious to provide for the spiritual needs of the village, which lay at a considerable distance from the parish churches of Hornsey and St. Pancras. In 1578 a new school-house was erected and the chapel rebuilt.⁷⁹ There were further enlargements in 1616 and 1623.⁸⁰

By 1711 the chest which contained the deeds and charters of the school had been lost.⁸¹ Apart from recording the appointment of new masters, references to the school in the first minute book of the governors are sparse. In 1594 the schoolmaster was removed for neglecting his duties.⁸² In 1615 the villagers complained that the master read the service inaudibly in the chapel.⁸³ In 1644 the Committee for Plundered Ministers deprived Thomas Carter the schoolmaster for alleged drunkenness.⁸⁴ He had been imprisoned in 1641-2 for 15 months for continuing to use the Book of Common Prayer in the chapel and for speaking against Parliament.⁸⁵ Carter had told his congregation that those who read the Commons' order on innovations were mad, and that none but fools would take the Protestation.⁸⁶ He was restored in 1660.⁸⁷ During the Interregnum John Ireton had become one of the governors. In 1677 the Bishop of London, claiming that Ireton was prevented by the Act of Oblivion from exercising his functions, tried unsuccessfully to have his place on the governing board declared vacant.⁸⁸ By 1670 the schoolmaster had acquired the assistance of an usher.⁸⁹ In 1712 he was permitted to take a maximum of ten boarders,⁹⁰ and this was increased to 15 in 1714.⁹¹

As the school chapel was used as the chapel of ease for Highgate, the governors began to look upon themselves as the administrators of a charity whose objects were not limited to education. Benefactions began to be made to the chapel rather than to the school, whose affairs took second place at the meetings of the governors. In 1719-20 the chapel was rebuilt and enlarged, and by that date the Cholmeley Charity was also supporting almshouses and a school for poor girls.⁹² Such work could only partly be supported from pew rents and benefactions to the chapel. In the 17th century the school probably gave a classical education to its pupils. A catalogue of books in the school library (1673-7) contains Greek and Latin dictionaries together with works by Cicero, Erasmus, and Bodin.⁹³ By the late 18th century, however, the needs of the school were being neglected. In 1771 the schoolmaster protested against the misuse of school funds, which were being appropriated for the expenses of the chapel and for the benefit of the poor,⁹⁴ but in spite of his opposition the chapel was extensively repaired in 1772 with money from the school estate.⁹⁵

By the beginning of the 19th century the Cholmeley school had become an elementary school for 40

poor boys in the village. In 1819 the Brougham committee found that there was scarcely enough room for them all in the school-house. The boys, who were frequently unruly, were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic by the chapel sexton. The master declared that he had never known grammar to be taught in the school. He did not teach there himself but superintended the conduct of boys and usher. He was fully occupied with his pastoral work, and confined his teaching to four young men who lived with him and were being prepared for the universities. These pupils had no connexion with the school.⁹⁶ In 1819, shortly after the committee's inspection, a new school-house was erected with accommodation for 120 boys. The 'Madras' system was introduced and the school was run like a National school.⁹⁷

By this time the chapel was too small for the growing population of Highgate. The governors launched an appeal for funds to build a new church, and a parliamentary grant was made. In 1821 the governors introduced a private Bill to confirm their title to the chapel and to create a new parish at Highgate.⁹⁸ These plans were opposed by a party in the village which claimed that Sir Roger Cholmeley had founded a grammar school and that the funds were being misused. The controversy was conducted with great bitterness on both sides.⁹⁹ The party of reform was able to block the governors' Bill in Parliament¹ and began proceedings in Chancery in 1822. The court was petitioned to declare the objects of the Cholmeley trust and to remove the governors for perverting them. The judgement of Lord Eldon in 1824-6 was that Sir Roger Cholmeley had founded a free grammar school for teaching the learned languages and that the master was obliged to teach there in person. There had been no legal authority for changing the terms of the trust; since the governors had acted in good faith they were not culpable and should not be removed, but the master was instructed to make a report on the lands and revenues of the charity and to make suggestions which would form the basis of a new scheme for the foundation in keeping with its character as a grammar school.² Meanwhile the school and chapel were separated. The governors had the old chapel pulled down, and the materials were sold and the proceeds added to the fund from which a substantial grant was then made for building a new church on a different site.³

The new statutes for the school were approved in 1832. The boys were to be instructed in Latin and Greek and the principles of religion according to the teaching of the Church of England. Forty boys were to be educated free, but the master was to be allowed to take as many 'pay-boys' as he liked, and he was to appoint all the ushers and assistant

⁷⁹ Ibid. f. 3.

⁸⁰ Ibid. ff. 4-4v.

⁸¹ Ibid. f. 82v.

⁸² Ibid. f. 49.

⁸³ Ibid. f. 53.

⁸⁴ Ibid. f. 62v.

⁸⁵ Ibid. f. 67; A. G. Matthews, *Walker Revised*, 259.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Governors' Minute Bk. i, f. 67.

⁸⁸ Ibid. ff. 74v-75v.

⁸⁹ Ibid. f. 72.

⁹⁰ Ibid. f. 207v.

⁹¹ Ibid. f. 83.

⁹² Ibid. ff. 84-92.

⁹³ *Highgate School Roll* (2nd edn.), 15.

⁹⁴ Highgate Chapel Reg., St. Michael's Church, Highgate, s.a. 1771.

⁹⁵ Ibid. s.a. 1772.

⁹⁶ 2nd Rep. Com. Char. H.C. 547, pp. 101-5, 272-84 (1819), x-B.

⁹⁷ *A.G. v. Mansfield et al.* 2 Russell, 501-38.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ See A.Z., *Epistle to I. G. the Author of a Pamphlet entitled 'Some Account of the Free Grammar School at Highgate'*, 1823.

¹ *A.G. v. Mansfield et al.* 2 Russell, 501-38.

² Ibid.

³ Ed. 27/3493.

masters.⁴ The first years of the school under the new scheme were not prosperous. The master continued to devote most of his time to pastoral work, as he was the first rector of the new parish of Highgate. Although there were 32 boys at the school in 1833 by 1838 there were only eighteen.⁵

In 1838 John Bradley Dyne, a Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford, became the new headmaster. He was young, energetic, and not encumbered with parochial duties. He started the school library and broadened the curriculum by adding mathematics and modern languages.⁶ He founded boarding-houses and acquired a cricket field. Above all he established the school as an institution in which boys were prepared for the universities and the professions.⁷ In 1865, when it was inspected by the Taunton Commission, there were 80 day boys (including 40 foundationers) and 50 boarders. All were taught religion, classics, English, mathematics, and French. German, drawing, and surveying were optional and charged separately. During the winter visiting teachers gave occasional lectures on natural science. About five pupils a year went to one or other of the universities. The headmaster was assisted by six masters. The parents of boys belonged mainly to the professional classes or had independent means.⁸ By 1866–7 the school had outgrown its accommodation and a new school-house and chapel were built.⁹ Dyne was an early member of the Headmasters' Conference, which in 1871 held its third meeting at Highgate School under his presidency.¹⁰

By 1874, when he retired, Dyne had acquired the reputation of being the school's 'second founder'. His achievements are undeniable, but his personality is more difficult to evaluate. Gerard Manley Hopkins, who was a schoolboy under Dyne from 1854 to 1863, considered him a tyrant.¹¹ Hopkins's friend C. N. Luxmoore, who became an assistant master at Harrow, wrote in 1890 'blustering Dyne's argument was always "hold your tongue Sir", his firm conviction that a boy must always be wrong, and his appeal never to reason always to force . . . a man whose logic was comprised in the birch, to whom an answer, however respectful, was at least mutiny, if not rank blasphemy'.¹² On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of expressions of affection made to him at the annual reunion dinners which he held for his old pupils¹³ or the marks of respect paid to him upon his retirement.¹⁴

The school continued to grow after Dyne's retirement. From 1875 negotiations were in progress with the Charity Commissioners to draw up a new scheme in keeping with the school's character as an important public school. The new arrangements came into force in 1876. The governing body was enlarged

to include 12 members. The number of foundationers was no longer limited to 40, and there was to be provision for scholarships to help boarders. The Bishop of London lost his supervisory powers, and was given instead the right to nominate one of the governors. The headmaster was given greater powers in the internal running of the school.¹⁵ A junior school was begun in 1889.¹⁶

The most important development of the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the growth of the science and technical sides of the school's work. Under Dyne the arrangements for the teaching of natural science had been perfunctory¹⁷ but by 1890 every class in the school was taught chemistry in a special room fitted up as a laboratory.¹⁸ After 1897 a separate building—a former British school which stood adjacent to the main school buildings and had been acquired some years before to provide extra classrooms—was devoted to the teaching of science.¹⁹ A new science block was built in 1928 to contain not only science and biology laboratories but also facilities for the study of engineering and aeronautics.²⁰

Most of the school buildings were taken over by the government when the Second World War began. Teaching went on in those buildings that remained, but the greater part of the staff and pupils was evacuated to Westward Ho! (Devon). The boys lived and were taught in hotels and boarding-houses which had been taken over for this purpose. In 1943 the school was obliged for financial reasons to return to London, and its buildings in Highgate were returned in the same year.²¹

In 1963 the buildings of Highgate School formed a miscellaneous group on the top of Highgate Hill. The oldest part, built in 1866–7, consisted of a red brick Gothic chapel and the school-house, which contained the library and assembly hall. The hall was raised over a semi-basement which was divided into four classrooms. Until 1897 the library served as an additional classroom,²² but in that year a Gothic extension was built which contained nine classrooms, a drawing studio, and a dining-room for the day-boys. These rooms were arranged in two storeys around a central hall, which was lighted from the roof, and the basement contained a kitchen.²³ The new building of 1928 practically doubled the area covered by the school. Built in neo-Georgian style, it contained not only facilities for science and engineering, but also extra classrooms, a new library, and a large lecture room. A quarter of a mile from the main buildings there were boarding-houses, a gymnasium, a cricket pavilion, and the Junior School, all grouped around the cricket and sports field. In 1963 there were 650 boys in the senior school and 270 in the junior school.²⁴

⁴ Ed. 27/3495.

⁵ Ed. 27/3497; *St. Michael's Parish Mag.* May 1865.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Highgate School Reg.* (4th edn.), 1838–1938.

⁸ *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966–XI], H.C., pp. 34–40 (1867–8), xxviii (10).

⁹ Ed. 27/3495, 27/3497.

¹⁰ *The Times*, 29 Dec. 1871; *St. Michael's Parish Mag.* Jan. 1872.

¹¹ *Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, ed. C. C. Abbott (1st edn.), 1–6.

¹² *Ibid.* 247–9.

¹³ See, for example, *St. Michael's Parish Mag.* Aug. 1864, July 1865.

¹⁴ *The Cholmeleian*, i, no. 3.

¹⁵ Ed. 27/3501.

¹⁶ Ed. 27/3515.

¹⁷ See above.

¹⁸ Ed. 27/3507.

¹⁹ Ed. 27/3515, 27/3516.

²⁰ C. A. Evors, *Hist. of Highgate Sch.* (1949 edn.), 33–34.

²¹ *Ibid.* 54–65.

²² Ed. 27/3516.

²³ Ed. 27/3515.

²⁴ *Pub. Sch. Year Bk.* 1963.

LATYMER AND GODOLPHIN
SCHOOLS

LATYMER SCHOOL, EDMONTON

EDWARD LATYMER (1557 or 1558–1627), an official of the Court of Wards, by his will dated 1624 left property in the Hammersmith area to provide, amongst other things, clothing and education for eight poor boys of Edmonton and eight of Fulham, which then included Hammersmith. The clothing, which incorporated a red cross on the left sleeve, was to be distributed twice a year on Ascension Day and All Saints Day, and the boys were to learn reading in English and ‘God’s true religion’ at existing petty schools, where they were to remain until the age of thirteen. Separate groups of trustees administered the property on behalf of the boys in the two parishes. Latymer died in 1627 and the property was conveyed to the Edmonton trustees in 1628.²⁵

Other educational bequests for the benefit of Edmonton boys were made by John Wild (1662), who founded a scholarship to Cambridge, and Thomas Style (1679), who left £20 a year for the teaching of grammar and Latin to twenty poor boys aged between five and seventeen. In 1724 Thomas Hare, the parish clerk, was appointed Latymer schoolmaster by the vestry, while the Revd. John Button taught the Style boys. In 1737 Zachariah Hare succeeded his father; two years later the various charities were amalgamated and land and a school-house were purchased, Zachariah becoming the first headmaster under the new scheme.²⁶ In 1781 John Adams²⁷ was appointed headmaster. His friend, J. T. Smith, related that plates of Hogarth’s *Industry and Idleness* hung in the schoolroom; once a month Adams read a lecture on these examples and then rewarded the industrious boys and caned the idle.²⁸ He was succeeded in 1802 by his son, John Adams junior, clerk to the vestry and an able and efficient teacher. Nine years later a legacy of £500 from Mrs. Ann Wyatt, an eccentric widow who lived in circumstances suggesting great poverty, made possible the building of a new and larger schoolroom.²⁹ Adams numbered the 106 boys in the school according to their seniority. Each number was on a leather medal which, together with eight other medals recording school position in particular subjects including Latin, mathematics, and behaviour, was strung on a cord worn by the pupil. The numbers were registered from time to time and prizes were presented by the trustees to boys who had excelled.³⁰

Charles Henry Adams succeeded his father in 1821 but failed to maintain the standards of the school. A vestry inquiry in 1848 found that the system of education was unsatisfactory; Latin was

no longer being taught and many of the pupils were not receiving clothing.³¹ Nevertheless he was still in charge of the school with his son, as usher, a member of the fourth generation of the family to teach in the school, when it was inspected in 1865. There were 89 boys on the books, of whom 65 were present in the morning but only 29 returned after lunch. Latin teaching was confined to reading aloud from a grammar and the standards in elementary subjects were very low; the income of the Cambridge scholarship was used for church repairs.³² In 1868 Adams agreed to retire on a pension. The Revd. C. V. Dolbe was appointed headmaster, and under a new scheme £210 of foundation income was diverted to elementary schools attached to St. Paul’s Winchmore Hill, Christ Church, Southgate, and St. James, Upper Edmonton. The residue was to provide two Latymer schools: an upper for foundationers and fee-payers in the existing buildings, and a lower or elementary school.³³ In 1897 W. A. Shearer, the new headmaster of the upper school, found not only that the buildings were inadequate and defective, but also that R. S. Gregory, Vicar of Edmonton, wanted to close the school and use the funds for the Church of England elementary school, a proposal which aroused much opposition, especially from the Edmonton Urban District Council. In 1901 the lower school was accommodated in new buildings in Maldon Road, and a site in Hazelbury Road was acquired for a new upper school, but in 1908, before building began, Shearer was killed in an accident. The upper school was temporarily closed, but in 1910 it reopened as a co-educational grammar school with 25 pupils and R. Ashworth as headmaster. Numbers increased rapidly and the school was enlarged in 1924 and 1928. Soon after this Ashworth died while still in office, leaving a flourishing school of over 700 pupils.³⁴ V. S. E. Davis, who became the next headmaster, was a young man and guided the school with great skill through one of its most difficult periods. The school was granted voluntary aided status in 1951. Davis retired in 1957 and was succeeded by Dr. Trefor Jones. In 1964 there were nearly 1,100 pupils.

LATYMER FOUNDATION AND
LATYMER UPPER SCHOOLS,
HAMMERSMITH

AT Fulham, as at Edmonton³⁵ the Latymer bequest did not at first result in a Latymer school, but by the end of the 19th century three Hammersmith schools bore that name. From 1628 to 1648, with one short interval, the Latymer boys attended the school in Fulham churchyard erected partly at the expense of Dr. Thomas Edwards (d. c. 1618), but in 1648 the boys were transferred to another school lately

²⁵ P.C.C. 15 Skynner; W. Wheatley, *Edward Latymer and His Foundations*, 44, 114–16, 184–5.

²⁶ W. Robinson, *Hist. and Antiquities of Parish of Edmonton*, 142–3, 179–80; 9th Rep. Com. Char. H.C. 258, pp. 176–7 (1823), ix.

²⁷ Author of *Mathematician’s Companion* (1796) and *Extracts from a Meteorological Journal kept at Edmonton* (1814).

²⁸ J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times*, 95.

²⁹ Robinson, *Edmonton*, 145; G. W. Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hundred*, 17–25.

³⁰ *Lond. Jnl. of Arts and Sciences*, v. 195–7: names of 30 boys given.

³¹ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 27; Rep. Edmonton Char. Investigation Cttee. (1849), 28, 36.

³² *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966–XI] H.C., pp. 17–19 (1867–8), xxviii (10).

³³ There was opposition: *Law Reps. Equity Cases*, vii (1868–9), 353.

³⁴ Sturges, *Schs. of Edmonton Hund.* 33–38; correspondence in *Tottenham Herald*, Sept. 1899–June 1900, 21 July 1933.

³⁵ See above.

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

erected in Hammersmith by Mr. Palmer and Mr. Bull. About 1657 a parochial charity school was established, and it was there that the Latymer boys attended for the next hundred years.³⁶ A girls' school came into existence at some time before 1689, and it is possible that the three schools were conducted under the same roof but with separate finances. By 1755 the existing building had become dilapidated, and it was replaced by one of two storeys to accommodate 25 girls on the ground floor and 20 boys above. The cost, however, proved a serious drain on the income of the charity and the numbers were reduced to 15 boys and 15 girls. In 1819 two rooms were added and the numbers increased to 80 boys and 50 girls, who were educated on the 'National' system. Later the income of the girls' charity decreased and it was absorbed into the St. Paul's parochial school, but the Latymer boys' school flourished, having 100 boys but no room for extension. In 1863 a new building for 125 boys was erected in Great Church Lane (Hammersmith Road). Sixteen years later a new scheme was drawn up which diverted the bulk of the income to a new Upper School to provide secondary education for 150 boys; clothing was not provided and fees were to be charged. The existing school was to be conducted as an elementary school to be known as the Latymer Lower School.³⁷ Under the name in fact of the Latymer Foundation School this became an L.C.C. school with a roll in 1960 of over 300 boys aged between nine and seventeen. The 'silver pens', a representation of two quills arranged in saltire, was instituted in 1820 as an award for an outstanding boy,³⁸ and there were silver medals given in 1842 for arithmetic and orthography. In 1961 the governors decided that a modern education could not be given in the existing building, that it was impossible to rebuild, and that they must therefore close the school.³⁹ It closed in July 1963.

New buildings for the Upper School, erected between King Street and the river, were opened by the Bishop of London in 1895. In less than two years the numbers reached 300 and in 1901 accommodation was increased to admit 450 by the addition of five classrooms, laboratories, and a workshop.

In 1930 the main block was extended southward and in 1934 further additions were made by the acquisition of existing buildings at the corner of King Street and Weltje Road. These were altered for school use, a biology laboratory was added, and a room on the top floor was converted into a chapel, consecrated in 1938. In 1951 the governors bought Rivercourt House on the river bank, and this made it possible to increase the number of boys to over a thousand. Between 1957 and 1961 new physics laboratories were built, largely as a result of a grant from the Industrial Fund for the Advancement of Science in Schools. The total number of boys in the school in 1964 was approximately 1,150.

In 1945 the school was placed on the direct grant list, and F. Wilkinson, headmaster 1937-57, was invited to join the Headmasters' Conference.

³⁶ W. Wheatley, *Edward Latymer and His Foundations*, 110-20.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 131, 140-7.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 153.

³⁹ *The Times*, 13 Sept., 3 Oct., 5 Oct. 1961; *The Observer*, 28 July 1963.

⁴⁰ *D.N.B.*; Act for administration of estate of Sir William Godolphin, 9 & 10 Wm. III, c. 19 (priv. act). *Schs. Enquiry*

GODOLPHIN SCHOOL AND GODOLPHIN AND LATYMER SCHOOL, HAMMERSMITH

SIR WILLIAM GODOLPHIN (1634-96), Charles II's ambassador to Madrid, left a fortune and three different wills. The first and third were combined by Act of Parliament to make Sir William's nephew Francis and niece Elizabeth heirs on condition that £1,520 was devoted to charity. In 1703 Elizabeth and her husband, the Hon. Charles Godolphin, purchased land to the west of St. James's, Piccadilly, to establish a fund for educating and apprenticing children, relieving decayed gentlefolk, and for other charitable purposes.⁴⁰ In 1852 the whole trust was devoted to education and in 1856 the Godolphin School for boys was opened in Great Church Lane, Hammersmith. Initially it was very successful and moved into new premises in Iffley Road, where there were soon 150 fee-payers, including 40 boarders, and 30 free pupils, all receiving a decidedly classical education.⁴¹ Later the school was unable to meet the competition of St. Paul's (from 1884) and Latymer Upper School, and in 1900 it closed. A new scheme was drawn up which created the Godolphin and Latymer School for Girls, with the assistance of a grant of £8,000 and £500 a year from the Latymer Foundation. At the same time £4,000 was transferred to the Godolphin School, Salisbury, which Elizabeth Godolphin had founded from her own resources in 1707.⁴² The school opened in temporary premises in 1905, and in January 1906 some 200 girls moved into the converted boys' school which was formally opened by the Duke of Leeds, a descendant of William Godolphin.⁴³ It later became a voluntary aided grammar school of 650 girls, 180 of whom are in the Sixth forms. The buildings were considerably extended, particularly by the addition of a large science block, a second library, and enlarged music and art rooms.

ST. MARYLEBONE GRAMMAR SCHOOL (THE PHILOLOGICAL SCHOOL)

IN 1792 Thomas Collingwood and other charitably-inclined gentlemen founded a school in Mary Street (later renamed Stanhope Street, N.W. 1). Here they gathered to read lectures, the boys being required to listen and then to write essays. The object of the school was to afford relief 'to the heads of families, who by unexpected misfortune, have been reduced from a station of comfort and respectability', and who consequently could not provide an education for their children 'which would qualify them for those respectable situations to which their connexions in life may still entitle them to look up'.⁴⁴ There were 40 boys—10 destined for the Church, 10 for the Navy, and 20 for mechanical occupations. Subscribers might nominate pupils, and the whole institution was called the Philological Society.

Collingwood's organization seems to have been *Com.* [3966-IX] H.C., p. 62 (1867-8), xxviii (10); *Godolphin and Latymer Sch.* 1905-55, 9-10.

⁴¹ *Schs. Enquiry Com.* (1867-8), pp. 62-63.

⁴² *V.C.H. Wilts.* v. 362-3.

⁴³ *Godolphin and Latymer Sch.* 10-13; Wheatley, *Edward Latymer*, 173.

⁴⁴ *Rep. of Philological Sch.* 1834, 9.

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unsatisfactory. A bogus collector was allowed to rob the society of £1,000 before he was detected, and the Revd. Basil Wood, a vigorous member of the board, resigned in disgust at the conduct of the school, although later he returned.⁴⁵ In 1800 there was reorganization and retrenchment;⁴⁶ a new prospectus was issued which stated that the aims of the school were to instil the principles of religion and habits of industry, so that 'boys of good capacities may not be buried in obscurity, but may, by the plan of education which the Society adopts, receive that assistance which may fan the latent sparks of genius'. Nine years later the school removed to King Street, Edgware Road (later renamed Nutford Place). Standards of discipline and learning were low.⁴⁷

In 1827 the school moved to its present site in Marylebone Road and its fortunes improved. This was largely through the efforts of Edwin Abbott,⁴⁸ who for 45 years proved an able and efficient headmaster. The school enjoyed the patronage of George IV, the Duke of Wellington, the Bishop of London, and other notables, and was admitted to union with King's College, London; it was described by the historian of the parish as a 'most respectable and valuable institution' with 127 boys,⁴⁹ but the governors regretted the embarrassment caused by the nomination of boys who were socially unacceptable by reason of their parents' lowly estate.⁵⁰

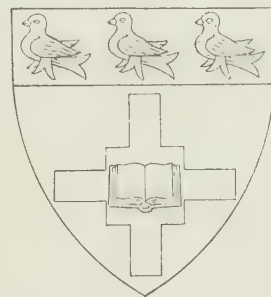
To celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation the board made a special appeal for the enlargement of the school. Already, it was claimed, nearly 2,000 youths had received a liberal and Christian education and had gone forth 'fitted to regain by honest exertion that station in society which their parents once filled'. Only sons of clergymen, officers, professional men, merchants, and 'the higher order of tradesmen' were to be admitted; every subscriber of five guineas was entitled to nominate a boy for admittance, but he was warned that his nominee would be excluded should his subscription not be renewed. Other boys were admitted at a fee of eight guineas a year, which included the cost of books and stationery.⁵¹ In 1852 there were 83 foundationers (listed by their parents' social status), 51 fee-payers, and a staff of three assisted by writing and French masters.⁵² In 1857 the older part of the present building in Marylebone Road was opened.⁵³ By 1864 there were 240 boys and a staff of six assisted by three visiting masters. The senior master took boarders. Although no boy had recently gone to the university, several had passed on to the City of London School,⁵⁴ of which Abbott's son became a distinguished headmaster.

By the end of the century the financial position of the school had deteriorated, and in 1908 it was accepted in trust by the London County Council

and renamed St. Marylebone Grammar School. After the First World War the building was extended and during the headmastership of P. A. Wayne, in many ways the third founder of the school, a playing-field was acquired, a country base established near Leith Hill (Surr.), and artistic activities were developed. During the Second World War the school was evacuated to Cornwall. As part of the 1947 London County Council education plan it was proposed that the school, now numbering about 500, should be incorporated in a comprehensive school, but the governors successfully petitioned for voluntary controlled status.⁵⁵ In 1954 Dr. H. Llewellyn Smith became headmaster. New laboratories and workshops were added by the London County Council in 1964-5 on a neighbouring site.

MILL HILL SCHOOL

MILL HILL SCHOOL was founded in 1807 by a group of dissenting clergymen and merchants, of whom the most prominent were Samuel Favell, warehouseman and citizen of London, and the Revd. John Pye Smith, of Homerton College.⁵⁶ Their intention was to provide a classical education equal to that which the sons of Anglicans enjoyed at public schools, while maintaining the broader curriculum of the nonconformist academies.⁵⁷ A boarding-school was opened at Mill Hill in the house⁵⁸ once occupied by Peter Collinson the botanist, with about 20 boys and the Revd. John Atkinson as principal and chaplain. The choice of assistant masters, the curriculum, and many of the details of organization were decided by the committee without reference to the principal; Pye Smith, in particular, visited the school monthly and examined the boys quarterly until his death in 1851. These arrangements produced so much friction that the first two principals resigned, but under the third, the Revd. John Humphrys, the number of boys increased to 83, and in 1824 it was decided to build a new school for 120 to the designs of William Tite.⁵⁹ Before the new building was begun Humphrys was asked to vacate the office of principal, to which the senior master was to be promoted, and to retain the chaplaincy at a reduced salary; instead he advertised



MILL HILL SCHOOL. *Argent on a cross quadrate gules an open book argent on a chief azure three martlets or* [Granted 1935]

⁴⁵ P. A. Wayne, *The Philological Sch. or St. Marylebone Grammar Sch. Past and Present*, 2-4.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 4; minutes, 7 Apr. 1800, *penes* Dr. H. Llewellyn Smith, the present headmaster.

⁴⁷ Wayne, *Phil. Sch.* 4.

⁴⁸ Father of the famous headmaster of the City of London School: *ibid.* 5; *D.N.B.*

⁴⁹ Wayne, *Phil. Sch.* 5; T. Smith, *Parish of St. Marylebone*, 186, 190; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Centenary Hist. of King's Coll. Lond.* 103-4.

⁵⁰ *Rep. of Phil. Sch.* 1830, 11.

⁵¹ *Phil. Sch. Rules and Regulations* (1842), 5-6, 12-14.

⁵² *Ibid.* (1852), 4, 6.

⁵³ *Builder*, 17 Oct. 1857, 594-5.

⁵⁴ *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966-IX] H.C., p. 257 (1867-8), xxviii (9).

⁵⁵ Wayne, *Phil. Sch.* 6-8; *The Times*, 1 Aug. 1953.

⁵⁶ *Mill Hill Sch. Register 1807-1926*, 452-3; *D.N.B.*

⁵⁷ *Statement of the Design and Plan of the Protestant Dissenters Grammar School.*

⁵⁸ Since demolished, but trees believed to have been planted by Collinson are still to be seen in the school grounds.

⁵⁹ N. G. Brett-James, *Mill Hill*, 18-24, where the spelling 'Humphries' is adopted.

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his resignation and attacked the committee in a lengthy pamphlet.⁶⁰

The new building was occupied in 1826, but dissensions continued until the appointment of Thomas Priestley as headmaster in 1834. He was popular, a good teacher and disciplinarian, and under his guidance the numbers rose to 139. Later, however, numbers declined, and Philip Smith, his successor, faced salary reductions, staff reductions, increased fees, outbreaks of scarlet fever, a rebellion led by his own son, and finally dismissal. Numbers continued to fall, debts increased, and in December 1868 the school closed.⁶¹ Narrow sectarianism could not be blamed for its decline, since in the first 25 years of its existence the school had had an Anglican headmaster, Robert Cullen (1828–31), and had educated a bishop, a dean, and two canons of the Established Church.⁶² The school had never been confined to the sons of Free Churchmen, and is Christian rather than denominational.⁶³

The revival of Mill Hill in 1869 was largely the work of Thomas Scrutton, who, together with his supporters, formed a new trust and appointed Dr. R. F. Weymouth as headmaster. The new headmaster was a scholar and an organizer.⁶⁴ Numbers rose to over 180, but on the other hand it was felt that Weymouth did not encourage his boys to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by the abolition of the religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge. During this period the first boarding-houses were opened, Dr. Murray—for fifteen years the mainstay of the staff—began his work on the *Oxford Dictionary*, and Gladstone visited the school to distribute prizes. In the latter part of Weymouth's headmastership, however, numbers fell and the future of the school was once more in doubt.⁶⁵

The second revival was the work of John McClure, appointed headmaster with an almost entirely new staff in 1891. Numbers rose above a hundred again for the third time. A new chapel (designed by Basil Champneys), a physics laboratory, monitors' studies, and a headmaster's house were erected; music played a much greater part in the life of the school, astronomy was added to the curriculum, standards of scholarship rose, and over all McClure presided with an easy discipline. In 1907 the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, was guest of honour at the centenary celebrations, and Lord Winterstoke (Sir W. H. Wills), an old boy and chairman of the governors, presented the Winterstoke Library to the school. In 1913 McClure was knighted for his services to education both at Mill Hill and in the world outside.⁶⁶

In 1922 McClure died suddenly. His successor, M. L. Jacks, discouraged excessive specialization both in studies and in sports by organizing the curriculum, providing new and better facilities for

games, and stimulating the growth of a wide range of clubs and hobbies.⁶⁷ During the 1920's notable experiments in radio communication were carried out under the direction of W. H. Brown, the senior science master. In 1924 the school was visited by the Prince of Wales, who unveiled the War Memorial Gates in front of the main building.⁶⁸

In 1938 Jacks left to become Director of the Institute of Education at Oxford University, and in 1939 the school was evacuated to St. Bees in Cumberland, where it remained until 1945. On its return the school, in partnership with the Middlesex County Council, inaugurated an unusual experiment. Each year about twenty boys whose parents live in the county are admitted by interview as boarders, the County Council giving assistance with their fees. These boys constitute about a fifth of the school. A new building for arts and crafts was opened in 1960. In 1962 there were about 450 boys in the school, 390 in six boarding-houses and 60 in the day house.⁶⁹

THE NORTH LONDON COLLEGIATE SCHOOL

IN April 1850 Frances Mary Buss opened the North London Collegiate School for Ladies at 46 (later renumbered 12) Camden Street. Camden Town was then a professional neighbourhood near both Hampstead and the City, and 35 daughters of gentlemen and 'the most respectable' tradesmen assembled on the opening day. The Vicar of St. Pancras, Canon Thomas Dale, who already had a similar school for boys in his parish, lent his interest and support, and David Laing, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Kentish Town, acted as Honorary Superintendent. The girls received an education which from the first included Latin, French, natural science, and periods of recreation; German, Italian, and music were extras. The teaching encouraged thought and observation rather than learning by rote, and its success was immediate. By December 1850 there were 115 pupils and Miss Buss had founded 'the model for girls' Day Schools throughout the country'.⁷⁰

At this time there were no public examinations for girls, but in 1863 Miss Emily Davies prevailed upon the Cambridge authorities to allow girls to take the Local examinations unofficially. After only six weeks' notice 84 candidates sat the examination; of these 25 were from the North London Collegiate School. Contrary to the expectations of the critics the girls worked at their papers in a business-like way and showed no sign of physical strain. Fifteen pupils of North London Collegiate were among those who passed. As a result of this experiment girls were soon admitted to the examinations on the same terms as boys except that, to avoid the supposed evils of emulation, their names were not published.⁷¹ The

⁶⁰ *The Times*, 23 Mar. 1825; *The Committee of the Protestant Dissenters Grammar School Brought to the Bar of the Dissenting Part of the Religious Public*.

⁶¹ N. G. Brett-James, *Mill Hill School 1807–1907*, 77–210 *passim*.

⁶² Brett-James, *Mill Hill*, 93, 97.

⁶³ *School Prospectus* (1960), 1, 4.

⁶⁴ R. F. Weymouth, *Inaugural Address at Re-opening of Mill Hill School*.

⁶⁵ Brett-James, *Mill Hill Sch. 1807–1907*, 211–57; *D.N.B.* 1901–11; *D.N.B.* 1912–22. The connexion with the *N.E.D.* is commemorated under 'anamorphose' and by the Murray Scriptorium at the school.

⁶⁶ N. G. Brett-James, *Hist. of Mill Hill Sch. 1807–1923*,

271, 289, 298, 313, 408; *Foundation Day at Mill Hill 1907* (priv. printed); *D.N.B.* 1922–30; K. M. G. Ousey, *McClure of Mill Hill*, *passim*.

⁶⁷ MS. history of school kindly lent to the present writer by its author, Mr. T. F. Jackson, a former master.

⁶⁸ Brett-James, *Mill Hill*, 143–5.

⁶⁹ Ex inf. the headmaster.

⁷⁰ The school possesses full and well-catalogued archives dating from the time of Miss Buss, and these are housed in a special room; *North. Lond. Collegiate Sch. 1850–1950*, ed. R. M. Scrimgeour, 25–29, 208; *Public Schs. and the General Educ. System* (Fleming Rep. 1944), 82.

⁷¹ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 33–34, 208–9.

next step was to gain public recognition for girls' schools. The terms of reference of the Schools Enquiry Commission did not specifically exclude the education of girls, and several women teachers, among them Miss Buss, gave evidence. Her pupils, she said, were mostly upper middle-class, but any girls of good character were admitted; they came to the school extremely ignorant but she was sure that they could learn 'anything that they are taught in an interesting manner and for which they have some motive to work'. The science instruction, she feared, was 'too much perhaps the means of interesting knowledge rather than of mental training'. Full mathematics was not taught, only arithmetic, but all the girls learnt French, 50 learnt Latin, and some studied political economy. No girl was excused any part of the syllabus except for reasons of health. There were 200 girls, 11 governesses, 8 visiting women teachers, and 13 visiting masters. Fees ranged from 9 to 12 guineas and salaries from £24 to £80 a year.⁷²

In 1870 Miss Buss decided to transform her flourishing private venture into a public grammar school for girls by transferring it to a trust which would carry on the work when she was no longer able to do so. New premises were acquired at 202 Camden Road;⁷³ here there was a large schoolroom which could be partitioned by curtains, a similar room upstairs, two classrooms, and long passages for 'musical gymnastics'.⁷⁴ The move allowed Miss Buss to found a second school, the Camden School, in the accommodation left vacant in Camden Street.⁷⁵ Unfortunately Dr. John Storrar, chairman of the trust 1870-4, was a man accustomed to command, and his relations with Miss Buss, who had exercised independent authority for twenty years, were often difficult, although she got on better with his successor, Canon Anthony Wilson Thorold.⁷⁶ The changed status of the school was confirmed in 1875, when a scheme for its administration was prepared by the Endowed Schools Commission. An appeal for an endowment fund for the two schools brought in gifts from several City companies, notably the Brewers' Company, which provided £20,000 for buildings and £600 annually from the Platt Charity, a Brewers' charity, while for scholarships there was an additional £2,000 from Dame Alice Owen's Charity.⁷⁷ This enabled Miss Buss to proceed with her plans for a new school building in Sandall Road. The Clothworkers' Company granted £105 a year for scholarships and £2,500 for an assembly hall, which bore the company's name. The new school was opened in 1879 by the Prince and Princess of Wales. The latter had been the patroness of the schools since 1871. Meanwhile the Camden School had moved into new buildings in Prince of Wales Road in 1878.

Satisfactory inspection reports by the College of Preceptors in 1874 and the University of London

⁷² *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966-IV] H.C., pp. 252-7 (1867-8), xxviii (4); [3966-IX] H.C., pp. 288-92 (1867-8), xxviii (9).

⁷³ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 37-38, 203; Josephine Kamm, *How Different From Us*, 101-2; A. E. Ridley, *Frances Mary Buss and her work for Education*, 93.

⁷⁴ Mary Gurney, *Are we to have education for Middle-Class Girls?* (2nd edn.), 12-13.

⁷⁵ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 38.

⁷⁶ Kamm, *How Different From Us*, 127, 138-42, 145; Thorold later became Bp. of Rochester and, while still chairman, Bp. of Winchester.

in 1876 testified to continued academic progress.⁷⁸ But Miss Buss was a pioneer in other directions, encouraging gymnastics, swimming, skating, hockey, and athletics. She incorporated in the new buildings the first gymnasium designed for a girls' school and obtained the use of the St. Pancras baths, but her proposal to make the girls 'really bold swimmers' by capsizing a boat in open water was not adopted. She started a school sports day, and in the interests of dress reform organized a tug-of-war between girls who wore stays and those who did not; the latter won. Miss Buss had little time for fainting girls, for whom she recommended the cold water treatment. She also encouraged the more usual accomplishments such as art, music, needlework, cookery, and handicrafts.⁷⁹

By present-day standards discipline appears to have been very strict; talking seemed to be the main evil, and 'every moment, almost every movement, was ordered'. There were many rules, breach of which involved signing the 'Appearance Book', but any form which went for half a term without a signature was allowed a 'gratification'—half an hour's free time—as a reward. Elaborate measures were taken to ensure that the assignments of homework were properly done and that cheating was prevented. Ink was normally prohibited in school, and a Saturday morning might be spent in removing an accidental stain from the floor. It must be remembered, however, that many of the staff and pupils felt themselves to be pioneers in a great campaign against sex discrimination in education.⁸⁰ Miss Buss wrote to Maria Grey⁸¹ in 1881 'there is no such thing as a woman's education question',⁸² and she intended her girls to prove it; moreover, many former pupils testified not only to her discipline but also to her kindness and generosity. Although an authoritarian, she was prepared to delegate authority to prefects and monitors, and she encouraged self-governing clubs and societies.⁸³

Miss Buss's influence outside her own school was extensive. She had a deep concern for the dignity and status of the teaching profession. Believing that academic qualifications alone were not sufficient for a teacher, she arranged lectures for her own staff on the theory and practice of education. Her belief in the value of training made her an ardent supporter of the first Training Colleges; she was closely associated with the foundation of both the Maria Grey and Cambridge Training Colleges. She also considered that association between members of the profession was not only valuable but essential. It was, therefore, quite natural that it should have been at a meeting at her house that the Association of Head Mistresses was inaugurated. Nine headmistresses were present; Miss Buss was elected as President of the Association and held the office until her death in 1894.

Her successor at North London Collegiate, whom

⁷⁷ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 40.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 41-42; Kamm, *How Different From Us*, 149.

⁷⁹ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 45-46, 122; Ridley, *Frances Mary Buss*, 191; Kamm, *How Different From Us*, 137, 221-3.

⁸⁰ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 59-60, 68, 117, 162-92; M. V. Hughes, *Lond. Family 1870-1900*, 155-92; Kamm, *How Different From Us*, 129; Ridley, *Frances Mary Buss*, 221.

⁸¹ *D.N.B. Second Supp.*, i. 166-7.

⁸² R. L. Archer, *Secondary Educ. in 19th Cent.*, 254.

⁸³ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 55-70, 117.

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she had designated as early as 1878, was Mrs. Sophie Bryant, a mathematician and a brilliant teacher. In 1884 she had become the first woman D.Sc. and in 1894 she was one of the three women appointed to the Bryce Commission on secondary education. She was also a member of the Senate of London University and the L.C.C. Technical Education Board, a governor of two training colleges, president of the Head Mistresses Association 1903-5, a member of numerous other committees, a worker for Irish Home Rule and for women's suffrage, an oarswoman, an alpinist—she climbed the Matterhorn—and a prolific author.⁸⁴ Despite all these activities she devoted much time and thought to the school, keeping both staff and pupils in touch with the problems of the outside world. In the face of considerable criticism she introduced pupils from elementary schools. Early in 1918, wearied by war-time anxieties and wishing to devote more time to educational writing and political work, she prevailed upon the governors to accept her resignation.⁸⁵

Miss I. M. Drummond, who was appointed to succeed Mrs. Bryant, was a former member of the staff of North London Collegiate and had been latterly headmistress of the Camden School. Miss Drummond relaxed some of the regulations and encouraged the free choice of creative activities in the arts and in school societies.⁸⁶ In 1929, with the assistance of the Middlesex County Council, the school acquired 'Canons',⁸⁷ a Georgian house standing in extensive grounds at Little Stanmore, and soon a section of the school was travelling there each morning of the week for lessons and games. Eventually it was decided to move the whole school to Canons, and the foundation-stone of a new building extending behind the house was laid in May 1939. The work was sufficiently advanced by September 1939 for it to be continued despite the war.⁸⁸ After a period of evacuation at Luton it was possible in June 1940 to open a united school within the bare walls of the new building.⁸⁹ Having re-established the school, Miss Drummond retired in the following December.⁹⁰ Her successor, Miss E. G. Harold, dealt competently with the problems of wartime and had the satisfaction of seeing numbers rise to over 650 before she resigned in 1944. In 1941 the Sandall Road building was severely damaged in an air-raid.⁹¹

After the war the new headmistress, Dr. Kitty Anderson, made every effort to restore normal conditions of work.⁹² The school was decorated for the first time, and tennis courts and games fields were properly laid out. Recognition as a direct grant school was continued. In 1955 the Mary Done swimming-pool was opened by the Duchess of Gloucester, President of the school, and in 1959 a new Drawing school was erected. By 1964 there were 860 girls in the school, of whom 228 were in the Sixth forms and 109 in the preparatory department. Dr. Anderson was President of the Association of

Head Mistresses from 1954 to 1956, and served on several educational committees. She was awarded a D.B.E. in 1961.⁹³

OWEN'S SCHOOL

In her youth Alice Wilkes narrowly escaped death in the fields at Islington when a carelessly discharged arrow pierced her hat. In 1608, ten years after the death of her third husband, Sir Thomas Owen, a judge of the Common Pleas, Alice founded almshouses for ten poor widows in gratitude for her escape many years earlier. In 1609 the charity was vested in the Brewers' Company, of which Henry Robinson, her first husband, had been a member.⁹⁴ In 1610 she obtained from the Crown a further patent to establish a free school on the same site and in 1613, a month before her death, Alice made rules for the almshouses and the free school. The schoolmaster was to have a house and £20 a year for teaching grammar, writing, arithmetic, and casting accounts to 30 children, 24 from Islington and 6 from Clerkenwell. The original building stood on the east side of St. John Street until 1841; part of Alice's own memorial, removed from the church of St. Mary, Islington, in 1751, is preserved at the school.⁹⁵

One of the early masters, William Smith (1666-78), was involved in the Popish Plot. The Lords did not accept the evidence against him, but nevertheless his licence to teach was revoked.⁹⁶ In the first few years of the 18th century there was local criticism of the administration of the charity, but in 1717-18 a prolonged lawsuit brought by the Islington vestry was decided in favour of the Brewers' Company.⁹⁷ Nevertheless the school suffered a number of misfortunes. Thomas Dennett (master 1717-31) ran away, leaving the boys to their own devices, Henry Clarke (1731-8) retired through ill-health, Richard Shilton (1738-50), although at first successful, had disputes with the Company, the almswomen, and the boys; but under David Davies (1750-91) the school flourished, bringing the master the reward of an annual gratuity of ten guineas. Alexander Balfour (1791-1824) at first maintained his predecessor's high standards, but soon there were complaints of inattention, irregularity, over-severe discipline, and the neglect of foundationers in favour of fee-payers.⁹⁸

In 1818 the Charity Commissioners found that there were 30 foundationers and 25 private pupils, two or three of whom boarded with Balfour. The private pupils were taught Latin and French; Latin was also available for the foundationers, but none required it. The school was in good order and Bell's monitorial system had lately been introduced; Church of England prayers were read every weekday, but on Sundays the schoolroom was let to the Baptists for £20 a year, an arrangement apparently made by Balfour and which he was subsequently

⁸⁴ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 52, 70, 74-78, 225; Kamm, *How Different From Us*, 179, 241.

⁸⁵ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 85-92.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 94.

⁸⁷ M. Robbins, *Mdx.* 332-4; *Country Life*, xxxv. 708; xl. 518, 615; cvi. 1950.

⁸⁸ *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 101-3, 183.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 184-7.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 189.

⁹¹ *Ibid.* 190-4; Kamm, *How Different From Us*, 259; this building was later occupied by Camden School.

⁹² *N. Lond. Coll. Sch.*, ed. Scrimgeour, 194, 130.

⁹³ Ex inf. the headmistress.

⁹⁴ *D.N.B.*

⁹⁵ *1st Rep. Com. Char.* H.C. 83, pp. 190-1 (1819), x-A; W. J. Pinks, *Hist. of Clerkenwell*, 473-8.

⁹⁶ *L.J.* xiii. 312, 332, 334; W. Smith, *Intrigues of the Popish Plot Laid Open* (1685), 8-14; Jane Lane, *Titus Oates*, 131.

⁹⁷ Guildhall MS. 5492.

⁹⁸ R. A. Dare, *Hist. of Owen's Schools*, 42-46.

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required to discontinue. In his evidence Nicholas Charrington, Junior Warden of the Brewers' Company, agreed that the school was going well and that the boys knew the catechism, but he hinted that Balfour's conduct was not always considered satisfactory, for which reason the customary ten guineas gratuity had been withheld the previous year. The master's salary was £30 with house; direct expenditure on the school in 1816-17 was £84, the total income of the charity being £453 and expenditure £294 a year.⁹⁹

The increased value of the property enabled a new scheme to be drawn up in 1830 under which a larger share in the income was allotted to the school. Ten years later a new almshouse and school for 120 boys was erected in Owen Street at a cost of over £6,000, and the original buildings were demolished.¹

John Hoare (1833-79) was a good disciplinarian and a successful organizer. The governors' appreciation was shown in the rapid increase in his own salary and gratuity, although later his efficiency seems to have declined.² In 1865 there were 100 boys from Islington and 20 from Clerkenwell, all aged between seven and fourteen. The school was understaffed, since there were only Hoare and his son to take six classes; visiting French and drawing masters taught 40 and 16 boys respectively. The pupils were weakest in the elementary subjects, but results were 'pretty fair' and there was certainly keen competition to get in—44 candidates for 7 Islington places and 16 for 4 Clerkenwell vacancies. The master received £200 a year, his assistant £150, and books and stationery cost £36.³

In 1878 a revised scheme was drawn up. John Hoare and his son were both retired on pension, the school was enlarged to take 300 boys for each of whom a fee of about £3 a year was to be paid, and the almshouse was demolished to provide space for a playground, the former inmates receiving pensions by way of compensation. The new headmaster, John Easterbrook (1881-1909), proved to be a second founder, establishing high academic standards, a wide curriculum, and firm discipline. Further extensions in 1895 enlarged the school to take 420 boys. A new development in 1886 had been the opening of a girls' school in Owen's Row, with Miss Emily Armstrong as headmistress.⁴

R. F. Cholmeley (1909-27) acquired playing fields at Oakleigh Park, where he also established a camp school in half-a-dozen army huts; throughout the year groups of boys received lessons in the morning there and played games in the afternoon—a system which continued until 1939. The crowning achievement of his headmastership was the new Assembly Hall, opened in 1927. The Revd. H. N. Asman (1929-39), who was promoted from second

master, both maintained high academic standards and encouraged music, art, and drama. O. W. Mitchell (1939-48) faced the problems of wartime evacuation to Bedford, during which the school acquired a new sport, rowing, and of return to empty and battered buildings.⁵ In 1951 the school was granted voluntary aided status. In 1963 there were more than 600 boys in the school, of whom over 100 were in the Sixth form.⁶

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, HARLEY STREET⁷

In 1843 the Governesses' Benevolent Institution was founded to provide a training for governesses, granting certificates to the proficient. The decision to offer certificates to competent governesses led to the establishment of a committee of examiners but it was soon apparent that to do any real good it would be necessary to provide 'an education for female teachers'.⁸ The committee of examiners later became the committee of education, which in 1848 opened Queen's College at 66 (later renumbered 45) Harley Street. There was no endowment and the college was dependent for its success on the unselfish devotion and energy of its founders, whose aims were to set up an institution 'for the instruction of ladies generally' and to raise the status and self-respect of governesses by improving their qualifications.⁹ F. D. Maurice was chairman of the committee, and among his associates were Charles Kingsley, John Hullah, William Sterndale Bennett, Charles Grenfell Nicolay, Edward Plumptre, and Richard Chenevix Trench.¹⁰

From the beginning the classes were open to all girls and women above the age of twelve.¹¹ The college was divided into seniors and juniors,¹² and soon it became necessary to open a preparatory class for younger girls and to offer additional classes in the evening. It was open to any girl to 'select such classes as will meet with her views'¹³ and fees were charged for each subject according to the number of weekly classes held in it. Education was by a system of lectures and essays; Maurice discouraged competition and allowed neither rewards nor punishments. A 'lady resident' received the pupils, and because the committee and professors were men, there were lady visitors to superintend the work of the college, to chaperon the girls at their classes, and to act as intermediaries between professors and parents or guardians. These visitors were 'ladies of rank and talent'; the duty became a fashionable form of social service, and Lady Stanley of Alderley, Lady Kay-Shuttleworth, and Lady Canning were among those who served.¹⁴

Among the early pupils were Dorothea Beale,

⁹⁹ *1st Rep. Com. Char.*, p. 191, App. 313-17.

¹ *City of Lond. Livery Companies Com.* [C. 4073-I] H.C., pp. 33-34 (1884), xxxix (5); Pinks, *Clerkenwell*, 477.

² Dare, *Owen's Sch.* 59-61.

³ *City of Lond. Livery Companies Com.*, pp. 35-36; *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966-XI] H.C., p. 70 (1867-8), xxviii (10).

⁴ *City of Lond. Livery Companies Com.*, pp. 38-43; *Ret. Endowed Char. Lond.* H.C. 252, pp. 164-6 (1900), lxi (3).

⁵ Dare, *Owen's Sch.* 83-86, 97, 102-9, 111-25.

⁶ *Ibid.* 182.

⁷ The writer is indebted to Miss C. Oliver, registrar at Queen's College, for information and advice.

⁸ F. D. Maurice, *Introductory Lectures delivered at Queen's Coll. Lond.* 3-4.

⁹ Cttee. of Educ. minutes, 10 Oct. 1850, *penes* Miss Oliver; Lady Henrietta Maria Stanley of Alderley, 'Personal Recollections of Women's Education', *Nineteenth Cent.* vi. 309.

¹⁰ H. C. Barnard, *Short Hist. of Eng. Educ.* 183-4; S. J. Curtis, *Hist. of Educ. in Britain*, 171; F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Centenary Hist. of King's Coll. Lond.* 196; *Nineteenth Cent.* vi. 309.

¹¹ *Prospectus*, 1848.

¹² In 1964 these terms were still used for girls taking G.C.E. 'A' level and 'O' level courses respectively.

¹³ *Prospectus*, 1848.

¹⁴ Mrs. Alex-Tweedie, *First Coll. Open to Women, Queen's Coll. Harley Street*, 20-22; Rosalie C. Grylls, *Queen's Coll. Harley Street*, 8-17.

later principal of Cheltenham Ladies' College, and Frances Mary Buss, founder of the North London Collegiate School for Girls.¹⁵ Miss Beale later became the first lady tutor, but resigned because she thought that pupils were being taken into the college from the preparatory class before they were sufficiently prepared¹⁶ and because she resented the limitation on the authority of the women members of the staff, claiming that 'though some classes may be profitably undertaken by men, the education of girls as a whole must be in the hands of their own sex'.¹⁷ Miss Beale may have come into conflict with Nicolay, deputy chairman since 1848 and dean since 1853, who resigned the latter office in 1856 after an investigating committee had found that there was a lack of confidence in him in the college, although he retained his professorships until 1858.¹⁸ In 1850 there was an anonymous attack on Maurice, Nicolay, and Kingsley, based on their introductory lectures at the college;¹⁹ in 1853, on his dismissal from King's College, Maurice submitted his resignation, and although a majority of the Council voted against its acceptance he refused to withdraw it without a unanimous vote in his favour. He returned as professor of English Literature and Modern History from 1858 to 1866.

The Bishop of London was invited to become Visitor of the college in 1851, and in 1853 the college was granted a royal charter; the bishop took the chair at the first annual meeting held by the college separately from the Governesses' Benevolent Institution. In 1864 the first principal of the college, A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster, was appointed.²⁰ When the college was inspected in 1865 there were 124 pupils and 59 'non-compounders', students who attended fewer classes. Fees ranged from 12 to 27 guineas a year and boarders paid 60 guineas; music, drawing, dancing, writing, and private tuition were charged as extras.²¹ The Revd. E. H. Plumptre, Maurice's brother-in-law, who had been connected with the college from its foundation, was Principal 1875-9.²² The Revd. J. Llewelyn Davies (principal 1873-5 and 1879-86) organized teaching for University of London matriculation and B.A. examinations, but although students continued to take matriculation until it came to an end as a separate examination, few entered for the B.A. and that part of the plan was given up.²³

In 1881 Camilla Croudace became lady resident. She was a woman of wide interests and broad culture who was a dominant influence at Queen's for a quarter of a century.²⁴ Among her early pupils was Gertrude Bell²⁵ and one of her last was Katherine

Mansfield. The latter edited the college magazine, contributed several stories herself, and began a novel.²⁶ One of the staff who impressed Katherine Mansfield was J. A. Cramb, the history professor, whose lectures on Germany and England, published in 1913, made a considerable stir.²⁷ Emile Cammaerts was professor of French 1915-31.²⁸

After the First World War the college introduced secretarial and domestic science courses and expanded into 47 Harley Street. In 1932 Miss G. E. Holloway became the first woman principal. The college was evacuated to Keswick in 1938 and Brackley in 1939, but in 1940 it returned to London under the leadership of Miss A. M. Kynaston (acting principal 1940-2, principal 1942-64) with a predominantly female staff.²⁹ Since 1931, when Board of Education recognition was obtained, the college has adapted itself to the general pattern of girls' schools, but although it offers an education on modern lines for the General Certificate of Education and university entrance, it still caters for some non-examination and part-time students. The college expanded into 49 Harley Street in 1963. In 1964 there were 245 pupils, of whom three were non-compounders.

RAINE'S FOUNDATION SCHOOLS

IN or about 1719³⁰ Henry Raine (1679-1738), a London brewer, founded free schools in Fawdon Fields³¹ for 50 boys and 50 girls of the parish of St. George, Wapping. A deed³² of 1736 conveying these schools and other property to 46 trustees also sets out Raine's rules for his charity. For a salary of £40 a year the master was to teach all the children the catechism and the boys reading, writing, and arithmetic, while for £20 a year the mistress was to teach the girls reading, knitting, sewing, and the like. The boys were to enter at the age of nine, and after four years at school were to be eligible for apprenticeship grants of £3 each. The girls were to enter at eight and after two years 10 were to be selected annually for transfer to a boarding-school;³³ here they were to receive domestic training, by their own knitting and sewing earning the salaries of their mistress and cook, and after four years they were to be put out as apprentices or servants. In his will, proved 1738,³⁴ Raine expressed the hope that his nephews, for whose sake he had kept himself unmarried, would settle £210 to continue his custom of giving annually two marriage portions to girls chosen by lot. In 1740 the trustees obtained a Chancery decree enabling them to set aside £4,000

¹⁵ For Dorothea Beale see *D.N.B. Second Supp.* i. 116-18; *V.C.H. Glos.* ii. 433; *V.C.H. Oxf.* iii. 348; and for Frances Mary Buss see article on North London Collegiate School.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Raikes, *Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham*, 35.

¹⁷ Alex-Tweedie, *First Coll.* 34-35.

¹⁸ Cttee. of Educ. minutes 22 Dec. 1856.

¹⁹ *Orly. Rev.* clxxii (March 1850), 364-83; *Frazer's Mag.* May 1850.

²⁰ Cttee. of Educ. minutes 1 Feb. 1864.

²¹ *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966-IX] H.C., p. 294 (1867-8), xxviii (9).

²² Alex-Tweedie, *First Coll.* 26.

²³ Ibid. 26-27; *Nineteenth Cent.* vi. 310-11; Grylls, *Queen's Coll.* 50.

²⁴ Grylls, *Queen's Coll.* 57-60; A. Alpers, *Katherine Mansfield*, 56.

²⁵ *Earlier Letters of Gertrude Bell*, ed. Elsa Richmond, 17, 93.

²⁶ Ruth Elvish Mantz and J. Middleton Murry, *Katherine Mansfield*, 188-9; Sylvia Berkman, *Katherine Mansfield*, 22-23.

²⁷ Mantz and Murry, *Katherine Mansfield*, 189; Grylls, *Queen's Coll.* 62.

²⁸ Grylls, *Queen's Coll.* 89.

²⁹ Ibid. 3, 87, 96-103, 116.

³⁰ Date is so given in Raine's will, P.C.C. 131 Brodrepp; the archives of the school are extensive and well-kept.

³¹ On east side of Old Gravel Lane (renamed Wapping Lane). In 1958 a small turning off Raine Street (formerly Charles Street) retained the name of Farthing Fields.

³² *Copy of an Indenture of Release of several Freehold and Leasehold Premises from the late Mr. Henry Raine (1748)*; copy at schools.

³³ Known as Raine's Hospital, Raine's Asylum, or, more popularly, the Hundred Pound School.

³⁴ P.C.C. 131 Brodrepp.

from the funds of the foundation to carry out this bequest; sufficient funds had accumulated to permit the holding of the first draw in May 1758.³⁵ Raine had stipulated that the privilege should be restricted to six unmarried girls chosen by the trustees each Christmas from applicants who had spent four years in the boarding-school, had attained the age of 22, had been given certificates of good character by their employers, and were intending to marry local men of good repute. The weddings and the draws for the next portion took place on 1 May and 5 November; the school marched in procession to the church, the extra £5 provided a breakfast for the bridal party, the girls sang odes traditional to the occasion, and the trustees and other notabilities attended a dinner at which subscriptions were solicited.³⁶

The girls in the boarding-school were kept entirely separate from their parents who had to relinquish to the trustees the placing of the children when their four years were finished. The outer gate was to be kept locked, no girl was to go out on errands or to get medical relief, and holidays were restricted to four days taken at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, and Bartholomewtide.³⁷ In 1803 it was decided that any girl spoken to by a relative or friend on her way to or from church was to lose her next holiday and to be expelled if the offence were repeated.³⁸ Twenty years later the trustees ordered an inquiry into the 'frequent elopements', and allowed the matron to increase the holidays as a reward for good conduct,³⁹ but in 1829 the holidays were again restricted to one day a quarter.⁴⁰ In 1844 following complaints of insubordination nine girls were expelled and six absconded,⁴¹ and between 1870 and 1872 fifteen girls were expelled, four absconded, and twelve were removed.⁴² Sewing occupied much of the girls' time,⁴³ but in 1753 and again in 1783 the schoolmaster was ordered to visit the boarding-school to teach writing.⁴⁴ In 1771 the mistress was allowed a gratuity of five guineas on account of the deficiency in the children's earnings,⁴⁵ and in 1808 the trustees expressed displeasure with a dozen girls whose idleness was proved by the smallness of the sums set against their names in the work bill.⁴⁶ The boys worked also, making nets two days a week; one master, indeed, on taking up his post, agreed to a deduction of five guineas from his salary as a fee for instruction in braiding.⁴⁷

The administration of the charity had been hindered from the first by the defective provisions of the original trust, but these difficulties were overcome by a private Act⁴⁸ in 1780 which incor-

porated the trustees. The extension of the London Docks at the beginning of the 19th century seriously affected the future prospects of the foundation as it involved the compulsory sale of property which later would have yielded an increased revenue, and by changing the character of the neighbourhood it caused many of the subscribers to move away. In 1818 there were 50 boys and 50 girls in the old school; most of the boys were apprenticed on leaving, but there were only 27 girls in the boarding-school and all the buildings were in bad repair.⁴⁹ A National school was held in the hall and the children were educated with Raine's scholars; in 1818-19 the National school was allowed to erect new buildings on foundation land rented at £2 a year.⁵⁰

In 1848-9 the trustees were sharply divided over a proposal to dismiss the schoolmaster who had not merely seduced his deceased wife's sister but had subsequently married her. He escaped with a severe censure,⁵¹ but was forced to resign in 1852 for the still greater offence of insolvency.⁵² The anti-ritualist riots at St. George's Church caused the children to attend Christ Church from September 1859 to February 1861.⁵³

Since the construction of the London docks the schools had been virtually separated from the parish. In 1875 the boys' school was moved to more centrally-situated premises in Cannon Street Road, where it became a public elementary school.⁵⁴ Five years later the Middlesex School Society (founded 1784) was incorporated into Raine's Foundation; this enabled the girls to be moved into the former Middlesex school in Cannon Street Road.⁵⁵ In 1883 the boarding-school was closed, an economy which enabled the governors to build a new girls' school on the east side of Cannon Street Road; the existing girls' school on the other side of the road was then adapted for the use of the boys.⁵⁶ The buildings on the original site were sold, but the figures of the boy and girl and Raine's motto, 'Come in and do your duty to God and man', were preserved and may still be seen at the schools.

In the 1890's the governors decided that as the London School Board was providing efficient and free elementary education the future of Raine's schools lay in secondary education. The boys' school was recognized as a secondary school in 1897 and the girls' in 1904.⁵⁷ The existing premises soon proved inadequate, and in 1913 the schools were moved to new buildings in Arbour Square.⁵⁸ The change in the status and character of the schools

³⁵ Trustees' Minute Bk. i. 364-5, 368; *Lond. Mag.* Apr. 1758, 191-2.

³⁶ Full account in *Raine's Foundation—Its Origin, History, Aims and Needs*, copies at schools. The Revd. Harry Jones, himself sometime rector and chairman of the trustees, describes the ceremony and some of its problems in *East and West London*, 194-7. Latterly the celebration sometimes took the form of an outing to the Crystal Palace. The lot table and canister are preserved at the schools. The last and 164th award was in 1892.

³⁷ Trustees' Min. Bk. i. 223, 220, 317-18, 340, 168.

³⁸ *Ibid.* iii. 211.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 460.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* iv. 31-32.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 359-63.

⁴² *Ibid.* vi. 49-180 *passim*.

⁴³ *Ibid.* i. 137; ii. 313.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* i. 378, 380; ii. 374.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* i. 232.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 291.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* 362-3; *Lond. Mag.* Apr. 1758, 191.

⁴⁸ Act for incorporating Trustees of Henry Raine, 20 Geo. III, c. 46 (priv. Act).

⁴⁹ 1st Rep. Com. Char. H.C. 83, pp. 187-90 and App. 305-10 (1819), x-A.

⁵⁰ Trustees' Min. Bk. iii. 400, 412.

⁵¹ *Copies of Documents, etc. Relating to a Decision of the Trustees of Raine's Charities on the late Question concerning the Schoolmaster; and Raine's Charity. Defence of the Charity and Trustees against a Calumnious Libel*; copies of both at schools. Cf. *The Eng. Churchman*, 11 Jan. 1849; Trustees' Min. Bk. iv. 501, v. 26 *passim*.

⁵² Trustees' Min. Bk. v. 169.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 319, 342.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* vi. 234-5, 244-6.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 504, 509, 517.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* vii. 166.

⁵⁸ *Raine's Foundation*, 19.

was very largely the result of almost half-a-century's devoted effort by R. S. Taylor, headmaster 1875–1922; the standards he set were adopted by Miss Maude Grier, headmistress of the girls' school 1909–29.⁵⁹ Their work was continued by A. Wilkinson Dagger (1922–49) and Miss M. B. Haugh (1930–55). In 1951 both schools were granted voluntary aided status. In 1959 there were 500 boys and over 400 girls in attendance, but in the 1960's Raine's suffered the decline in numbers common to all Stepney secondary schools.⁶⁰ In 1963 the Minister of Education signed an order establishing one co-educational Raine's school.

TOTTENHAM GRAMMAR SCHOOL

CLAIMS that Tottenham Grammar School was founded in 1456 by John Drayton, a London goldsmith, still await proof.⁶¹ William Bedwell, Vicar of Tottenham and historian of the parish,⁶² writing in 1631 mentioned an ancient endowment reputed to have been given for the maintenance of a school 'but it went not forward';⁶³ nevertheless Sarah, Duchess of Somerset,⁶⁴ by her will drawn up in 1686 left £250 to extend an existing school-house, then occupied by the parish clerk, and a further £1,100 as endowment. The salary of the master was fixed provisionally at £40 and that of the usher at £10; they were to teach freely the children of all the inhabitants of Tottenham whose estates were valued at less than £20 a year.⁶⁵ The anniversary of the Duchess's death on 25 October 1692 is observed by the school as Founder's Day, and a wreath is laid on her tomb in Westminster Abbey. The provisions of the will were amplified by rules made in Chancery in 1710. From the estate the schoolmaster was to maintain the school-house, pay the usher, and keep the residue; he was to teach English, grammar rules, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism to

children aged 7 to 14, freely to those who qualified and for a fee to others. The master was to apply himself wholly to the school and could not be the vicar or curate of Tottenham.⁶⁶ The master of the time, Daniel Ridley, had to face the competition of the Quaker, Richard Claridge, but the latter was convicted and fined for keeping a school without a licence.⁶⁷

During the 18th century the school benefited from several legacies,⁶⁸ but by 1818 the building was dilapidated although 50 boys attended.⁶⁹ In 1840 the trustees pointed out that there was room for only 80 boys, but that the endowment would provide for twice that number; after an appeal for subscriptions the school was rebuilt to accommodate 120 boys.⁷⁰ The master from 1815 to 1857 was Lancaster Rickard, an old boy of the school and for 25 years clerk to Trinity Church.⁷¹ In 1865 it was reported that nearby National and British schools had almost superseded the older foundation; there were only 42 boys present, and the master, assisted by his two young sons as monitors, gave a wholly inadequate education to five classes.⁷² About 1872 there was a change of trustees, and four years later the charity was reorganized as a middle-class secondary school, and the surviving free scholars were transferred to one of the elementary schools.⁷³ During the headmastership of John Cohen (1881–1920) there were rapid developments; by 1906, when a new scheme associated the Middlesex County Council with the administration, numbers had risen to 200, and in 1910 a new school was erected for 300 pupils.⁷⁴ In 1933 entirely new buildings were opened by Sir William Prescott on a seven-acre site in White Hart Lane. In the closing weeks of the Second World War a German rocket fell near the school, killing two boys and causing much damage to the north-west side of the building.⁷⁵ In 1953 the school was granted voluntary aided status.

Mercers' School, as master 1697–1705: R. R. Dyson, *Hist. and Antiquities of Tottenham* (1790), 86–89; *D.N.B.*; Groves, *Tottenham G.S.* 4.

⁶⁸ Robinson, *Tottenham* (1840 edn.), ii. 219.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* (1818 edn.), 187–8.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* (1840 edn.), ii. 232.

⁷¹ Handbill at Bruce Castle; Groves, *Tottenham G.S.* 8.

⁷² *Schs. Enquiry Com.* [3966–XI] H.C., pp. 41–42 (1867–8), xxviii (10); J. Thorne, *Handbook of Environs of Lond.* ii. 624.

⁷³ W. Thornbury, *Old and New Lond.* v. 561.

⁷⁴ Groves, *Tottenham G.S.* 6–7.

⁷⁵ D. R. Morgan, *Scholastic Forge*, 146–8.

⁵⁹ *Raine's Foundation*, 23.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 26.

⁶¹ H. G. S. Groves, *Hist. Tottenham Grammar School*, 2; W. J. Roe, *Tottenham, Edmonton and Enfield Historical Notebook*, 101–3.

⁶² Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*, notes lxxxiv, k. 245.

⁶³ W. Bedwell, *Brief Description of Tottenham* (1631), reprinted in W. J. Roe, *Ancient Tottenham*, 119.

⁶⁴ *Complete Peerage*, xii (1), 76.

⁶⁵ P.C.C. Ash 22.

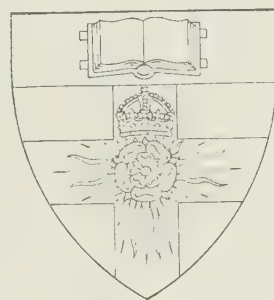
⁶⁶ W. Robinson, *Hist. and Antiquities of Tottenham* (1818 edn.), 182–7.

⁶⁷ *D.N.B.* A school tradition claims William Baxter, nephew of the nonconformist divine and later head of

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I

THE University of London¹ had its origin in the foundation in 1825 of the institution in Gower Street now known as University College.² That foundation, under the name of 'London University', was designed to supply the shortcomings of Oxford and Cambridge and to effect a reform of medical education in England. The shortcomings of Oxford and Cambridge may well have been exaggerated. Yet those universities were exclusive both because they were expensive and because they imposed religious tests; unproductive of any return commensurate with their endowments; and out-of-date because they had been built to serve a society in which to be identified with the Church and the land was to be a national institution. The London University offered by contrast higher education free of religious tests; a non-resident system that substantially reduced costs and relieved the university of responsibility for the religious upbringing of its members; teaching organized upon professorial lines, after the Scottish pattern, that accepted students for single courses, left them free to pick their teachers, and made these teachers dependent upon fees; and a range of studies that was suited to an industrial and commercial world.



THE UNIVERSITY. *Argent the cross of St. George thereon the union rose irradiated and ensigned with the imperial crown proper a chief azure thereon an open book also proper clasps or* [Granted 1838]

This new 'university' had at its outset to make up its mind whether to seek the justification of its name by securing incorporation and with it the power to grant degrees. Two paths were open. The promoters could proceed in Parliament by bill or address, or by petition to the Crown in Council. An attempt to secure incorporation by act of Parliament was started in 1825, but abandoned in face of the certainty of defeat in the Lords. Negotiations with the Government, looking to incorporation by charter, followed in 1827. But no favourable opportunity to secure the sanction of the Crown occurred until the return of the Whigs to power in 1830. In consequence the joint-stock company which opened its doors in 1828 did so with nothing to offer but its own certificates of proficiency.

By 1830 charters of incorporation had been granted to King's College, London, and to St. David's College, Lampeter, and the medical faculty of London University was

¹ For the following frequently-cited state papers the abbreviations shown in brackets are used throughout: *Lond. Univ. Return to an Address of the House of Commons dated 19 May 1840* H.C. 598. (1840), xl (*Ret. to H.O.G. Address*); *Mins. of Evidence taken before the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire whether any and what kind of new university or powers is or are required for the advancement of higher educ. in Lond.* [C. 5709-1], H.C. (1889), xxxix. (*Higher Educ.*); *ibid. Report* [C. 5709], H.C. (1889), xxxix. (*Rep. Higher Educ.*); *Mins. of Evidence taken by Royal Comm. appointed to consider the Draft Charter for the proposed Gresham Univ. in Lond.* [C. 7425], H.C. (1894), xxxiv. (*Royal Comm. (Gresham)*); *ibid. Report*, [C. 7259], H.C. (1893-4), xxxi. (*Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*); *Royal Comm. on Univ. Educ. in Lond. Appendix to First Report . . .*

Mins. of Evidence, [Cd. 5166], H.C. (1910), xxiii (*Univ. Educ.* (1)); *ibid. Second Rep.* [Cd. 5527], H.C. (1911), xx. (*Rep. Univ. Educ.* (2)); *ibid. Appendix to Second Rep. . . . Mins. of Evidence*, [Cd. 5528], H.C. (1911), xx. (*Univ. Educ.* (2)); *ibid. Appendix to Third Rep. . . . Mins. of Evidence*, [Cd. 5911], H.C. (1911), xx. (*Univ. Educ.* (3)); *ibid. Appendix to Fifth Rep. . . . Mins. of Evidence*, [Cd. 6312], H.C. (1912-13), xxii. (*Univ. Educ.* (5)); *ibid. Final Rep.* [Cd. 6717], H.C. (1913), xl. (*Univ. Educ. (Final)*); *ibid. Appendix to Final Rep. . . . Mins. of Evidence*, [Cd. 6718], H.C. (1913), xl. (*Univ. Educ. (Final. App.)*); *Rep. of Departmental Committee on Univ. of Lond.* Cmd. 2612, H.C. (1926), x. (*Dep. Cttee. Rep.*).

² H. H. Bellot, *University College, Lond. 1826-1926*, especially ch. vii.

insistent that the power to grant degrees was essential to its success. A petition was accordingly lodged with the encouragement of the Government, for a charter of incorporation 'as a University, with all the privileges incident to that title'. Such a charter passed the Privy Seal in February 1831; and it only needed the Great Seal, when Oxford intervened, supported in the following month by the University of Cambridge, with the objection that a degree in England was a commonly accepted qualification for a variety of appointments, both public and private, since it denoted Anglican beliefs. To this were added the more cogent objections of the London medical schools.

London had already won for herself a predominant position in medical education. Her hospitals were well known and in them generations of young men had walked the wards as apprentices, dressers or, simply, students, while, in the 18th century, changes in the scientific approach to medical problems and the wider opportunities for dissection allowed by changes in the law led to the growth of medical schools, some of them attached to hospitals but many of them private ventures. The diplomas granted by the Royal College of Physicians and the Royal College of Surgeons, each of them originally a local London institution, were highly prized and the influence of the Royal Colleges extended throughout the kingdom, while a third London institution, the Society of Apothecaries, had succeeded in making its membership mandatory upon all who would practise as apothecaries in England and Wales. In the teaching of medicine, therefore, any University in London would come face to face with established institutions whose standing in the medical profession none could gainsay. The medical schools were senior to the upstart school in Gower Street, which until 1834 had not so much as a hospital of its own and then but a small one. If the successful student from the new institution was to be entitled to call himself a graduate, there might as well, argued the *London Medical Gazette*, be 'Masters of Medicine and Surgery' 'in the University of St. Bartholomew's'.³ In face of this opposition the matter came to a standstill, and the petition remained in abeyance until 1833; and when the question was then raised in Parliament, the opposition of Oxford and Cambridge was found to be unabated, and nothing was done.

In 1834, however, events of a larger significance came to the aid of the University. The pertinacity of the University had forced the medical profession in London to seek a more comprehensive reform, and in 1833 a petition had been presented to Parliament by 49 licentiates of the College of Physicians, including the heads of most of the medical schools in the metropolis, for an inquiry into the state of medical education. A committee set up for this purpose by the Commons reported in 1834. That summer also the House of Lords rejected the Universities Admission Bill,⁴ which would have opened Oxford and Cambridge to dissenters. Flat opposition thus became difficult to maintain. In March 1835 an address praying for the grant of a royal charter of incorporation in the form approved by the Law Officers in 1831, but with a restriction against conferring degrees in either divinity or medicine, was carried against the judgement of the Government. Two charters were prepared by the new administration which assumed office in April, one in favour of London University in the precise form approved in 1831, but reducing its style to that of 'college' and thereby precluding the grant of degrees; and the other constituting a Metropolitan University, comprising a board that should have power to examine and confer degrees on students from the existing chartered colleges in

³ Bellot, *Univ. Coll. Lond. 1826-1926*, 224; C. Singer and S. W. F. Holloway, 'Early medical educ. in Eng. in relation to the pre-history of Lond. University', *Medical Hist.* iv (1960), 1-17; S. W. F. Holloway, 'Medical Educ. in Eng. 1830-1858', *History*, xlix (1967), 299-324.

⁴ *Bill to remove . . . Disabilities which prevent some Classes . . . from resorting to the Universities of Eng. and proceeding to Degrees therein.* H.C. 226; *As amended by Cttee.* H.C. 439. (1834), iv.

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the metropolis and its vicinity and from such other colleges as should thereafter be created by royal authority. The seal was affixed to the charter of University College, London, on 20 November 1836. Immediately afterwards, upon the same day, there was sealed the charter of the new University of London.

II

The University of London thus established was an examining body appointed by the Crown. Its duty was to hold forth to all classes and denominations, without any distinction whatsoever, an encouragement for pursuing a regular and liberal course of education and to that end it was to ascertain by means of examination the persons who had acquired proficiency in literature, science, and art, and to reward them by academical degrees. It consisted of a chancellor and a senate containing a vice-chancellor and thirty-seven fellows. It was to have such officers as it might see fit to appoint. It had no teachers. As a government department it was provided with accommodation in Somerset House, the outgoings on which were carried on the annual vote of the Office of Works.⁵ It was controlled by the Home Office, and was required to render an account of its expenditure to the Treasury. Until the income from fees should be sufficient to meet the charges, the current costs were to be met out of public money,⁶ and the University was provided annually on the Treasury vote. In 1837 it was given £1,000 to start with. Since the Treasury had to meet any deficit on current account, it supervised the University's expenditure in detail. The scale of fees and the rates of pay to examiners required Treasury sanction.⁷ The University could not so much as print the Senate minutes or increase the porter's wages by a shilling a week without Treasury approval.⁸ The Home Office exercised a similarly strict control within its own province. When the first vacancies in the Senate occurred, it filled them without reference to the University, although the Secretary of State later undertook not to do so without consultation.⁹ All by-laws and regulations had to be submitted to him.¹⁰ The Home Office, as well as the Treasury kept an eye upon the number of examiners and the scheme of payments to them.¹¹ The officers employed by the University were civil servants, and ranked for civil service pensions.¹²

The Senate of the new university assembled for the first time on 4 March 1837. The chancellor was William Cavendish, Lord Burlington, afterwards 7th Duke of Devonshire; the vice-chancellor, J. W. (later Sir William) Lubbock.¹³ For the organization of the new institution these two themselves took the main responsibility.

The immediate task was to frame regulations for matriculation and graduation, to draw up syllabuses, appoint examiners, and approve the papers drafted by them. No candidate, the University determined, should sit for examination unless he produced a certificate of having completed such course of instruction as the University should determine. These certificates might be granted by University College, King's College, or 'such other institution . . . as is now, or hereafter shall be, established for the purposes of education, whether in the metropolis or elsewhere within our United Kingdom, and

⁵ *Estimates for Year ending 31 Mar. 1840*, H.C. 382-VI, p. 3 (1839), xxxi; and similarly for subsequent years.

⁶ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 15 (6), 35 (62), 48 (94).

⁷ *Ibid.* 10, 45 (87), 48 (94), 51 (102-3), 91 (69).

⁸ *Ibid.* 15 (7), 103-4 (105), 108 (119), 112 (130), 116 (140, 142).

⁹ *Ibid.* 3-4, 39 (72)-47 (91), *passim*; Univ. Lib., Univ. of Lond. Coll., Airy Correspondence, P. M. Roget to the Chancellor, 30 May 1838.

¹⁰ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 9, 35 (61), 35-36 (62-63), 45 (87), 47 (92), 48 (94), 49 (96), 50 (100-1), 71 (7, 8, 9), 73-74 (15), 87 (59); *Senate Mins.* (1844-5), 45.

¹¹ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 49 (97), 50 (100)-51 (103), 91 (69), 92 (73), 99 (92).

¹² W. H. Allchin, *Account of the Reconstruction of the University of Lond.* i. 17, cf. xi; *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, 764 (17509).

¹³ *D.N.B.*

as we . . . shall hereafter authorize to issue such certificates'. 'For the purpose of granting degrees of bachelor of medicine and doctor of medicine', the charter continued, 'and for the improvement of medical education in all its branches', the University should 'from time to time report to one of our Principal Secretaries of State what appear to them to be the medical institutions and schools . . . from which . . . it may be fit and expedient . . . to admit candidates for medical degrees', and should then be empowered so to do provided the report were approved. The University thus had no control over the list of institutions authorized to enter candidates in the Faculty of Arts and Laws. They were accepted by the Home Office without consultation with the University,¹⁴ 'the Senate possessing no power in the matter';¹⁵ and having no effective means of checking either the particulars of the course the candidate was certified to have completed or the competence of the institution to conduct it. In the Faculty of Medicine the University had rather more authority. No institution could be put on the list of affiliated schools without its recommendation, and the school was required to submit a statement of 'the instruction given . . . and the means . . . possess[ed] of illustrating the respective courses'. Replies were scrutinized with care,¹⁶ and recognition was refused or delayed for lack of satisfactory evidence.¹⁷ But there was no inspection, and the control of the student was left to the individual institution.¹⁸ The first list of recognized medical schools was issued in 1840.¹⁹ The first examination for matriculation was held in 1838; the first examinations for B.A., LL.B., B.Med., and M.D. in 1839; the first for M.A. in 1840. The candidates at these examinations all came from University College or King's College.²⁰

In all this, grandiloquent language described modest proceedings. The administrative and domestic staff of the University of London in 1838 consisted of a registrar, a clerk to the Senate, a messenger, a half-share in the services of an office-keeper, and a charwoman at 10s. a week.²¹ Appointments to the Fellowship of the University were life appointments; and there was no machinery for bringing them to an end. The imposing appellation of Senate of the University of London stood for a meeting of seldom more than seventeen and on occasion as few as two persons. Yet its proceedings had a far-reaching influence. The University awarded degrees without religious tests seventeen and eighteen years before the abolition of those tests was begun at Oxford and Cambridge and a third of a century before it was completed. Rigorous examination by means of written papers in a wide range of subjects at entrance to the University and at the successive stages of the degree course was a deliberate and much cherished reform in academic habits and a novelty of the first importance. London matriculation won a place for itself as a school-leaving examination quite independently of its function as a test for university entrance, and, including, as it did, English history, geography, chemistry, and natural history, played a great part in the modernization of the curriculum of the secondary schools. Although there was no separate degree in science until 1859, the extended range of subjects required to be offered at the B.A. gave from the start academic standing to scientific and other studies hitherto neglected by the universities; and medical education, by reason of the demands at matriculation and the First Medical Examination, reinforced after 1860 by a Preliminary Science Examination, was enriched by the addition of general and scientific education to vocational training.

¹⁴ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 49 (97), 131 (10); cf. pp. 62 (127), 81-82 (40).

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 134 (18).

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 92 (72), 104 (106), 113 (131), 125 (166), 128 (2), 169-70 (18), 171 (24).

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 125 (165), 128 (3).

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 77 (28 § 3).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 214-15; cf. p. 128 (2).

²⁰ *Ibid.* matriculation, pp. 49 (96), 55 (112-13), 221-36, 316; B.A., 112 (129), 279-301, 317; LL.B., 50 (101), 252-6; B.Med., 112 (129, 130), 114 (135), 260-5, 318; M.A., 137 (28), 265-79, 318; M.D., 114 (136), 256-9, 318.

²¹ *Estimates for Year ending 31 Mar. 1849*, H.C. 327-IV, p. 11 (1847-8), xl.

By 1852, however, the list of institutions from which the University was empowered to receive certificates for degrees in Arts and Laws had without adequate academic advice been expanded by the Home Office to include 32 establishments, in addition to 'the Universities of the United Kingdom' and apart from the 63 medical schools over whose acceptance the University had had rather more control; so that the affiliation of non-medical institutions lost all significance.²² The system was in consequence swept away in 1858. A new charter granted in that year provided that 'persons not educated in any of the Institutions connected with the . . . University' should also be admitted as candidates for matriculation and any degrees, other than medical degrees, on such conditions as the University might determine. The immediate impact of the new policy upon the bodies included in the approved list was not very serious. Their students could still go up for examination as they had gone up before, and the charter even contemplated the continued use of certificates. The beneficiaries were the institutions that had not previously made the grade, and, pre-eminently, the private, unattached student without institutional backing, hitherto ineligible but now admitted with no questions asked about the course he had followed. The change of policy was fundamental. The attempt to link examination with teaching was abandoned. It is true that the link had never been effectively forged, and the charter of 1858 may be said only to have registered what was already a fact. But what had been the result of mere inadvertence and inefficiency came now to be regarded as a matter of principle; and what was done was regarded by University College as a breach of the agreement reached in 1835.²³ Since the private student was to enjoy an equality of opportunity, the examination must by rule be conducted without regard to teaching, and must perforce be narrowly restricted to common knowledge.²⁴

In 1837 the Senate decided to make the first choice of examiners from among its own members; but few senators were willing to serve.²⁵ It became the practice to re-appoint annually. Jerrard, a senator, examined in classics from 1839 until his death in 1853. An examiner in mathematics acted, without a break, from 1839 to 1858, by which time his tenure of the office had become something of a scandal. Of the eight examiners responsible for the list in 1849, five signed that issued seventeen years later.²⁶ This was changed by the charter of 1858. Members of the Senate were then precluded from appointing one another, and the term of office was limited to five years.²⁷ Appointments were from the first made upon the recommendation of special committees of the Senate charged with the care of particular examinations. The persons so appointed were regarded as employees. They never came together as a body save at a meeting under the chairmanship of the Registrar to finalize marks.²⁸ They were required to examine upon the syllabuses drawn up by committees of the Senate. These committees were empowered to consider any representations that might be made and to confer generally, at their discretion, with examiners or with professors in the colleges. But there was no machinery to insure that such consultations were anything but capricious and haphazard.²⁹ The syllabuses ran on for periods of twenty years without change.³⁰ Those for the B.A., the only first degree available from 1838 to 1859, continued virtually without modification throughout that period. When revised in 1858, they stood again

²² *Univ. Calendar* 1852, 75-77.

²³ M. L. Clarke, *George Grote, a Biography*, 160-2; *Special General Meeting of the Members of University Coll.* 10 June 1857, pp. 1-2.

²⁴ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 62 (661; cf. 655), 63 (671), 121 (1332-5); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 44 (1019-20), 59 (1414), 144 (3653), 953 (20984-5); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 17 (69), 28 (6333), 413 §1; *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 16.

²⁵ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, p. 49 (97-98).

²⁶ *Senate Mins.* 1859-62, mm. 72, 81.

²⁷ Charter of 1858 § 33; cf. *Senate Mins.* 1863, m. 64; 1879, pp. 88-89.

²⁸ *Higher Educ.* pp. 89 (950), 117 (1268-76); cf. p. 124 (1372-80).

²⁹ *Ibid.* 63 (670), 88 (947), 88-89 (948-9), 90 (967), 105 (1140), 116 (1258)-117 (1261), 119 (1294), 120 (1313), 140b (1486), 173a, 289 a-b (1140).

³⁰ *Ibid.* 60 (631), 117 (1262-3).

without change until 1878; and it was another ten years before the task of amendment was resumed and revision became more frequent. The regulations for the new science degree, framed in 1859 and first operative in 1860, lasted unchanged until the radical reforms of 1877; and then, with one or two exceptions, ran on with no more than a few piecemeal amendments until 1899.³¹

III

The consequence of such conduct of the University was to engender by the seventies widespread discontent. That the examinations were severe no one denied.³² That they tested the right qualities was not so generally agreed.³³ The Senate was in the main a body of laymen, and their educational philosophy was amateur.³⁴ The examinations conducted by them became, not a spur, but a check to good teaching, examiners coming to speak a language inferior to that of the teachers. The papers set failed to reflect the intellectual vigour to be found in the colleges; and the performance that they called for enjoyed but little respect among the learned.³⁵ If the colleges wished both to do the work that appeared to them to be proper to a university and to prepare their students for London examinations, they had to provide teaching at two levels. The students cannot, said the Principal of King's College in 1888, 'get a degree at the University of London without going through another course of study besides that which we give them, and in some respects inconsistent with it'.³⁶ The relations of the London colleges and schools with London University were indeed slight. In 1880, when the total number of graduates in Arts was 94, the number from University College was 15, from King's College 3; in Science the total was 27, from University College 8, from King's College 2.³⁷ King's College was always closely connected with the older universities, and its courses were more influenced by them than by the requirements of London.³⁸ There was more connexion between University College and the University. The College supplied a good many examiners; and its curriculum followed the lines of the University examinations.³⁹ Yet although it sent in more men than King's College, a large number of its students were not degree candidates at all.⁴⁰ If University College and King's College had withdrawn from the University it would have made very little difference.⁴¹

The remedy appeared to the teachers to be to vest the control of syllabus and examination in themselves.⁴² To this the Senate opposed the view that a body of men of distinction in various walks of life was a better judge of what a university should do than a band of professors, and that to give the control of syllabus and examination to them would be to encourage fads and jeopardize standards.⁴³ But the case could not be

³¹ For major changes in the B.A. syllabus see *Senate Mins.* 1856, pp. 5-6, 74-78, 87-91, 102; 1858, pp. 10, 20-21, 35, 46-51, 109, 129-34, 137; 1875, pp. 23-29; 1878, mm. 186, 188-9, 369; 1879, mm. 47-49, 385. For the introduction of the 'First B.A.' (becoming 'Intermediate', 1881) see *ibid.* 1858, pp. 21, 35, 41-46; 1859, pp. 2-3; 1875, pp. 17-22; 1881, m. 201. For the B.Sc., 1856, pp. 12, 17; 1876, mm. 140-1, 172-3 (pp. 76-102), 191; 1877, mm. 359, 382; 1879, mm. 260, 332, 386; 1896, mm. 240, 244, 313; 1897 mm. 114, 139, 168, 187-9, 191-9.

³² *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 57 (1340), 427 (11927); cf. p. 548 (13378); *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 175(3a).

³³ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 20 a-b (202), 31-32 (345), 33-34 (370), 34 (372-80), 44 (462, 463), 46 (483), 53b (534), 60 (631), 142b (1491), 173-4 (1747); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 323 (8273), 401 (10180), 723 (16841), 1160 (24835); *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 114 (1462), 163 (7), 166 (2256-8).

³⁴ *Higher Educ.* pp. 8 (98), 129 (1415), 149 (1569); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 953 (20984-5), 1126 (24329).

³⁵ *Higher Educ.* pp. 42 (452), 42-43 (455), 74 (780), 76 (791), 137 (1476), 173-4 (1747); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 444 (10993), 444-5 (10997), 871 (19300-1).

³⁶ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 29 (301), 30 (316), 31 (330-1), 31-32 (345), 32 (344-5), 42 (452), 43-44 (460), 59-60 (630-1), 63 (669, 671). ³⁷ *Ibid.* 69-70 (744), 180a (1749), 233-4.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 238a; cf. 61 (645).

³⁹ *Ibid.* 92 (1019), 93, (1021), 158 (1679-80), 238a.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 61 (646).

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 61 (645).

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 29 (302); cf. pp. 29 (301-12), 45 (469-72); Temple, *ibid.* p. 53b (534); Allchin, *ibid.* pp. 141 (1490), 142 a-b (1491).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 19a (199), 92 (1013, 1016, cf. 1017), 93 (1027), 129 (1415); cf. 96 (1044a), 98 (1061), 126b (1393), 129 (1413); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 43 (989-90, 1001), 387 (9791), 944 (20809); cf. 35 (740-4), 36 (761), 43 (1000)-

disposed of as easily as that. The careless multiplication of affiliated institutions, followed in 1858 by the admission of candidates who came from any institutions whatever or had been at none at all, swept away, save for its name and the location of its office, any peculiar relation of the University with London and its vicinity or with the teachers in the London colleges; made impracticable the association with the Senate of persons who could properly be regarded as representative of teachers in general; and raised a doubt whether there was any case at all for teachers as such having a part in examinations. In this situation the teachers, whether in London or the provincial colleges, found themselves without any means of breaking down the self-esteem of the Senate and effecting the reform that seemed to have become essential. And the London colleges were in a rather worse position than the rest. Whereas in the provinces the way was open to the colleges to raise themselves to the status of independent universities, in London it was blocked by the presence of an institution which bore the name of a university but was not the kind of university the London colleges wanted. Thus when the northern colleges were combined to form Victoria University in 1880, and independence was achieved by Liverpool in 1884, and Leeds in 1887, the London colleges were in danger of relegation to a position of inferiority; and University College went so far as to consider an application for admission to the Victoria University itself as a means of securing home rule.⁴⁴

The situation in the medical schools had its own peculiar complications. Medical education had altered in style and in content since the beginning of the century. Pre-clinical courses had become longer and more academic, while extensive clinical experience and familiarity with the confirmatory evidence of post-mortem examinations were deemed essential for the making of a good doctor. Consequently medical education became more scientific and more expensive, and it was based to an increasing degree on the hospital medical schools. Furthermore there was an increase in demand for the services of competent medical men as the numbers and the wealth of the middle classes grew. That there was a corresponding increase in the supply of doctors was due to the willingness and ability of the same middle classes to support their sons while they were medical students.

Unhappily the situation in the medical schools in London was not encouraging. The grievance of the medical teachers was the same as that of their colleagues in the other faculties. They were hampered by the exercise of control over the regulations and examinations for degrees by a lay body. Most of their students were candidates for the diplomas of the Royal Colleges. Teaching for these was the traditional function of the hospital medical schools; and in regard to these there was no disjunction of examination from the preparation for it.⁴⁵ But trouble arose when the growing number of public medical appointments for which the possession of academic qualifications was required, and changing custom in the use of the term 'doctor', made university degrees increasingly desirable. London medical degrees being exceptionally difficult to come by, the London medical schools found themselves at a disadvantage.⁴⁶ The total number of

44 (1005), 46 (1047), 51 (1179), 59 (1410-16), 389 (9845), 404 5 (10251), 548 (13358); Allchin, *Account*, i. 167 8; ii. 57; Sir Wm. Ramsay to *The Times*, 1 Feb. 1892, cited in Allchin, *op. cit.* iii. 240.

44 *Higher Educ.*, pp. 4 (40-44, 49), 30 (328); W. H. G. Armytage, 'Portents and polytechnics; the efflorescence of civic University Colleges in Eng. 1867-1898', *Universities Review*, xxv. 9, 18.

45 *Higher Educ.*, pp. 92 (1016, cf. 1017), 96 (1044a), 98 (1061), 155 (1646); but cf. Allchin's evidence, *ibid.* 139 40 (1486), 142 3 (1491); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. 44

(1019-20); Allchin, *Account*, i. 32. iii. App. p. xl.

46 On the growing demand for the degree see *Higher Educ.* pp. 21 (219), 99 (1075), 106 (1148 9), 201 (1900-4); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 129 (3148), 170 (4452), 276 (7151-5); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 290 (10); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 15 (111), 114 (8), 120 (13530), 176 (1(b)), 218; *Bd. of Educ. Some notes on medical educ. in Eng. A memorandum addressed to the President of the Bd. of Educ. by Sir George Newman*, [Cd. 9124], pp. 12-15, H.C. (1918), xix. On the peculiar difficulty of the Lond. degree cf. *Higher Educ.*, pp. 13 (136), 23 (236); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. 129 (3148),

medical students in London in 1888 was put at 1,800, excluding those who were registered at the University but subsequently left to complete elsewhere.⁴⁷ Only a small proportion of these proceeded to the M.B. and so could by courtesy call themselves 'doctor' and a yet smaller proportion obtained the M.D.⁴⁸ The annual average of the awards of the degree of M.B. from 1839 to 1879 was nineteen.⁴⁹ The years 1882 to 1887 produced 'about 280 bachelors' and 149 M.Ds.⁵⁰ The figure for the M.D. was put in 1888 at 'not more than about 25 in the year'.⁵¹ In consequence students tended to go for the last year or two of their course to places where they could obtain the coveted award more easily—to Durham and Newcastle, to Scotland, to Ireland, or to Brussels.⁵²

The difficulty was threefold. The students commonly arrived at the medical schools unaware that before graduating they must first matriculate, and then found the passing of London matriculation while they were pursuing their medical studies a task beyond their powers.⁵³ When they had matriculated, they were faced with a Preliminary Science Examination calling for scientific knowledge such as was not required from candidates for the diplomas of the Royal Colleges or from medical students at other universities,⁵⁴—knowledge to which the secondary schools from which they came had usually given them no introduction, and with which, if they were at one of the smaller medical schools, their teachers were not adequately equipped to provide them.⁵⁵ Thirdly the examinations for the final M.B., although probably not more difficult, were more theoretical than the Conjoint. The M.D. had become a test for men of 26 to 28 years of age and was in effect an honours degree.⁵⁶ The failure rate throughout the course was in consequence extremely heavy. Three-quarters of the candidates were rejected at matriculation and the Science Preliminary; not more than 10 per cent. of the whole number were admitted to the M.B.⁵⁷

The easy reply to these complaints was that what students and their teachers were asking for was a lowering of standards.⁵⁸ Those who already held the M.D. had bought it at a substantial price and were exceedingly unwilling to see anybody else get it cheaper.⁵⁹ Its reputation stood high.⁶⁰ It could plausibly be argued that those who got

335 (8526-9); *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 89 (73)-90 (74). On the customary use of 'doctor' see *Senate Mins.* 1847-8, pp. 54-55; 1863, p. 188; *Higher Educ.*, p. 106 (1148-9); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 170 (4452), 276 (7155), 393 (9938, 9941), 399 (10111), 564 (13658, 13661), 710 (16547-53, cf. 15561-5), 712 (16602-10); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 5 (11894), 338 (11303-5); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 4 (11871-4, 11878-83), cf. 5 (11895). On changes taking place see *Higher Educ.*, pp. 99 (1075), 106 (1148-9), 201 (1903), 214 (2003); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 290 (10), 338 (11303-5), 340 (11344-6, 11348-9), 340 (11367)-341 (11368); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 4 (11878-83), 114 (8), cf. 5 (11895, 11902-5), 120 (13530).

⁴⁷ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 165b-6b (1739); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 328, 338 (11306), 340 (11366); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 176 (1), 178 (12), 218 (Statement); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 139-40 (316).

⁴⁸ *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 34 (710), 157 (4018), 473 (11860); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 340 (11344-6), 340 (11367)-341 (11368); but cf. *Senate Mins.* 1869, pp. 41, 44. In 1884 only 32 per cent. of practitioners in Eng. were medical graduates. The figure for Scotland was 70.6 per cent.: *Higher Educ.*, p. 138 (1476-7); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. 157 (4018).

⁴⁹ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 67-68 (718).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 22 (221), 50 (529).

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23 (234), cf. 138 (1486); *Rep. Higher Educ.*, p. ix (9).

⁵² *Higher Educ.*, pp. 21-22 (221), 49 (528), 50 (529), 62 (648-9), 139 (1486), 150 (1594, 1595, 1597), 208 (1978), 340

(11344-6), 340 (11350-2), 340 (11367)-341 (11368); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 337 (8596-9), 361 (9230-4), 375 (9541), 423 (10682).

⁵³ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 103 (1108-10), 106 (1147), 141 (1488); *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 119 (4990); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 298 (3); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 3 (11854), 37 (12134), 45 (12), 95 (13036-44), 109 (13327), 183 (14637)-184 (14639); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 140 (316-17).

⁵⁴ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 103 (1108-10), 142 (1491); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 167 (4358), 168 (4362); *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 184 (26-28); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 298 (3); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 3 (11854), 37 (12134), 45 (12), 95 (13036-44), 109 (13327), 153 (14148), 179 (4-5), 183 (14630), 183 (14637)-184 (14639), cf. 30 (5); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 140 (316-17).

⁵⁵ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 8-9 (103), 95 (1034), 98 (1068), 106 (1147), 211 (1982), 236 (19); but see 137a (1475) and the evidence of Fitch, 288a.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 30 (319), 41 (440-3), 74 (779).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152b (1619).

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 99 (1077), 101 (1079); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 35 (740-4), 36 (761), 43 (989-90, 1001), cf. 43 (1000)-44 (1005), 46 (1047), 51 (1179), 159 (1410-16), 387 (9791), 944 (20809); *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 184 (25), 187 (2645); *Univ. Educ.* (5), p. 2 (I-II).

⁵⁹ *Higher Educ.*, p. 24 (241); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 389 (9845), 404-5 (10251), 548 (13358).

⁶⁰ *Higher Educ.*, p. 24 (241); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 57 (1340), 477 (11927), cf. 548 (13358); *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 175 (3a).

no further than the M.B. had been required to have a good general education (insured at matriculation) and a proper scientific training (insured by the Preliminary Science Examination). The M.D. represented scientific attainments that clearly went beyond a mere professional qualification. It could indeed not be denied that there were some who wanted to see in London an examination such as would elsewhere have got the successful candidate an M.D. and would be more readily within the reach of the average student.⁶¹ Yet to more penetrating critics of the University the issue was not so simple. To their mind the trouble was not that the standards were too severe but that they were inappropriate.⁶² The need was to change a government examining board into an autonomous teaching university. To do this it was necessary to secure the regulation of academic matters by a body of university teachers free from lay interference, and to ensure that their recommendations, although they might be rejected as administratively or financially impracticable, should not be reversed by the Senate on academic grounds. The failure of the Senate to satisfy this demand for a teaching university was not, however, due wholly to its own want of vigour and understanding. Its task was complicated and embarrassed by the ambitions of Convocation and of the Royal Colleges, and by the rival claims of the provinces.

Established by the charter of 1858, after an agitation by the graduates which began in 1848, Convocation consisted of all Doctors, all Bachelors of Law of two year's standing, and all Bachelors of Arts of three years' standing who paid a registration fee; and in 1885 it numbered 2,504.⁶³ Its consent was necessary to a surrender of the charter and to the acceptance of a new one. It submitted a list of nominations for appointment by the Crown to a quarter of the places on the Senate. Otherwise it was explicitly denied any authority 'to interfere in, or have any control over, the affairs of the University',⁶⁴ a prohibition which was repeated in the charter of 1863 and remained the law until 1900.⁶⁵ Most of its members did not reside in the London area, and never had resided there, even as undergraduates. There could be a postal vote, but generally a small minority, living within convenient reach of Burlington House, exercised the functions of Convocation in the name of the rest. Those who thus met were responsible to no one; and normally, save for making nominations, they had no business to transact save such as they invented for themselves. They were described in 1911 as 'little more than a debating society attended but by a fractional part of those whose names were enrolled';⁶⁶ and although they were for a time in advance of the Senate in seeking the reform of the University, from 1885 onwards Convocation strove only to enhance its own authority and intrude upon the ground forbidden to it by the charter; and it displayed a growing hostility towards the teachers in the London colleges.⁶⁷

The object of the Royal Colleges was to maintain their control over medical education in London. There were close links between them and the London medical schools. Many of the teachers in the schools were to be found upon the councils of the Colleges; the bulk of the students in the schools were preparing for the examinations of the Conjoint Board; the Colleges regulated the courses of study leading to these examinations,

⁶¹ *Higher Educ.*, pp. 24 (239-40), 13 (136); *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 89 (73)-90 (74); *Univ. Educ.* (5), p. 153 (14140).

⁶² *Higher Educ.*, pp. 31 (331-9), 42-43 (455), 74 (780), 76 (791), 77 (797), 137 (1476), 142 a-b (1491), 151-2 (1616), 152-3 (1619), 173-4 (1747); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. 335 (8534).

⁶³ Rep. Annual Cttee. of Convocation, 12 May 1885. The author owes this figure to Mrs. Margaret Miller.

⁶⁴ Allchin, *Account*, i. App., pp. xxvi (13), xxviii (21); Charter of 1858 §21; *Univ. of Lond. The Historical Record (1836-1912). Being a Supplement to the Calendar completed to Sept. 1912*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ Allchin, *Account*, i. App., p. xl (21); cf. Statute 50. *Hist. Record*, 80.

⁶⁶ Allchin, *Account*, ii. 142; cf. Fitch, *ibid.* iii. 245; *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 101 (2518), 120 (2984), cf. 104 (2480), 2497, cf. 2489-2501a, 132 (3242-6), 401 (10180), 1160 (24835).

⁶⁷ Allchin, *Account*, i. 82, 92-94, 100-2, 114-16; ii. 402, cf. i. 116; *Higher Educ.*, pp. 126b (1393), 130-1 (1432), cf. 129 (1413). For the history of Convocation See P. Dunsheath and Margaret Miller, *Convocation in the University of London—the first hundred years*.

and could refuse to recognize a medical school with which they were not satisfied; and the majority of their examiners were drawn from the London schools themselves.⁶⁸ The Colleges were as much alive as the schools to the need for a more accessible degree if medical education in London was to continue to thrive.⁶⁹ To them, however, the proper solution appeared to be that they themselves should be granted the power to confer it.⁷⁰

IV

In November 1885 it looked as though a substantial reform of the University might soon be achieved. Instead there ensued thirteen years of unseemly wrangling, for which responsibility rested in the main with the Senate and Convocation. But the situation was complex. The two Royal Colleges, namely the Royal College of Physicians of London and the Royal College of Surgeons of England, sought incorporation under the name of the Senate of Physicians and Surgeons, with power to grant medical degrees. The more intransigent of the professors at University College aimed at the establishment of an autonomous university upon the German model, a plan which came to be referred to as a 'professorial university' and involved the liquidation of University College and King's College and the appropriation of their buildings and other resources to the needs of the new institution. University College and King's College desired a greater measure of self-government; and the Association for Promoting a Teaching University for London, founded in 1884 and widely supported among the teachers in the two colleges and the London medical schools, was bent upon the establishment of a university in London, based upon the existing London colleges and schools, in which an effective part in government was allotted to the teachers. Well-founded objections existed to satisfying the ambitions of the Royal Colleges which in the end proved decisive; and impatient advocacy, displaying a readiness to coerce where persuasion was not effective, together with the overwhelming practical difficulties of the plan, relegated the proposed professorial university to a subordinate rank. The debate thus in the end became essentially one between University College, King's College, and the Association, upon the one hand, and the Senate and Convocation upon the other. But it was still confused and embarrassed by the divergence of aim between the last two, and by misunderstanding and jealousy in the provincial colleges.

The first steps towards meeting the demands for a teaching university and a more accessible medical degree were taken by Convocation itself. Its members were the only persons outside the Senate with any constitutional standing in the matter. It made representations to the Senate in 1877, complaining of the insufficiency of a 'Government examining board'.⁷¹ In January 1885 it set up a Special Committee to consider the proposals published by the Association for Promoting a Teaching University. After conference with the executive committee of the Association, a sub-committee of the Special Committee produced a scheme for the reorganization of the University. But this was rejected by Convocation.⁷² It took thirteen years of argument and the intervention of Parliament to rectify the mistake. The vote was a turning point in the history of the University. It marked the transfer of the control of Convocation to the hands of new men of much narrower mind. In the next quarter of a century grievous harm was done. Convocation so used its veto as to render the University powerless to adopt any plan that satisfied the reformers.

⁶⁸ Allchin, *Account*, i. 32, 122-56; ii. 294; iii. 24-25, 69; App. pp. xxxii, xl.

⁶⁹ Ibid. ii. 293-4, 304; iii. 106-7.

⁷⁰ Ibid. iii. App., p. xli; cf. i. 78, 122-56, 160; ii. 320-4, 327.

⁷¹ Ibid. i. 19-27.

⁷² Ibid. 81-107.

THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

In June 1887 the Association, and University College and King's College jointly, forwarded petitions to the Privy Council for the grant of a charter to a new Albert University.⁷³ In February 1888 the chancellor of the University was requested by the Senate to communicate to the Lord President the desire of the Senate that the matter should be referred to a royal commission. The Commission, of which Selborne was chairman, was appointed in May.⁷⁴ But its report, when it came, was decisive on one matter only, that the petition of the Royal Colleges for incorporation with power to grant degrees in medicine and surgery should not be granted, since these bodies had no academic character and it was not thought desirable to create a degree-giving university in a single faculty.⁷⁵ For the rest it left matters very much as they were,⁷⁶ save for the implication that a single university for London was to be preferred if the Senate could devise and persuade Convocation to accept suitable machinery. For the time being the petitions before the Council lay in abeyance, and the University, granted this respite, addressed itself once more to the preparation of a scheme. Its work was submitted to Convocation on 12 May 1891, and was rejected by a vote of 447 to 197, the total membership of Convocation then being 3,200.⁷⁷

On 26 May the Privy Council accordingly gave notice that it would proceed to consider the petitions that were still before it.⁷⁸ Having failed to produce a solution of its own, the Senate could not well offer further opposition.⁷⁹ Convocation wished to do so, but was refused a hearing.⁸⁰ In July the Council advised the Crown that the petition of the two colleges should be granted subject to certain minor amendments.⁸¹ The charter as amended, and now providing for the admission of the London medical schools as Colleges of Medicine, was lodged with Parliament in August,⁸² but no action could be taken before the session ended.

At this juncture the opposition was reinforced by the suspicions of the provincial colleges, whose medical schools were seized with the idea, industriously put about by the opponents of the Albert Charter, that the new university intended to grant medical degrees on the strength of no higher academic attainments than were required for the diplomas of the Royal Colleges,⁸³ suspicions that were unjustified but widely accepted as the truth. When the charter was again tabled early in 1892 there had been time for the opposition to rally its forces.⁸⁴ The Government announced its intention, in the event of the defeat of the charter, to remit the matter for investigation to a new Royal Commission; and in the same sitting an address was carried praying the Crown to withhold assent.⁸⁵ In this distressing game of snakes and ladders University College and King's College were back where they had begun. The new Commission was issued on 30 April 1892.⁸⁶

V

This Commission, commonly referred to as the 'Gresham Commission' by reason of the substitution of 'Gresham' for 'Albert' as the name for the proposed teaching

⁷³ Ibid. 191-212; *Copy of Two Petitions of the Univ. Coll., Lond., and King's Coll., Lond., praying (1) for the grant of a Charter for a Univ. in and for the Lond. District; and (2) to be called the 'Gresham' Univ., together with a Draft of the proposed Charter*, H.C. 73 (1892), lx.

⁷⁴ Allchin, *Account*, i. 168, 187, 218-19; ii. 2; *Lond. Gazette* (1888), 2536; Roundell Palmer, 1st Earl of Selborne, *D.N.B.*; Roundell Palmer, 1st Earl of Selborne, *Memorials*, pt. 2, *Personal and Political 1865-95*, pp. 297-9.

⁷⁵ *Rep. Higher Educ.*, p. viii (4).

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. xviii (37).

⁷⁷ Allchin, *Account*, ii. 422-34; cf. 158.

⁷⁸ Ibid. iii. 3, 58-83.

⁷⁹ Ibid. 67-68.

⁸⁰ Ibid. 10-11, 70-72, App., pp. xxxiii-ix.

⁸¹ Ibid. 83-95.

⁸² Ibid. 110-21.

⁸³ Ibid. 133-5, 225-35, 298-302.

⁸⁴ Ibid. 150-2, 243-55, 297-304.

⁸⁵ *C.J.* cxlvii. 96b, 119-20; 2 *Parl. Deb.* 4th Ser. 543-4, 594-9, 1310-11; Allchin, *Account*, iii. 317-21.

⁸⁶ 3 *Parl. Deb.* 4th Ser. 370, 593-4, 1127, 1298-9, 1578; Allchin, *Account*, iii. 321; *Lond. Gazette* (1892), 2549-50.

university,⁸⁷ addressed itself to its task with vigour, and its report, when it came, made that of its predecessor look a jejune piece of work. It sat from May 1892 to March 1893, holding 68 public sessions and putting some 25,600 questions to the witnesses who appeared before it. Its chairman, Lord Cowper,⁸⁸ was the most effective of the three statesmen who have presided over Royal Commissions on the University of London. Much superior to Selborne in thoroughness and skill and as much a master of the problem as Haldane was to show himself twenty years later, he was less committed than Haldane to particular solutions of his own. The Commission was authorized 'to alter, amend, and extend the proposed charter' as it thought fit. It put a wide construction upon its terms of reference.⁸⁹ It recommended 'that there should be one University only in London, and not two; and that the establishment of an efficient teaching University, on such a basis as will enable it, while retaining its existing powers and privileges, to carry out thoroughly and efficiently the work which may be properly required of a teaching University of London, without interfering with the discharge of those important duties which it has hitherto performed as an examining body for students presenting themselves from all parts of the British Empire'.⁹⁰ For this purpose it proposed a university consisting of a Senate as the supreme governing body; an Academic Council, elected by Faculties; Faculties consisting of teachers appointed or recognized by the University; Boards of Studies; and Convocation.⁹¹

In framing its recommendations the Commission had to deal with two tenaciously disputed matters of academic policy, namely the proper nature of a university examination and the proper relation of teaching and research. It distinguished between those who were henceforth to be known as 'internal students', being 'students attending an approved course of University study in a School or Schools of the University', from those whom it called 'external students', whose sole connexion with the University was that they presented themselves to it for examination;⁹² and while recommending a uniform standard of examination for the two classes, it left the Senate latitude to decide whether the examination should be the same in whole or in part, providing for a college certificate in lieu of preliminary examinations from students at internal institutions and for the allowance of alternative papers or joint examination by university and college in final examinations so as to permit of flexibility in the curriculum.⁹³ While it recognized that, even so, it was impossible, in a university the size of London, to make every teacher an examiner of his own students, it justly argued that in the University it envisaged the teachers, as a body, would 'exercise such an influence upon the examinations and the studies of the University as to remove the objections . . . advanced against the examinations of the existing University of London'.⁹⁴

On the question of the relation of teaching and research its views were less clear. It expressed the opinion that in principle the separation of teaching from research was undesirable, since 'any undue limitation of research to institutions specially set apart for that purpose would tend to lower the academic character of the Schools of the University and the standard of their teaching'.⁹⁵ But there was some ambiguity about the way in which the principle should be put into practice.⁹⁶

Upon this basis the Commissioners proposed to include, in the reconstructed University, University College, King's College, the Royal College of Science, nine medical

⁸⁷ Allchin, *Account*, iii, 261-9.

⁸⁸ Francis Thomas de Gray, 7th Earl Cowper. Cf. *D.N.B.*

⁸⁹ *Rep. Royal. Comm. (Gresham)*, p. x (2).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xii (7 (1)).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv-vi (28, 32, 33), xxix-xxxi (40), xxxiii-iv (48 (4), 50).

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. xxxii (48b).

⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. xiv-xv (11, 12); cf. xxxii (48).

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xiv (10).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xi (23); cf. pp. xxv (31), xxxv.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xi (23); cf. pp. xxxv-xli, lvi.

schools, the London School of Medicine for Women, the City and Guilds Institute, Bedford College, six theological colleges, and four colleges of music, omitting Queen's College as not yet ripe for admission, Birkbeck and the Polytechnic institutions, together with the Training Colleges.⁹⁷ To those proposed by the Commissioners there were subsequently added the London School of Economics and Political Science, Royal Holloway College, and the South-Eastern Agricultural College.⁹⁸ The Commissioners proposed, finally, that the changes should be effected, 'not by a Charter, but by a legislative authority, and by the appointment of a Commission with statutory powers to settle . . . arrangements and regulations in general conformity with their recommendations'.⁹⁹

The inner history of what followed is at many points still obscure. If, instead of founding a new university the old one was to be reformed, procedure by Bill instead of by petition to the Privy Council for an amended charter was the only means whereby the reformers could circumvent the power of veto possessed by Convocation. But their opponents were not rendered helpless. They had but to transfer their operations from Convocation to Parliament, where over-taxed ministers and a busy House of Commons would be unlikely to find time for a measure upon which the interested parties had failed to agree. In the long run, the Senate, Convocation, and the teachers in the London colleges reached a compromise. But this took three more years of intricate and obstinate negotiation, and only then was Parliament found willing to act.

On the publication of the Gresham Report in 1894, R. B. Haldane and Sidney Webb took the lead in seeking the legislation it recommended. Sidney Webb had ideas of his own about what a university should be like, and he pursued them without scruple and with unhesitating confidence. As chairman of the Technical Education Board he devoted himself between 1893 and 1899 to laying the foundations of an educational system for the whole of London, dreaming of the unification of all education from the infant school to the university, under the London County Council,¹ and looking to the incorporation of his proudest creation, the polytechnics, as an integral part of the new university system.² As founder of the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1895 he took the first step towards the realization of his ideal of dissolving the London colleges and re-assembling their work by faculties.³ As a member of Convocation and the ally of Haldane, he now did his best to bend the university to these purposes. His ideas were different from anyone else's, save the now discredited extremists at University College, and they were revolutionary in character. The fact that they were partially, but only partially, realized was in the future to be a source of some embarrassment to the University. After long negotiations, Haldane at last succeeded in securing the signature of nine individuals to a memorandum setting out the terms they were jointly and severally prepared to accept, which subsequently provided the substance of the schedule to the bills of 1897 and 1898. The signatories to the memorandum were, besides Sidney Webb and Haldane themselves, Sir Edward Busk, the chairman of Convocation, and Sir John Lubbock, the University's representative in Parliament;

⁹⁷ i.e. (1) the medical schs. of Charing Cross, Guy's, the London, the Middlesex, St. Bartholomew's, St. George's, St. Mary's, St. Thomas's, and the Westminster; (2) Hackney, New, the Presbyterian, Regents Park, Cheshunt, and Richmond Colleges; (3) the Royal Academy of Music, Royal Coll. of Music, Guildhall Sch. of Music, and Trinity Coll. Lond. (Music).

⁹⁸ A Bill subtitled an Act to make further provision with respect to the Univ. of Lond. H.L. 106 (1895), v; Lond. Univ. Commission Bill. Arrangement of Clauses, H. L.

174 (1897), v; Lond. Univ. Commission Bill. Amendments H.L. 16b, 24b, 28 (1898), vii; An Act to amend the Univ. of Lond. Act, 1898, with respect to Holloway Coll. 62 & 63 Vic., c. 24.

⁹⁹ *Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. xii (7 (2)).

¹ Beatrice Webb, *Our Partnership*, 18, 170-1; cf. 147, 181.

² *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 22 (16), cf. 25 (32), 26 (36), 27 (40), 30 (55), 38 (502), 39 (521-2).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 31 (61); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 93 (3).

Heber Hart and T. B. Napier acting for the more intransigent of the graduates, organized in the London University Defence Committee; and William Ramsay, Wace (the Principal of King's College), and Sir George Young, representing the London colleges and the Association for Promoting a Teaching University.⁴ The essential feature of the memorandum and of the bill when it was introduced in July was that the Commissioners to be appointed to draft the Statutes of the reconstructed University were now put under restraint in respect of a number of matters detailed in the schedule. The most vital of these matters were that equivalence should be maintained between the Internal and External degrees, that the Senate should be made the supreme governing body and executive of the University and have 'the entire conduct of the University and all its affairs and functions'; that in consequence its standing committees should be advisory only; that 'duly qualified teachers and lecturers giving instruction of a University type in public educational institutions situate within a radius of thirty miles from the University buildings, whether such institutions be Schools of the University or not' should, when 'recognized' by the Senate, become teachers of the University, and should be eligible for appointment to faculties and adequately represented on boards of studies; and that matriculated students attending their courses should be accepted as 'internal' students of the University.⁵ A London University Commission Bill embodying these compromises was carried in 1898.

The precise shape of the reconstructed University now depended upon the action of the Statutory Commissioners, and there Sidney Webb displayed his accustomed skill and foresight. Beatrice Webb recalled in 1900 the 'successful packing' of the Commission.⁶ 'The form of the Bill', she had noted in 1897, 'the alterations grafted on the Cowper Commission Report are largely Sidney's. He thinks he has got all he wants as regards the Technical Education Board and London School of Economics. The Commission', she added, was 'largely favourable, or at any rate "susceptible" to right influence. . . .'⁷ The statutes, when drawn, 'completely met the special points to which the Technical Education Board had called the attention of the Commissioners'.⁸ It was in fact at those points where they departed from the recommendations of the Gresham Commission that the Statutory Commissioners laid up most trouble for the reconstructed University.⁹

VI

By the turn of the century the University, with a rising revenue from fees amounting in 1898-9 to over £18,400, had become all but independent of support from public funds, save for free lodgings in Burlington Gardens.¹⁰ Between 1838 and 1898 the academic plans of the founders suffered radical changes. The intention that a London degree should be the mark of a wide general education including some knowledge of the physical, biological, and mental sciences,¹¹ was only imperfectly realized. Every candidate for matriculation from 1841 to 1886 continued to be required to satisfy the examiners in English (including some history), natural philosophy, and, except for the years 1844-51, in chemistry; and from 1888 to 1901 he had also to do so in one of the branches of experimental science—chemistry, heat and light, or magnetism and electricity, in

⁴ Sir Douglas Logan, *Haldane and the Univ. of Lond.* 5-7.

⁵ Schedule to the Act of 1898. Pt. I, 8; Pt. II, 2. *Hist. Record*, 68, 69.

⁶ Webb, *Partnership*, 196.

⁷ *Ibid.* 102.

⁸ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 206-7.

⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (Final), pp. 10 (26), 11 (30), 25 (60).

¹⁰ *Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. xxi (23). The net charge on the Exchequer for maintenance and repairs,

heat, light, and rates, together with printing and minor items amounted in 1898-9 to £4,007 18s. 8d.; *Senate Mins.* 1900 (Jan.-Oct.), m. 166; *Estimates for Year ending 31 Mar.* 1899. *Class I. Pub. Works and Buildings*, H.C. 57-1, p. 44 (1898), lvii; *Estimates for Year ending 31 Mar.* 1901. H.C. 37-IV, pp. 392-4 (1900), lii; *Appropriation Accts. of Sums granted for Civil Services and Revenue Depts. for year ended 31 Mar.* 1901, H.C. 35-IV, p. 389 (1902), lxiii.

¹¹ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 73-74, 141-9, 201.

addition to classics and mathematics.¹² At the B.A. examination, however, the programme was less fully maintained. It became possible after 1880 to graduate not only without any attention to science after matriculation, but also without mathematics after Intermediate; and by the end of the century, if the candidate so chose, the B.A. might be a purely literary or indeed purely linguistic degree.¹³

In 1859 the Senate made amends for this by the institution of a degree of Bachelor of Science.¹⁴ The new examination was to be preceded by an intermediate which should insure a competent knowledge of the fundamental principles of mathematics, mechanical and natural philosophy, chemistry, and biology.¹⁵ At the second and final examination candidates were required to pass in mathematics and natural philosophy, chemistry, animal physiology, geology and palaeontology, and logic and moral philosophy.¹⁶ It was the first degree of its kind to be offered in the United Kingdom. The impetus had, however, come from outside the Senate;¹⁷ and the achievement was marred by the fact that the regulations of 1859 remained virtually unchanged until 1878; and not until 1896 did the Senate agree that it would be well 'to commit the revision of the syllabuses . . . to bodies specially appointed for the purpose', to be designated Boards of Studies.¹⁸ These bodies produced a set of revised regulations which came into force in 1899 and 1900.¹⁹

The regulations for the B.A. which now came to be known as the General Degree were revised in 1905, becoming operative in 1909. They then precluded the possibility of a purely linguistic performance and provided the opportunity for candidates for the B.A. to study at least one scientific subject and candidates for the B.Sc. at least one in the field of the humanities.²⁰ But Honours degrees were established in 1903 and first examined in 1904;²¹ and the General Degree fell into a decline. In 1938 when 409 were successful in the Honours examinations for the B.A., only 74 took the General.²²

The M.A. was from the outset awarded upon examination. Degrees in Music were instituted in 1877, the D.Sc. in 1859, and the D.Litt. in 1885.²³ Certificates of Higher Proficiency for 'female candidates' were introduced by the authority of the supplemental charter of 1867. By a further charter granted in 1878 all University awards were opened to women on equal terms with men.²⁴

The aim of the medical curriculum adopted by the University was to secure a systematic and comprehensive medical education based upon a modicum of general and scientific knowledge. The regulations for the M.B. framed in 1839 required candidates to be matriculated,²⁵ to have been students for not less than two years in preparation for the First Examination and not less than a further two years for the Second.²⁶ Only two

¹² Ibid., pp. 38 (67), 39 (70), 72-73 (12), 73 (14), 76 (25), 145 (12), 145-6 (13), 215-17; modified in 1839 to allow choice of three out of Greek classic, Roman classic, Eng. history, and Eng. in addition to other subjects, *ibid.*, p. 210 (32); *Senate Mins.* 1840-1, p. 82; 1852, p. 2; 1886, m. 376; 1887, m. 34.

¹³ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 144 (8)-145 (11), 146 (15); *Senate Mins.* 1842-3, pp. 39-40; 1858, pp. 129-31; 1863, mm. 279-81; *London Univ. Calendar* 1859, 53-61; *Senate Mins.* 1875, pp. 23-25; *Univ. Calendar* 1875, 68; *Senate Mins.* 1879, p. 27; *Univ. Calendar* 1880, 53, 72-78; 1896-7, iv. 47-53; *Senate Mins.* 1897, m. 228; *Univ. Calendar* 1897-8, pp. iv, Regulations for 1899 (Arts), pp. 15-27.

¹⁴ *Senate Mins.* 1858, pp. 55-58; 1859, mm. 17, 87, 88, 106, 158, 195, 249.

¹⁵ Ibid. 1859, pp. 72-78.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 78-84.

¹⁷ Ibid. 1857, pp. 112-14; 1858, pp. 21-23, 56.

¹⁸ Ibid. 1876, mm. 140-1, 172-3 (pp. 76-102), m. 191; 1877, mm. 359, 382; 1879, m. 386; 1896, mm. 186-7, 240-7, 313, 361.

¹⁹ Ibid. 1897, mm. 139, 168, 184-9, 191-9, 201-6, 226-9, 260, 332; 1898, mm. 122-3, 131; 1900 (Jan.-Oct.), m. 176; 1900 (Oct.-Dec.), m. 205.

²⁰ Principal's Report (1902-3, 1905-6) in *Univ. Gazette*, ii. 158-9; v. 59-60; *Senate Mins.* 1904-5, mm. 761-6, 1042-4; 1905-6, mm. 557-81, 775-817, 1800-8; *Univ. Calendar* 1906-7, ii. 217-28.

²¹ *Senate Mins.* 1902-3, mm. 1062-8; 1904-5, m. 627, App.; 1905-6, m. 635, App.; *Univ. Calendar* 1903-4, ii. 192-206; 1904-5, ii. 224-40.

²² *Senate Mins.* 1938-9, m. 83, App. A.C. and E.C., p. 6.

²³ Ibid. 1877, mm. 142, 380; 1859, pp. 84-89; 1885 mm. 23, 68-70.

²⁴ Ibid. 1877, m. 150.

²⁵ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 177-8 (39-42), 209; cf. 77 (27).

²⁶ For the syllabus for the M.B. see *ibid.*, pp. 101-2 (97-99), 102-3 (102-3), 104 (106-7), 207-11; cf. pp. 74-76 (18-25), 80-81 (35-39), 82-83 (41-42, 45, 46-47), 84-87 (48-57), 88 (59); *London Univ. Calendar* 1845, 45-52.

changes of substance were made in these regulations before 1900. In 1860 the Preliminary Scientific Examination was introduced, to be taken before proceeding to the two medical tests.²⁷ In 1863, a supplementary Charter authorized the conferment of degrees in Surgery. That of Master of Surgery was instituted and the whole of the practical examination in Surgery was transferred from the Second M.B., while Surgery was omitted from the examination for the M.D.²⁸ A general review of the regulations for medical degrees was undertaken in 1896, but action was ultimately postponed pending the reconstitution of the University.²⁹ Throughout these years the Preliminary Science Examination, and Logic and Moral Philosophy at the M.D., proved to be grievous stumbling blocks to medical candidates.

In accordance with Benthamite doctrine, the degree of Bachelor of Laws did not at the outset denote the study of law in any professional sense. It was open to Bachelors of Arts of one year's standing. The subjects of examination were Blackstone's *Commentaries* or parts of Kent's *Commentaries*, and either Rutherford's *Institutes of Natural Laws* or portions of Dumont's edition of Bentham's *Morals and Legislation*. Law in its common acceptation figured only in the additional papers open to those who sought honours. In 1839 the examination was conducted by a single examiner, who set two papers on Blackstone, two on Bentham, and two in jurisprudence.³⁰ Not until 1867 was a degree in law of the normal pattern introduced.³¹ A large increase in the number of candidates followed upon this alteration of the regulations.³² But the Faculty remained weak in face of the professional training provided by the Council of Legal Education and the Incorporated Law Society;³³ and not until after the First World War, when the colleges began to replace the visiting lecturer by a full-time professoriate, did the University make an important contribution to the study of law.

VII

The Senate of the reconstructed University met for the first time on 24 October 1900. Barely more than eight years later the University became the subject of yet another Royal Commission, this time presided over by Haldane himself.³⁴ Its origin was two-fold.

The new constitution showed itself almost at once to be gravely defective. The most serious faults were a built-in obligation to maintain the equivalence of Internal and External degrees; the excess of authority vested in an unsatisfactorily constituted Senate, and the failure to permit a proper delegation of functions; the failure to provide an effective link between the University and its schools short of incorporation, leaving those who did not proceed thus far no more closely related to the University in their corporate capacity than they had been before; and the embarrassment of boards of studies and of faculties with the presence of numerous members doing little university work and employed upon terms and under conditions very different from those of university teachers.³⁵ Each of these mistakes was a departure from the recommendations

For the M.D. see *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 56 (115), 84 (49), 104-5 (108), 211-12; cf. 75 (19, 22), 80 (36), 81 (39), 86 (54), 87 (57-58); *Univ. Calendar* 1845, 52-55.

²⁷ *Senate Mins.* 1860, pp. 38-44; cf. mm. 204-8; *Univ. Calendar* 1861, 95-103; 1862, pp. cclxi-iii; *Senate Mins.* 1876, m. 332; *Higher Educ.* pp. 152-3 (1619).

²⁸ *Senate Mins.* 1863, mm. 15-17, 65-67, 105, 129, 132-3; *Univ. Calendar* 1864, 113-15; *Senate Mins.* 1865, m. 310; 1866, m. 1; *Univ. Calendar* 1866, 118-22.

²⁹ *Senate Mins.* 1897, m. 395; 1898, pp. 118-41; mm. 206, 255, 335-6; 1899, mm. 255-6; 1900 (Oct.-Dec.), mm. 195-6; 1901 (Jan.-July), m. 174.

³⁰ *Ret. to H.O.C. Address*, pp. 37 (65-67), 206, 252-6; cf. *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. 1049 (22893).

³¹ *Senate Mins.* 1865, mm. 103, 127-30, 135, 255; *Univ. Calendar* 1866, 95-99.

³² *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. 1049 (22894).

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 1049 (22896-8), 1050 (22902).

³⁴ Cf. *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 66 (30).

³⁵ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 88 (55), 98 (1247), 99 (1262-3), 99 (1271)-100 (1272), 136 (25), 150 (1983), 163 (6), 164 (10), 166 (2246); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 8 (3001), 9 (3012), 181 (note), 273 (27); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 69 (73-76), 87 (6946)-88 (6947), 101 (7079); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 22-

of the Gresham Commission; the last was the work of Sidney Webb.³⁶ Dictated to the Statutory Commissioners by the Schedule to the Act, they were the price paid in order to secure any legislation at all.³⁷ About the source of these defects the Haldane Commission subsequently spoke bluntly. 'It was the claim of Convocation to a preponderant share in the government of the University which delayed its reconstruction for over ten years at the close of last century; and the compromise then effected, which divided the governing body of the new University between the teachers and the graduates; . . . we have shown . . . to be one of the main causes of the difficulties encountered.'³⁸

The Gresham Commission had envisaged a Senate of 66 containing 9 representatives of Convocation and 22 representatives of the teachers. The statutes gave Convocation and the teachers 16 representatives each in a Senate of 66.³⁹ The Commissioners intended to grant wide powers of delegation and to vest in an Academic Council 'the duty of regulating . . . the teaching, examinations, and discipline of the University, and of determining what teachers in any School of the University [should] be recognized as University Teachers . . .', that Council being advised by Boards of Studies;⁴⁰ leaving to a Board for External Students the supervision of the examination of 'external' candidates.⁴¹ But under the statutes the Senate became the 'supreme governing and executive body of the University', without any power of delegation;⁴² the Academic Council was reduced to the position of a standing committee of the Senate for internal students,⁴³ and was balanced by an external Council with co-ordinate powers;⁴⁴ the Faculties, which were to have collected and consolidated the advice of the Boards of Studies, became little more than electoral colleges;⁴⁵ and Boards of Studies were allowed to report direct to the Senate.⁴⁶ The consequence was that the business of the University had to be transacted in all its detail by a grievously overburdened and bitterly divided body, in which the Convocation members were on the watch for any lowering of the standard of degrees, and became the jealous defenders of equivalence in the tests imposed upon candidates.⁴⁷

The agenda of the Senate became inordinately long and were swamped with detail, affording every opportunity for pettifogging procedural manoeuvres, so that that body seldom found time for the discussion of larger matters,⁴⁸ while it was burdened with duties that were inappropriate to it. Yet the quarrel was not a simple one between the Convocation and the faculty members of the Senate.⁴⁹ The division, said a witness, was 'roughly into two parties, a party which supports the policy of the University College,

23 (56), 25 (60); but cf. *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 227 (II, 5); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 248 (IV, iii.)

³⁶ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 25–26 (34); cf. p. 179 (2534) and evidence of M. J. M. Hill, *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 84–85 (6883); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 10 (26).

³⁷ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 174 (2), 176 (2489); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 25 (60); cf. pp. 10 (26), 11 (30).

³⁸ *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 176 (371); cf. 13 (36)–14 (37); *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 79 (4); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 23 (3297), 30 (3450), 77 (4488 (3)); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 18 (76), 149 (1964–5), 162 (2).

³⁹ *Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. xxix. (40); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 84 (31); Statute 12 [1898].

⁴⁰ *Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. xxv–xxvi (32, 33).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii (48(4)).

⁴² Statute 19 [1898]; cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 63 (870–4), 86 (45), 162 (2); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 18 (3194), 319–20, 323 (II); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 18 (76), 40 (4), 59–60 (30), 79 (6793)–80 (6798), 80 (6805), 127 (7642(2(d))), 169 (8451–2); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 130 n.

⁴³ Statute 29 [1898]; *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 122 (1564–5), 156 (2083); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 10 (27).

⁴⁴ Statutes 28, 29 [1898]; *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 80 (10), 86 (44), 156 (2083); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 10 (28).

⁴⁵ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 60 (806); *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 33 (35389); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 51 (6693), 52 (6698); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 21–22 (54).

⁴⁶ Statute 105 [1898]; cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 60 (806); *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 376; *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 100 (7055); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 21–22 (54).

⁴⁷ On the friction arising from the attempt to enforce Statute 122 see *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 122 (1576), 135 (20), 136–7 (27), 184 (24–26); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 64 (4199), 70 (4333); cf. 71 (4340–2, 4347, 4353), 76 (4470), 232a, 257 (xi), 293 (3); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 40 (4(3–4)), 49 (6647, 6649), 61 (33(b)), 78 (6759), 127 (2 (a)), 330 (31); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, pp. 79 (4(e)); cf. 87 (16184). Cf. *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 278 (37); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 11 (31), 12 (33).

⁴⁸ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 67 (960–1), 135 (20), 162–3 (5); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 12 (3080–1), 23 (3297), 127 (5116), 280 (45 (ii)), 376, 377 §1; *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 80 (6807), 206 (9153), 280 (30–31); *Univ. Educ.* (5), p. 71 (6); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 10–11 (28); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 133 (10). Contra *ibid.*, pp. 85 (16159), 104 (10).

⁴⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 32 (3505–7); cf. pp. 24 (3300), 76 (4465).

and a loosely united opposition made up of those who wish to maintain the External side and the established examination test system, and teachers who have united with this party to defend the interests of the non-incorporated Schools'.⁵⁰ The reason was that the new constitution, at fault this time in common with the Gresham Commission,⁵¹ provided no link between the University and its schools in their collegiate capacity short of full incorporation in the University,⁵² a course adopted by University College in 1907 and King's College in 1910. Their students, pursuing a regular course of study in a recognized school, became Internal students of the University.⁵³ Their teachers might be appointed or recognized teachers, and might become members of the Senate. But as schools they had no part.⁵⁴

If the colleges had very little say in what went on in the University, the University upon its part had very little control over any but the incorporated colleges. It had itself no endowments. The schools of the University were financially entirely independent of it and of one another.⁵⁵ The grants which they had been receiving from the State since 1882, were paid directly to them, as they were paid to similar institutions in other parts of the country;⁵⁶ and the University itself received nothing from this source.⁵⁷ Educationally they were almost equally independent. Beyond admitting them as 'recognized schools' the power of the University was limited to the approval of syllabuses for degree courses, the recognition of individual teachers or the conferment of University titles upon them, and the conduct of degree examinations.⁵⁸ It had no part in the appointments made by the colleges, and no power, therefore, to influence the terms of those appointments or to insist that the teachers should be regarded as anything more than the employees of the appointing bodies.⁵⁹ It had no control over the teaching in the colleges beyond that of approving, or refusing to approve, courses of study, and thus no power to co-ordinate the work of the schools or to prevent undesirable competition that might arise between them either by the lowering of fees or the unnecessary duplication of departments of study.⁶⁰ 'Almost every independent institution', said the vice-chancellor, 'pursues its own separate policy without regard to the University as a whole';⁶¹ and college feeling was growing stronger rather than less.⁶²

The result of these stark divisions was that the business of the University was gravely impeded,⁶³ and that some of those whose task it was to govern reached the conclusion that the new constitution was unworkable.⁶⁴ Wrangles on the Senate, said Sir William Ramsay, were common;⁶⁵ the friction' said Sir Herbert Cozens-Hardy, was 'almost unendurable'.⁶⁶

⁵⁰ *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 300-1 (Note VII); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 128 (3), 179 (III); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 21 (52).

⁵¹ *Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. xx (21, 22).

⁵² *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 265 (10); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 60 (31), 165 (8382); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 17 (40).

⁵³ Statutes 125-7, 132 [1898].

⁵⁴ Cf. *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 28 (3380), cf. 51 (3921); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 107 (7176), 109 (7225), 110 (7282), 119 (6-7), 178 (I (3)), 179 (II(2)); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 21 (53), 48-49 (110).

⁵⁵ *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 14 (38), 25 (60).

⁵⁶ *Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. xxi (23); *University Colleges (G.B.). (Grant in Aid)*, H.C. 252 (1902), lxxx.

⁵⁷ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 206 (III, v); cf. *Rep. Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. xxi (23); *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, pp. 1209 (25, 374-9); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 58 (v (B), 21), 384-6; *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, pp. 131 (7)-132 (9).

⁵⁸ *Rep. Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 270; *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 17 (41); cf. pp. 126 (282), 129 (289).

⁵⁹ *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 19 (47), cf. 16 (40); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 121 (1556), 136 (23, cf. 24), 140 (49), 141 (1765), 154 (2068), 160 (2161-5); *Rep. Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 270-1 (23).

⁶⁰ *Rep. Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 264 (6 (ii)); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 57 (14); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 14 (38)-15 (39), 19 (47); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, pp. 134-5 (14).

⁶¹ *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 57 (17, cf. 14); cf. pp. 60 (31), 62 (39 (a)).

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 128 (3); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 164 (2215-16); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 268 (10147).

⁶³ *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 129 (1).

⁶⁴ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 164 (2214), 174 (2), 176 (2489-92), 182 (3, 5), 189 (2709); *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 17 (3188); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 330 (30); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 11 (29).

⁶⁵ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 162-3 (2).

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 67 (960-1).

VIII

It was into these muddy waters that there was dropped the problem created in 1907 by the establishment, in pursuance of the report of the Departmental Committee on Technical Education, of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, embracing two institutions, the Royal College of Science and the City and Guilds Institute, that were already schools of the University.⁶⁷ The new college was most unwilling either to be bound by the rules of the University in regard either to the selection of its teachers or its students, or to its syllabuses and courses, or to entangle itself in the trammels of University examination. It wanted itself to be the degree-giving body.⁶⁸ Its creation therefore at once revived the threat of two independent universities in London, and opened the door to a further review of the whole situation.

A new Commission presided over by Haldane was appointed to deal with the problem. It sat from 1909 to 1913, issuing five reports during those years. Its labours were rendered abortive by the outbreak of war in 1914. Its task was complicated. The chairman of the Statutory Commission of 1898 had said openly that reorganization would soon be necessary; and experience bore him out.⁶⁹ Both Haldane and Webb had in mind comprehensive schemes for such a reorganization, and regarded the Act of 1898 as unsatisfactory, and but the first and that a short step towards the realization of what they wanted.⁷⁰ Both their schemes were highly doctrinaire and neither paid much heed to history, but Webb's was the more practical and practicable, its foundations laid in the work he had already done as chairman of the Technical Education Board. The Senate, however, having asked the Government to appoint a Royal Commission to consider the incorporation of Imperial College in the University, took umbrage when, without consultation, the terms of reference were greatly enlarged; and in a fit of petulance it refused to give evidence, so that when the vice-chancellor appeared before the Commissioners he could speak only for himself.⁷¹ Convocation, not going that far, nevertheless restricted its representatives to dealing with the subject for which the Departmental Committee had suggested the appointment of a Royal Commission;⁷² and its witnesses cut a poor figure and were roughly handled. The labours of the Commission itself were remarkable for thoroughness and penetration. But while the diagnosis of the situation was invaluable and had a far-reaching influence, the specific recommendations, of which the effect would have been to create a centrally administered University made up of single-faculty departments of study,⁷³ were still-born, and it was probably well that they were. The Commission submitted its final report in 1913, when a Departmental Committee was set up to recommend the steps to be taken to give effect to it.⁷⁴ But its work was interrupted by the outbreak of war, and its task was laid aside.⁷⁵

The University was thus condemned to live for upwards of 25 years under a grievously defective constitution which afforded only too ample scope for the interference of unqualified persons. Yet it did not merely survive but grew. However imperfect

⁶⁷ 41 *Parl. Deb.* 5th Ser. 2909; 55 *Parl. Deb.* 5th Ser. 1914; *Prelim. Rep. of Dep. Cttee. on Royal Coll. of Science (inc. the Royal Sch. of Mines)*, [Cd. 2610], H.C. (1905), lxi; *Final Rep.* . . . I [Cd. 2872], H.C. (1906), xxxi; II. *Mins. of Evidence*, [Cd. 2956] H.C. (1906), xxxi; cf. *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 2-3 (2902).

⁶⁸ *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 80-81 (4512), 82 (4525, 4531); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 134 (3-4), 137-8 (7766), 139 (7789), 142 (7850), 208 (9176); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 20 (551).

⁶⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 162 (2); 41 *H.C. Deb.* 5th Ser. 2909; 55 *H.C. Deb.* 1914.

⁷⁰ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 67 (960).

⁷¹ *Senate Mins.* 1908-9, mm. 669, 673. Cf. *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 55-56 (II), 76 (6732-3); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 89 (16215, 16222A).

⁷² *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, pp. 63 (8), 66 (30), 89 (16217-23).

⁷³ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 60 (798); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 79 (6788); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 51 (121); *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 44 (88).

⁷⁴ 176 *H.C. Deb.* 5th Ser. 3093-4; *Dep. Cttee. Rep.*, p. 5 (3).

⁷⁵ 91 *H.C. Deb.* 5th Ser. 1572-3; *Dep. Cttee. Rep.*, p. 5.

the instruments of government, the Act of 1898 had provided the University, for the first time, with both students and teachers. These it had never had before, but only candidates and examiners.⁷⁶ It was this that first gave London anything that could properly be called a university.

The organization of 'regular courses of study' for the students was the work of the Boards of Studies and the Academic Council. On the Council 'fell practically the whole task of organizing, improving, and extending higher education within the appointed radius of the University in accordance with Statute 3'.⁷⁷ It had to build up a university professoriate and to discharge the invidious tasks of recognizing teachers and admitting schools. If its composition was unsatisfactory, if it was denied executive power and its recommendations were frequently overridden by the Senate,⁷⁸ in a long view it can be seen to have done a great work. But it was on the Boards of Studies that the most important, although the least observed progress was made. They were, it was said, 'the only bodies constituted by the Regulations of 1900 which have proved an unqualified success'.⁷⁹ They barely caught the eye of the Haldane Commission; and although their satisfactory performance of the duties assigned to them was recognized, they were given but a subordinate place in the Commissioners' plan for reform.⁸⁰ Yet it was there that the corporate life of the University was growing. It was there that the teachers of the University found themselves in a position to control the curriculum, and first met one another in pursuit of a common task, building 'schools' in their several subjects which transcended the limits of particular institutions.⁸¹ 'In the last ten years', it was said in 1910, 'a great deal of the most interesting life of the University has been at these Boards of Studies. I think we are all agreed about that.'⁸² 'The improvement in the University examinations due to the excellent work done by Boards of Studies', said Allchin, 'is the most striking benefit that has followed the reconstruction of the University in 1900, if indeed it be not the only one in special connexion with Medical degrees.'⁸³

A Departmental Committee on the University of London, known as the Hilton-Young Committee, was set up in October 1924 'to consider the Final Report of the Royal Commission on University Education in London dated 27th March 1913'. . . .⁸⁴ It reported in 1926. 'We are convinced', the Committee said, 'that with the lapse of time and material change of circumstances some of the main recommendations of the Haldane Report have lost their force, and that the ground for attempting to impose such an entirely new constitution on the University as the Report proposed no longer exists. A practicable scheme of reform and reorganization must, in our opinion, be evolutionary rather than revolutionary and build as far as possible on existing foundations'.⁸⁵

The Committee addressed itself to five problems of outstanding urgency. They were the relation of the University to its schools, involving the vital question of university finance; the unsatisfactory constitution of the Senate and its standing committees; the composition of Boards of Studies; and the embarrassments caused by the requirement of Statute 122 that examinations for the Internal and External degrees should 'represent as far as possible the same standard of knowledge and attainments', and by the system of recognizing teachers in institutions not admitted as schools of the University.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Senate Mins.* 1852, 49.

⁷⁷ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 134 (17).

⁷⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 156 (2083); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 319-20 (c).

⁷⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 183-4 (19).

⁸⁰ *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 22 (54, 55), 173 (385).

⁸¹ *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 60 (798), 78-79 (3); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 150 (5535(1)), 262-3 (3), cf. 186 (b); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 51 (6693), 52 (6698).

⁸² *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 141 (5410).

⁸³ *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 327 (22).

⁸⁴ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 4; 176 *H.C. Deb.* 5th Ser. 3093-4; 177 *H.C.* 5th Ser. 296.

⁸⁵ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* pp. 5-6 (3-4); cf. 44 (83); 176 *H.C. Deb.* 5th Ser. 3093-4.

As a solution of the first of these problems, the Committee rejected a further extension of incorporation,⁸⁶ and adopted instead a federal pattern.⁸⁷ They further recommended three changes of quite radical importance—a reorganization of University finance, the grant to the colleges of representation on the Senate, and the establishment of a Collegiate Council. ‘The University’, they observed, ‘has practically no financial resources which it can devote to the development of teaching or research except the balance of examination fees. And yet the total income for the year 1923–4 of the 22 Schools of the University in receipt of grants from the Treasury, including the Incorporated Colleges, amounted to nearly £1,000,000.’⁸⁸ They regarded it as ‘fundamentally inconsistent with the idea of a self-governing university that it should not have sufficient financial resources and authority to initiate and pursue a policy of well-balanced development and to prevent wasteful duplication and competition’.⁸⁹ They proposed therefore the establishment of a body which should become the sole agent for application for and receipt of money from any public authority by the University itself or any of its schools, and be qualified ‘to negotiate with grant-giving bodies, to engage with them in the final and effective discussion of the university budget and to allocate the grants which result from that negotiation and discussion’. ‘We recommend’, they said, ‘that there should be a University Council to determine the allocation of funds for the execution of university policy and generally to exercise control over finance’.⁹⁰ The new statutes set up such a body under the name of the ‘Court’.⁹¹ The counterpart to this diminution in the financial independence of the schools was the award to them of a share in the government of the University by means of institutional representation on the Senate and the creation of a new standing committee of the Senate called the Collegiate Council.⁹²

The defect of the Senate was that it was composed largely of the wrong people, and that they had too much to do. The Committee could ‘find no justification for the system whereby so many senators [were] nominated by bodies none of which [had] an organic connexion with the University and most of which [had] no similar privileges in other universities’, namely the Inns of Court, the Law Society, the Royal Colleges, the City and Guilds of London Institute, and the London County Council.⁹³ It recommended their removal, and put representatives of the schools of the University in their place.⁹⁴ It did not recommend any change in the system of giving teachers and graduates respectively a substantial and equal share in the general government of the University.⁹⁵ The business to be dealt with by a Senate thus reformed was then lightened by substituting, for the statute restricting its statutory committees to advisory functions, one giving it power to delegate executive functions to them, and allowing them in turn to delegate to subordinate bodies.⁹⁶ Furthermore it proposed the removal of the restriction imposed by the Schedule and the Statutes limiting the personnel of Standing Committees to senators.⁹⁷ It recommended that the University should itself become responsible for the appointment of professors and readers in its schools.⁹⁸ It made no suggestion for any restriction of the authority of the Senate to recognize teachers in institutions that were not schools of the University;⁹⁹ but it expressed the

⁸⁶ *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 8 (11956–60), 43 (12259–61), 115 (18), 117 (13457).

⁸⁷ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 12 (14); cf. pp. 13 (15)–14 (17), 17 (24), 44 (83–84).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19 (27).

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19 (28).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26 (42); cf. 26 (41)–28 (47).

⁹¹ Statutes 37–39 [1926].

⁹² *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* pp. 16 (22)–17 (23), 33 (56–57), 41 (77)–42 (78), 44 (84), 55; Statutes 79–81 [1926].

⁹³ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* pp. 24 (38)–25 (39).

⁹⁴ Statute 43 (ii) [1926].

⁹⁵ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 24 (37); Statute 43 (iii) [1926].

⁹⁶ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 37 (66–67); Statutes 29 [1898], 74, 76, 77, 86, 87, 99 [1926].

⁹⁷ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* pp. 37–38 (68); Statute 68 [1926].

⁹⁸ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 32 (54); cf. *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 46–47 (106).

⁹⁹ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 49 (95); Statutes 125–7 [1926]; Regulations for recognition of teachers of the Univ: *Univ. Calendar*, *passim*; on contrary *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 172 (381).

view 'that the new statutes should state clearly the power of the University to approve for degree purposes syllabuses and courses of instruction submitted by incorporated colleges or schools of the University, and to conduct examinations for a university degree related to those syllabuses and courses of instruction',¹ free from the embarrassments of Statute 122.²

A University of London Act, passed in 1926, set up a Statutory Commission to make statutes in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee. The new statutes came into operation in 1929. The changes thus made removed the most serious defects of the Act of 1898 and its Schedule. The Internal side of the University was freed from interference by the representatives of the ideas of the old examining University, its government falling in effect to the Academic Council, which became in time the most powerful of the standing committees of the Senate and was protected from the overthrow of its recommendations by a radical change in the balance of power in that body.

Between 1900 and 1950 the University added 13 new schools to the 28 admitted under the Statutes of 1900.³ By 1950 almost all the teachers at these institutions were employed full-time, and all the senior among them were appointed or recognized teachers of the University. The change from the part-time to the full-time employment of the majority of the teachers worked in particular a revolution in the faculty of law and in the pre-medical and pre-clinical courses of the medical schools. The daily life of the undergraduate continued to be spent, as it had previously been spent, almost wholly in his college. But he was free to attend intercollegiate courses at other institutions, and at the University itself he found a University Library, a University Union, and University athletic teams.

Throughout the first hundred years the University returned again and again to the complaint that it was inadequately housed. In 1870 for the first time it obtained quarters specifically designed for its use, when the north front of Burlington House was built.⁴ From here it was moved in 1900 to the Imperial Institute in South Kensington,⁵ accommodation that proved to be exceedingly inconvenient both in itself and in its location. But the proper remedy became a subject of controversy between the rival parties in the Senate. By 1926, however, the impracticability of any satisfactory remodelling of the University's share of the Imperial Institute had become inescapably clear, and in the following year a resolution in favour of removing the central administration to Bloomsbury was carried by a vote of 21 to 18. Its implementation was made possible by a princely gift from the Rockefeller Foundation. The purchase of both the northern and southern portions of the site was assured in May; and the foundation-stone of the Senate House, designed by Charles Holden, was laid in June 1933. Occupa-

¹ *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* p. 48 (93); cf. 47 (91)–48 (93); Statute 142 [1926].

² *Dep. Cttee. Rep.* pp. 38–39 (71); Statutes 75, 78, 143 [1926]; *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 451; *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 11 (30).

³ Westfield Coll. (1902), Lond. Sch. of Tropical Medicine (1905: becoming the Lond. Sch. of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, 1924), Lister Institute of Preventive Medicine (1905), East Lond. Coll. (1907: becoming Queen Mary Coll., 1934), Royal Dental Hosp. Sch. (1911), Sch. of Oriental and African Studies (1916), Birbeck Coll. (1920), Sch. of Pharmacy of the Pharmaceutical Soc. (1925: becoming the Coll. of the Pharmaceutical Soc. 1932, and the Sch. of Pharmacy, 1949), Maudsley Hosp. and Bethlehem Royal Hosp. (1924), Royal Cancer Hosp. (1927), King's Coll. of Household Science (1918: becoming Queen Elizabeth Coll. 1953), Postgraduate Medical Sch.

(1931), British Postgraduate Medical Federation (1947), and Royal Veterinary Coll. (1948). To these are to be added the Institute of Education (1910), the absorption of the Royal Coll. of Science and the Central Technical Coll. (the City and Guilds Institute) in the Imperial Coll. of Science and Technology (1908), and the establishment as separate bodies of University Coll. Hosp. Medical Sch. (1907), King's Coll. Hosp. Medical Sch. (1909), and King's Coll. Theological Dept. (1910).

⁴ *Senate Mins.* 1870, mm. 201–2; *Survey of Lond.* xxxii. *Par. of St. James, Westminster*, pt. 2, *North of Piccadilly*, pp. 415, 435–9, cf. p. 413; P. Dunsheath and Margaret Miller, *Convocation in the Univ. of Lond.* 157–62.

⁵ *Senate Mins.* 1899, m. 314; cf. *Survey of Lond.* xxxii (2), 438; *Royal Comm. (Gresham)*, p. 407 (10325); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 169 (8457–9); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 16.

tion began in 1936, and was completed by 1938.⁶ In 1951 the University bought another 13½ acres from the Bedford Estate, making together with the rectangle occupied by University College an area of nearly 35 acres lying between Euston Road and the British Museum.⁷ This concentration in Bloomsbury enormously facilitated the work of University boards and councils; and the University quickly gathered around itself a cluster of central activities.

IX

By 1950 the reconstituted University had changed radically in character and grown surprisingly in size. Its student body, in pursuit of ends very different from those of their predecessors, and greatly enlarged in number, followed a much more diversified but also a much more strictly regimented curriculum. Its teachers had not only become much more numerous, but were also engaged in a much greater variety of intellectual labours and stood in a changed relation to the University. A complex of central activities had been developed; the financial position of the University had experienced a revolution; and an elaborate administrative machine had been built up.⁸

The number of Internal registered students, that is of students who had matriculated and were attending 'at any one "Approved Course" in a School or under any one Recognized Teacher of the University',⁹ rose from 2,004 in 1902-3¹⁰ to 4,950 in 1913-14, 8,099 in 1920-1, 14,587 in 1938-9, and 26,762 in 1960-1, including in each case students at institutions with recognized teachers, numbering in the last of these years, 4,908.¹¹ These figures, however, did not in 1902-3, nor for many years afterwards, represent the sum of the students at the schools and colleges. Those at institutions with recognized teachers, but not themselves working under such teachers, were at no time in any sense a part of the University. But the student body in the two incorporated colleges and the other schools of the University still included a large number who, while present in university institutions, were not Internal registered students of the University. Some of them, unable to fulfil the conditions imposed upon Internal students, had technically to proceed on the External side. But most of them were not seeking the degrees of the University at all, but were on their way to Oxford or Cambridge, or aimed at one or other of a variety of scholastic or professional certificates and diplomas. For students at the medical schools these were the professional diplomas of the two Royal Colleges; and there were lively schools of engineering in the London colleges long before the degree in Engineering was established in 1903. There was thus plausibility in Sidney Webb's contention that the population of the colleges did not differ significantly from that of the polytechnics.¹² At University College in 1900, out of a student body of 1,098, 37 took their bachelor's degree at the University. In 1925, the number was still only 216 out of 2,426.¹³ At King's College in 1902 the matriculated students were 324 out of 1,385,¹⁴ and at the medical schools only

⁶ E. J. Davis, 'The University Site, Bloomsbury', *Lond. Topog. Record*, xvii; *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 131 b (6); Lord Beveridge, *Power and Influence*, 187-208; Principal's Rep. (1934-5) in *Univ. of Lond. Calendar 1935-6*, 76-77; *Calendar 1936-7*, 83; *Calendar 1937-8*, 81.

⁷ Principal's Rep. 1951-2, 1-5, 12-13; 1952-3, 30.

⁸ Principal's Rep. 1935-6 in *Univ. Calendar 1936-7*, 95; cf. 1937-8 in *Univ. Calendar 1938-9*, 81-82.

⁹ *Univ. Gazette*, i. 22; cf. Schedule to the Act of 1898, §9; *Hist. Record*, 67-69.

¹⁰ *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 32 (12032-4, 12039); cf. 40 (12187), 58 (12516)-59 (12518); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 110 (254).

¹¹ *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 303; Principal's Rep. (1921-2) in *Univ. Calendar 1922-3*, 98; 1941-2, 1, *Univ. Gazette*, xl, no. 419; Principal's Rep. 1961-2, 57.

¹² *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 30-31 (60), 43 (564), cf. 27 (40); *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 117 (5); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, pp. 246-7 (IV (i)); Principal's Rep. (1904-5) in *Senate Mins. 1904-5*, App. to m. 1751 (p. 68), or *Univ. Gazette*, iv. 143.

¹³ Bellot, *Univ. Coll.* 400; cf. *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, pp. 246-7 (IV (i)).

¹⁴ *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, pp. 246-7 (IV (i)); *King's Coll. Calendar 1902-3*, p. xlviii.

a third of the students were working for the London degree.¹⁵ By 1961 the situation had changed radically. The heterogeneous body had, with scattered exceptions, been replaced by full-time students pursuing, even in the medical schools, a course leading to a degree, so that the 26,762 on the register in that year came close to being in fact the total student population.

The essential feature of the reconstituted University was that it was a teaching as well as an examining body. The hallmark of the Internal student was attendance upon an approved course. The number of hours of such attendance was prescribed by regulation and the fulfilment of the regulations in this respect had to be certified by the college before the candidate was admitted to examination. A candidate for the B.A. in 1904 was required to produce certificates of 'having attended not less than 810 hours in the three years [of his course], of which at least 405 must be B.A. courses'.¹⁶ Only in 1947 was this certification of a specific number of hours abandoned in the non-medical Faculties:¹⁷ in the Faculty of Medicine it still prevailed.¹⁸ In spite of the good intentions of the Senate, the consequence was a severe reduction in the freedom of the undergraduate.¹⁹ The student pursued a systematic course of study that carried him, in the three years that he remained at college, from matriculation to the final degree. It was this and not for individual classes for which he registered and for which he paid his fee.

The rise in the number of students was accompanied by a similar growth in the number of the academic staff. In 1900 the University had no teachers of its own. By 1904-5 it had appointed 12 professors and 17 junior teachers and had 'recognized' 745 teachers in its several schools and colleges and in 'other institutions', including polytechnics.²⁰ In 1938-9 the figures had risen to 248 professors, 167 readers, and 979 recognized teachers.²¹ In 1960-1 the corresponding numbers were 491, 472, and some 1,400 recognized teachers.²² But once again the figures by themselves tell only part of the story. The academic staff became in the event something very different from what the Senate had intended. The reason for this was financial. The Senate found that it had no money with which to recruit, as it had expected, an independent body of university teachers of its own, and was driven by the winds of poverty on a different and a wiser course.

In 1900 the institutions that were to become the schools and colleges of the University were already, in common with institutions of higher education in other parts of the country, in receipt of modest Treasury grants. Upon the reconstitution of the University, the Government agreed to continue to meet out of public funds the charges falling upon the University for accommodation, and added a small annual grant. But the net increase over the moneys the University had previously had at its disposal from this source was a mere £2,400 a year, and appeared to the members of the Senate to be wholly inadequate to the performance of the task now laid upon them.²³ Protests, however, were unavailing, and the University got nothing more for the next twenty years.²⁴

The ground for this refusal of the Treasury was the failure of the University to obtain local support. It had not hitherto been a local institution. This support it received in 1901 in the shape of a grant of £10,000 a year from the London County Council,²⁵ procured for

¹⁵ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 88 (62); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 294 (10442), cf. 281 (10214); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 2 (table B), 114 (8-10); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 102 (232).

¹⁶ *Univ. Gazette*, ii. 4.

¹⁷ Cf. *Regulations for Internal Students for Session 1947-8*, pp. 7 (4), 10-11; *ibid.* 1948-9, p. 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 1948-9, pp. 324-39.

¹⁹ *Univ. Gazette*, ii. 160.

²⁰ *Senate Mins.* 1904-5 (17 May), p. 68; *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 233 (9622).

²¹ *Calendar 1939-40*, 201; cf. 1948-9, 122.

²² Principal's Rep. 1961-2, 65.

²³ *Senate Mins.* 1900 (Oct.-Dec.), m. 129 (p. 55); 1901, mm. 241, 248; *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 137 (29); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 58 (V 19 (B), 21); Statute 83 [1898]. *Hist. Record*, 86.

²⁴ *Senate Mins.* 1920-1, mm. 1043, 1528, 1969, 4305.

²⁵ Principal's Rep. 1901-2 in *Univ. Gazette*, i. 102; cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 4 (47-53), App. I, b, pp. 205-14; Webb, *Partnership*, 100.

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it by the aid of Sidney Webb. The money enabled the University to make its first 29 academic appointments. But it was insufficient to provide the persons so appointed with university laboratories; and it became clear that the plan to establish a University professoriate accommodated in University departments, over and above the departments already existing in the schools and colleges, was unlikely to be realized. In January 1907 the Senate resolved, 'that, as a transitional measure, the title of University Professor be conferred on such persons at present holding teaching posts in Schools of the University as the Senate may designate, after receiving in each case a Report from the Academic Council, . . . the full title . . . conferred on such persons being that of "Professor of . . . in the University of London"'.²⁶ By 1915 a university professoriate had thus been established.²⁷ Its distinctive features were that, with minimal exceptions, every appointment was a tripartite agreement between the University, the school, and the person appointed, and that every appointed teacher owed a dual allegiance, to the University and to his school.

Within this professoriate, mainly by reason of the spontaneous evolution of the several subjects of study, but also under the influence of benefactors, appointments took on at the same time a bewildering variety. The consequence was the development, under the care of Boards of Studies, of a corresponding variety in the curriculum. It proved to be futile to appoint a man to promote the study of a subject that had no place in the syllabus for the first degree. He found himself in that case in the occupation of a sinecure; for without roots at the undergraduate level postgraduate work could not be effectively developed. Every such teacher was driven, therefore, to see that what he had to offer became somewhere the subject of examination, and degrees and diplomas and the options within each multiplied profusely.²⁸ The function of a university teacher being not merely to know and pass on what other men have found out, students did not come merely to receive instruction but, as Haldane put it, entered 'as members, a particular department of university work'.²⁹ What they were offered was a share in that work, not the privilege of diverting their teachers from it. It was upon this rock that schemes for the revival of the General Degree split.

X

The development of medical education in the reconstituted University followed a different path. The teachers in the hospital medical schools had been some of the most vigorous and effective opponents of the pretensions of the London University of 1825; they had throughout taken a prominent part in the affairs of the University of London of 1836 which took its place; and they had become leaders in the movement for the reform of that University in the latter years of the century.³⁰ But the reconstituted University of 1901 was a disappointment to them, and no close association between it and the medical schools developed until after 1929. The medical Faculty had its own peculiar difficulty in the Senate. 'The Faculty [of Medicine] suffers', said A. C. Headlam, the Principal of King's College, 'by the disproportionate number of medical men on the Senate . . . the teachers being in a small minority. We have, thus, the policy of the Senate in medicine largely regulated by interests which are in many ways

²⁶ *Senate Mins.* 1906-7, m. 892; cf. mm. 883-98; 1908-9, mm. 1934-7, 3307; Principal's Rep. 1908-9 in *Senate Mins.* 19 May 1909, *Supp.*, 110-11; cf. *ibid.* 1910-11, *Senate Mins.* 14 Dec. 1910, *Supp.*, 42. cf. *Rep. Royal Comm.* (Gresham), p. xxi (23); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 232 (9614)-233 (9623), 413.

²⁷ Principal's Rep. 1914-15 in *Senate Mins.* 3 June 1915, *Supp.*, 69-70.

²⁸ Principal's Rep. 1959-60, 12, 52; cf. 1955-6, 52; *Univ. Calendar* 1960-1, 85-86.

²⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (Final), p. 145 (330).

³⁰ Cf. *Higher Educ.*, p. 66 (3).

antagonistic to the existence of a proper teaching University'.³¹ The result was denial of autonomy to the Faculty. It was not surprising, therefore, that the medical teachers despaired of the University.³²

But other forces were also at work, with a contrary effect. The London hospital medical schools found themselves faced with falling numbers and rising costs, and were driven more and more insistently to seek help from outside.

While it was true that London still educated in whole or in part 40–50 per cent. of all English and Scottish medical students and 70–75 per cent. of the total medical students in England,³³ the number of those coming to its schools had fallen from an annual entry of about 655 in 1885–9 to one of 250 in 1905–9.³⁴ This was due in part to a general decline in the number of persons qualifying to practice medicine and surgery, which set in about 1894.³⁵ But in part the fall was more ominous. The London schools were getting a smaller share of the reduced number of students registering in a medical school from the start.³⁶

While the number of their students was thus falling, their costs were going up. The education of medical students in the hospital medical schools had its origin in the practice of allowing members of the hospital staff to introduce students to 'walk' the hospital with them as they themselves went round the wards to attend to their patients.³⁷ Out of this grew the practice of providing systematic courses of instruction in the pre-medical and pre-clinical sciences preparatory to clinical teaching on the case. As these sciences developed they passed beyond the compass of the hospital staff themselves, and it became necessary to employ specialists to deliver the lectures. The change involved a loss of salary to the staff. But an income from fees paid by medical students had never been the prime object of the system. The profit of it was not that; it was consulting practice. A man's way to eminence in practice lay to a great extent through his reputation in the hospitals.³⁸ As the costs of the basic sciences mounted, however, and more and more expensive laboratories were needed as well as the specialists who taught in them, merely not being paid turned into having to find out of their own pockets the deficit still outstanding after the fees had been collected, and this at a time when 'hospital appointments . . . [were] not of the same pecuniary value as formerly owing to the development of other accepted methods of professional advertisement'.³⁹ The result was that on the one hand some of the schools were hard put to it to keep their heads above water and that there was keen competition for students,⁴⁰ and on the other much inefficiency in departments maintained for competition's sake.⁴¹ The schools had a wolf by the ears and did not know how to let go. Anxious to drop the teaching of the preliminary sciences which they could less and less afford to maintain, each was afraid to do so lest the rest should not follow suit; and all were acutely aware that

³¹ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 89 (70), cf. 80 (11)–81 (15); cf. evidence of Sir Wm. Ramsay, *ibid.*, p. 163 (6); of the President, R. Coll. of Surgeons, *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 279 (29)–280 (30); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 100 (229 (6)); evidence of Sidney Martin, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine, *Univ. Educ.* (5), p. 37 (12, 130).

³² *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 88 (60–65), but cf. 78 (2); *ibid.*, pp. 182 (4), 187 (2642–5, 2647); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 277 (20); cf. pp. 283 (10246), 298 (3), 326 (17–18), 330 (30); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 30 (5), 33 (12050), 196 (5 (ii)), 204 (14824–8); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 100 (230), 102 (232).

³³ *Univ. Educ.* (5), p. 114 (11).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 15 (11), 112 (Chart 3), 113 (I (5–6)), 128 (13721–2).

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 8 (11956–60), 43 (12259–61), 115 (18), 117 (13457).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 113 (I (3)), 113–14 (7), 114 (14).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 194–5 (3).

³⁸ *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 154 (16986); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 88 (63); *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 48 (3858); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 281 (10217–22), 354 (i), 361 (11803–4); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 60 (12562), 141 (10); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 126 (283)–127 (284); *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 154 (16986).

³⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 326 (14); cf. 339 (11319–20), 361 (11805–7).

⁴⁰ *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 94 (13007–13), 110 (13353–5), 132 (13835), 133 (13842–3), 145 (13955), 210 (14910).

⁴¹ Cf. Rep. to accompany Statutes and Regulations made by the Commissioners appointed under the Univ. of Lon. Act. 1898 . . . *Hist. Record*, 104–8; *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 1 (2), 278 (22), 280 (11202–3), 324–5 (11), 354–5 (i), 356 (11666–72), 360 (11768); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 29 (2), 100 (III), cf. 106 (13264), 132 (13835), 148 (14043), 149 (14047), 158 (14200–20), 194 (2); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 126–7 (283).

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University College and King's College would do nothing of the kind. So that the teachers of the Preliminary and Intermediate subjects, who 'were not, and never intended to become, members of the Hospital Staff', were continued as the mere and often sweated employees of the clinicians.⁴² 'They are', said H. T. Butlin, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, 'paid salaries wholly inadequate to their position and the work they are expected to perform. The largest salaries paid to professors and lecturers on Anatomy and Physiology in London are £300 to £400 per annum. Teachers, whose original work is known throughout the world, some of them holding the Fellowship of the Royal Society, are paid on this scale, and have to eke out their incomes by various expedients. One of them is, I understand, paid secretary of the students' club of the school; and another, I am told, makes something by his skill in painting'.⁴³ Teachers were lost, in consequence, to the provincial and Scottish schools.⁴⁴

The solution proposed was concentration of teaching for the first two and half years of the medical course,⁴⁵ either among a small number of the medical schools themselves or in a single University institution, or at the University, at King's College, and at University College.⁴⁶ A plan was launched in 1902 for the establishment of a central Medical Institute in South Kensington to take over from the schools the teaching of the basic sciences to medical students, and a public appeal for funds was issued by the University. But it ended in fiasco. £60,000⁴⁷ had been collected when the Medical Faculty rejected the plan it had begun by sponsoring, and the money collected had to be returned to the donors. It was a lamentable outcome to the University's first adventure in seeking assistance from private sources;⁴⁸ and the result was to leave the schools more estranged from the University than before, but with their problems unsolved.⁴⁹

But a larger undertaking than this was pressed upon the attention of the medical schools by the Haldane Commission, no less than the reform of the clinical departments themselves. The task was set out with simplicity by Sir William Allchin. 'In the incorporated colleges of the University [University and King's] the earlier and intermediate subjects are now placed upon a thoroughly satisfactory basis of university teaching, where, in addition to furnishing the requisite instruction for the average man, the sciences are studied for their own sake and for the extension of the knowledge of them. The time has now come when similar provision must be made for the pursuance of Medicine, Surgery, and Pathology and their several branches in the same advanced and scientific manner'.⁵⁰ This could be done in one of two ways, either by the establishment of a hospital entirely under the control of the University where this advanced work would be concentrated, or by scattering university professors among the Medical Schools in what came to be called 'hospital' or 'professorial' units.⁵¹ The disadvantage

⁴² *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 1 (2), 272 (7)–273(9), 278 (22), 280 (11202–3), 324–5 (11), 354–5 (i), 356 (11666–72), 360 (11768); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 132 (835), 148 (14043), 149 (14047), 158 (14200–20), 195 (3), 204 (14815).

⁴³ *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 273 (11); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 101 (II), 196 (5 (iii)).

⁴⁴ *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 274 (14–15).

⁴⁵ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 192 (2785–95).

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 89 (72), 142 (1766–9, cf. 1766–77), 187 (2640), 192 (2804)–193 (2808); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 48 (3859)–49 (3867), 122 (5037 (5)); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 335 (11234)–336 (11238); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 81 (12750)–82 (12775), 97 (13110–13), 132–3 (13841), 134 (13868), 137 (2), 144 (13951), 145 (13954), 148 (14032–5), 159 (14237–9), 188 (14703)–189 (14705), 196 (6), 205 (14831)–206 (14842), 210 (14907–8).

⁴⁷ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 187 (2639); *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp.

275–6 (19), 284 (10288); *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 67 (74)–68 (76), 96 (13089), 196 (6)–198 (7); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 103 (234).

⁴⁸ *Univ. Educ.* (2), p. 300 (Note VII); cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1) p. 89 (72); *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 298 (2).

⁴⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (1), p. 192 (2793–4), cf. 187 (2641); *Univ. Educ.* (2), pp. 48–49 (3364), 122 (5), 367 (12, A), 368 §3; *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 282 (10240), 335 (11234).

⁵⁰ *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 330–1 (34), cf. 326 (18), 338 (11288); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 109 (252)–110 (253), 112 (258)–115 (262), 121–2 (275).

⁵¹ *Univ. Educ.* (5), p. 48 (12335); cf. 33 (12071), 34 (12076), 47 (12321), 49 (12359), 53 (12474), 53–54 (12478), 100 (7), 147 (14005), 185 (14655–6). Sir Francis R. Fraser, *The Challenge to the Medical Profession* (Harveian Oration 1960), 9–12.

of the first of these plans was that if the new University Hospital accepted undergraduates, it would be difficult to decide which undergraduates should go to it, and if it did not, but were purely postgraduate, it would drain the undergraduate schools of their best teachers and their research.⁵² The advantage of the second would be to infuse a university spirit into the schools.⁵³ It was adopted with enthusiasm by Haldane.⁵⁴ 'The essence . . . [was] that in a University Medical School the principal teachers of clinical medicine and surgery in all their branches ought to be university professors in the same sense as the principal teachers of chemistry or physiology. . . .'⁵⁵ Of all the aspects of the Commission's inquiry, this was the one in which Haldane showed the keenest personal interest, and of all the solutions they proposed this was the one to which he was most deeply committed before he began to ask any questions, pressing his views pertinaciously upon the medical witnesses at the cost of arousing much opposition and resentment. The plan, with all its implications, was indeed not easy to grasp. There was much confused argument about medical research, arising from a failure to distinguish between investigations conducted with a view to the diagnosis and treatment of a particular case, and systematic scientific research conducted for its own sake;⁵⁶ and Haldane himself only fully cleared his mind on the subject in the course of the inquiry.⁵⁷ But fully, or only half understood, it was very unwelcome to the consultants. The existing practice was to put the student into contact with the practising physician at the bedside,⁵⁸ the laboratories being essentially service laboratories.⁵⁹ In this practice which they regarded as the characteristically English system, the more conservative members of the medical schools wished to make no change.⁶⁰ All they wanted was to be provided with more money, to meet the cost of adequate laboratories and an adequately paid staff of assistants, with perhaps here and there a chair in some special subject.⁶¹ In place of this, or partly in its place, Haldane proposed to introduce into a hospital 'a complete unit . . . I mean', he said, 'you would have a professor, you would have the assistants under him, you would have a certain number of beds set apart for the work, and you would have the lecture theatre and the necessary laboratories'.⁶² The student would then be instructed by men who were giving their whole time to the scientific study of medicine, and would work under them as his fellows worked under professors of other subjects.⁶³

The first of such clinical units to be established by the University were set up in 1920-1 at St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, the London School of Medicine for Women, and St. Mary's.⁶⁴ No general change in the relation of the medical schools to the University or in the organization of medical education in London occurred, however, until 1929. The statutes of that year provided for the representation of the medical schools on the new Collegiate Council, gave the Faculty of Medicine effective control over the medical curriculum and medical examinations, and above all made the University the channel through which passed the much needed financial assistance to the Schools. Under the new dispensation there was great and rapid progress.

⁵² *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 53-54 (12478), 72 (8 c)).

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 78 (12655-6), cf. 105 (13214-7).

⁵⁴ *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 357 (11716).

⁵⁵ *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 110 (253).

⁵⁶ *Univ. Educ.* (5), cf. evidence of Sir Henry Morris, p. 27 (5-8); J. H. Fisher, pp. 59 (12546-8), 66 (60), 76 (12618-20), 134 (13824), 135 (13910-12, 13916-17); L. S. Dudgeon, pp. 58 (12516), 59 (12524), 60 (1255-6, 12559-61), 135 (13913-16); F. Taylor, pp. 185-6 (14660).

⁵⁷ e.g. *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 42 (12227-31), 46 (12300)-47 (12313).

⁵⁸ *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 153 (16946).

⁵⁹ *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 32 (12032-4, 12039); cf. 40 (12187),

58 (12516)-59 (12518); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, p. 110 (254).

⁶⁰ *Univ. Educ.* (5), p. 69 (87); cf. pp. 40 (12194), 138 (19), 149 (14054-5).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91 (12912).

⁶² *Univ. Educ.* (3), p. 357 (11716).

⁶³ *Univ. Educ. (Final App.)*, p. 153 (16946); cf. evidence of Flexner, *Univ. Educ.* (3), pp. 1 (3)-2 (4); Starling pp. 207-8 (14859), 208 (14861), cf. 141 (10 (iii)).

⁶⁴ *Senate Mins.* 1919-20, mm. 3690-7, 4348-58; 1920-1, mm. 222, 225, 237; mm. 233-6, 2110-12; mm. 364-5, 4580. Cf. *Univ. Educ.* (5), pp. 83 (12821), 108 (13289-91), 207 (14859); *Univ. Educ. (Final)*, pp. 109 (252)-110 (253), 112 (258), 113 (260), 117 (269)-119 (271), 121 (275 (3)), 131 (294).

The great expansion of the University which set in after the First World War was only made possible by steadily rising support from public funds. The London County Council from time to time increased its annual subvention, and in 1921 came the first of the annual grants from the Home Counties. But the bulk of the money was derived from the Treasury. The total income from all sources, starting from £29,788 in 1901-2,⁶⁵ which became £49,622 in 1902-3 by virtue of the grant from the London County Council and the assumption by the University of the work of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching,⁶⁶ rose by 1957-8 to £9,432,390. This sum needs, however, to be adjusted in two respects if a true picture of what had happened is to be obtained. In the first place it is to be remembered that after 1930 Treasury grants to the several schools of the University passed through the University instead of being paid directly to the schools themselves. On this account, the sum of £7,991,022 together with £128,000 which went to the Institute of Education, must first be deducted. In the second, the remainder, £1,313,368, must then be translated into pre-1914 values, at which it is equivalent to approximately £315,000 in 1913.⁶⁷ To this steep increase in annual income the Treasury added from 1945 onwards very substantial capital grants.⁶⁸ They amounted in the single session 1960-1 to £4,858,578, of which £2,905,446 went to Imperial College in pursuance of the Government's policy to improve technical education.⁶⁹

The consequence of these events was a radical change in the financial situation of the University both internal and external. The University moved from a position approaching financial independence in 1900 to a situation half a century later in which it had become responsible for Treasury grants to its component institutions, and was directly dependent upon parliamentary funds for something like 72 per cent. of their and its own current needs and the bulk of its capital expenditure.⁷⁰ The effect within the University was the increase of the financial control of the University over its constituent bodies. To obtain the Treasury grants for current expenditure the University had to present quinquennially a single co-ordinated document setting out both its own plans and estimates and those of its schools. This was built up, upon the one side, by the teachers, operating through the Boards of Studies, together with those responsible for the central activities of the University, and upon the other by the several institutions, where the teachers again played a part in their collegiate capacity. Once this document had been agreed and the grant made, the distribution *pro rata* by the Court of what had been vouchsafed was not a difficult or a prolonged operation. But the administration of capital grants was a different matter. These reached the University, like the recurrent grants, as a block allocation, and since they were never sufficient to meet all needs, the University had to establish an order of priorities for all capital projects financed out of Treasury money. The effect upon the external relations of the University of this increased financial dependence upon the State was equally far-reaching. It led inescapably to external interference in matters of academic policy, first appearing in the form of the ear-marked grant.⁷¹ It faced the University with the prospect that it might cease to be an autonomous institution, a corporate body with a life and values of its own, and become an instrument of public policy.

⁶⁵ *Senate Mins.* 1905-6, May 1906, p. 107.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*; cf. *Univ. Gazette* i. 101; ii. 156-7.

⁶⁷ This figure was provided by Prof. R. G. D. Allen. His reference is *Key Statistics of the British Economy, 1900-1962* (Lond. & Camb. Econ. Service).

⁶⁸ Principal's Rep. 1944-5, p. 1, 1945-6 p. 1 in *Univ.*

Gazette, xl, no. 428, App; xl. no. 431, App.

⁶⁹ *Rep. by the Principal* 1960-1, 10.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 1956-7, 22; 1957-8, 7.

⁷¹ *Ibid.* 1921-2 p. 1 in *Senate Mins.* 1921-2 24 May 1922, App., p. 1; cf. *Univ. Educ.* (1), pp. 91 (80), 94 (92, 94); *Dep. Cttee. Rep.*, pp. 20 (30), 22-23 (34).

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This phenomenal growth of the University called for the organization of an elaborate administrative machine. The modest establishment of 1838 had by 1960 become an administrative staff of 323, besides a library staff and a large body of domestic employees. The post of Principal Officer was created by the statutes of 1900. The office became that of Principal under the statutes of 1929.⁷²

At the outset the University envisaged the creation of a series of institutes of advanced study, separate from and superior to the departments in its schools and colleges, those dealing with the humanities being grouped in the neighbourhood of the British Museum.⁷³ It was only lack of money that prevented the building of an Institute of Chemistry in 1901, and dictated the location of the two University chairs of Chemistry at University College, and the concentration there of the development of Germanic studies at University level.⁷⁴ In the event this plan was abandoned except in the Faculty of Medicine, where something like what was originally thought of was realized with the foundation of the London School of Tropical Medicine (1905), the Post-Graduate Medical School, and the British Postgraduate Medical Federation (1945) with its associated Institutes.⁷⁵ In the Faculty of Science and the Faculty of Engineering advanced studies developed within the departments of the several schools and colleges, without the creation of any new institutions external to them. In the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Laws the University followed the federal plan adopted in 1907, founding a series of self-governing postgraduate Institutes located in Bloomsbury, of which the independent staff was limited to a Director with administrative and library assistants, and in which postgraduate training was conducted by teachers drawn from the undergraduate schools. Upon this model were founded Institutes of Historical Research (1921), Advanced Legal Studies (1948), Commonwealth Studies (1949), Germanic Languages and Literature (1950), and Classical Studies (1953). Four Institutes departed from this pattern. The Courtauld Institute of Art (1932), the Institute of Archaeology (1934), and the Warburg Institute (1944) were organized with independent academic staffs of their own; while the School of Slavonic and East European Studies (1932) not only had an independent staff, but also engaged in undergraduate as well as post-graduate work.

⁷² Statute 27 [1898]; *Dep. Cttee. Rep.*, pp. 35 (62)–36 (63), 57.

⁷³ *Senate Mins.* 1901–2, m. 970; cf. *Univ. Gazette*, i. 102; ii. 161, 164.

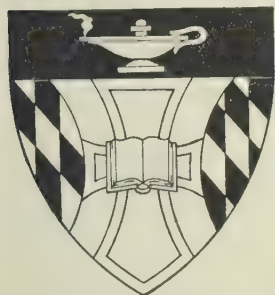
⁷⁴ *Senate Mins.* 1901–2, mm. 972–3; *Univ. Gazette*, i. 102; ii. 161, 164.

⁷⁵ *Univ. Calendar* 1960–1, 472–93; cf. 1952–3, 228–9, 521–34.

THE CONSTITUENT COLLEGES¹

BEDFORD COLLEGE

BEDFORD COLLEGE² was founded in 1849 in 47 (now 48) Bedford Square. The foundation was



BEDFORD COLLEGE. *Argent between two flanches paly bendy or and sable a cross pattee throughout gules voided of the field, surmounted by an open book of the second on a chief of the third an antique lamp gold inflamed proper*

[Granted 1913]

financed by Mrs. Elisabeth J. Reid (1789–1866), a philanthropist of varied interests and nonconformist background, who wished to establish 'a College for Women, or something like it'. Her foundation differed from Queen's College, Harley Street, founded in 1848 with similar objects, in that teaching at Bedford was unsectarian and both sexes were represented on the governing body.

For the first forty years of its existence the College had no full-time teachers. Courses were organized within a liberal curriculum: Arts subjects predominated in early timetables, although courses in natural science were also included. Sixty-eight students attended during the first term; but it was soon realized that many had received an inadequate basic education, and from 1853 to 1868 a school was conducted in the College building.

Mrs. Reid died in 1866 leaving much of her estate in trust for 'the promotion of female education'. These resources were used in the first instance by the Trustees to re-establish Bedford College in more adequate premises. The College was incorporated in 1869, and five years later moved to new premises in York Place, Baker Street.

From 1878 the London University degree examinations were opened to women, and teaching in the College immediately developed to meet the requirements of degree candidates. Early developments were concentrated in the Department of Science, and between 1876 and 1885 professorships in Chemistry and Physics, Zoology, Physiology, and Geology were instituted. To meet the growing demand for science teaching a College extension in East Street was opened in 1891. By this date the College comprised sixteen departments, an Art school, and classes in music and singing. Student numbers varied from 100 to 120, with a teaching staff of about 28.

Miss (later Dame) Emily Penrose was appointed

¹ Only those institutions classed as 'non-medical' and in receipt of University Grants Committee grants (see *University of Lond. Calendar* (1962–3), 385) are included. The treatment of institutions not in receipt of U.G.C. grants is reserved for inclusion in the topographical accounts of the ancient parishes in which they are situated. Since most of the University medical schools have evolved from or within institutions which themselves have a longer history it seems desirable to treat their early history and later teaching functions together. Accounts of the medical institutions have therefore also been reserved to the appropriate topographical sections. For a general discussion

first Principal in 1893. In the following year the College received for the first time L.C.C. and Treasury grants. Recognition as a school of the University followed in 1900, when twelve members of the College staff were granted the status of University teacher. A bequest of £12,500 enabled the College to purchase in 1908 a long lease on South Villa, a house standing in 8 acres in Regents Park. Building commenced in 1911, and the new College premises, which included residential accommodation for 80 students, were opened in 1913.

Improvements in the academic standing of the College were made possible by a gift of 100,000 guineas from Sir Hildred Carlile. Four Hildred Carlile chairs—in English Literature, Latin, Botany, and Physics—were endowed, and these were subsequently made into University chairs. Further changes between 1914 and 1922 included the inauguration of new Departments of Dutch Studies (1915), Social Studies (1918), and Geography (1920), and the closure of the Art school and Teacher Training Department in 1914 and 1922 respectively.

By 1919 there were more than 600 students, and the accommodation and residence problems were acute. Temporary huts in the quadrangle were erected in 1920 to meet immediate needs, and work on a College extension began in 1927. The new premises, called Tuke Building, were opened in 1931. South Villa was then demolished. To meet residential requirements the College acquired in 1918–19 two groups of houses in Dorset Square, N.W. 1, and Adamson Road, N.W. 3. These formed the basis of two halls of residence, known after 1925 as Notcutt House and Bedford College House respectively. By 1939 more than one-third of the students lived in College residences.

On the outbreak of the Second World War Bedford College was evacuated to Cambridge. Here, with some assistance from the Cambridge teachers, the teaching programme was maintained until 1944, when Bedford College returned to London. The College buildings and Notcutt House had been severely damaged by enemy action in 1941, and teaching recommenced in temporary premises. Serious accommodation problems resulted from the post-war increase in the number of students from 680 in 1945 to 836 in 1948. The College acquired The Holme, a house adjoining the College, in 1945, and Hanover Lodge in the Outer Circle in 1947. These were developed chiefly for residential purposes. Rebuilding of the College premises was completed in 1952, and further extensions were opened in 1957 and 1960.

After 1945 teaching facilities were considerably expanded. By 1948 all nineteen departments of the of the position of medical education in the University see pp. 315–44. Royal Holloway Coll. (Surr.) and Wye Coll. (Kent), founded in 1879 and 1893 respectively, are also excluded. For a note on the early history of Royal Holloway Coll. see *V.C.H. Surr.* iii. 421. The accounts of the constituent colleges are arranged in alphabetical order. This section was completed in 1963, and any reference to a later time is dated.

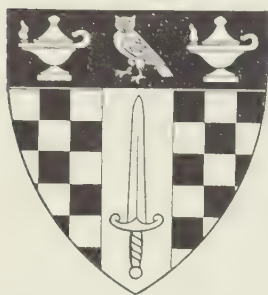
² This history is based on M. J. Tuke, *Hist. of Bedford Coll.*, *Bedford Coll. Calendar* (1960–2), and information supplied by the Coll.

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College were under professors of the University. The number of postgraduate students increased from 49 in 1945 to 113, of whom 36 were men, in 1958. By 1962 the College had 864 undergraduates and 118 postgraduate students and a teaching staff of 138.

BIRKBECK COLLEGE³

IN 1823, stimulated by the activity of George Birkbeck (1776–1841), a science lecturer who had earlier



BIRKBECK COLLEGE. *Chequy or and sable on a pale argent a sword gules a chief of the second thereon an owl of the third between two antique lamps of the first inflamed proper*

[Granted 1949]

established an evening institute for working craftsmen in Glasgow, Thomas Hodgskin and J. C. Robertson, editors of the *Mechanic's Magazine*, proposed a scheme for establishing a similar institution in London. They were immediately joined by Birkbeck,

who was then working as a physician in London, and a committee was formed to draft a constitution for what was styled the London Mechanic's Institution. Classes opened

in 1824 in a Monkwell Street chapel, and the Institution then had between 650 and 750 subscribing members. Within a few months new premises were found in Southampton Buildings, Holborn. From the outset the Institution, instructing industrial workers 'in the Principles of the Arts they practise and in the various branches of Science and useful knowledge', was attacked by conservative critics. The founding Committee was itself divided as to whether or not the Institution should be dependent on charitable contributions from the moneyed classes. In 1824 Robertson and Hodgskin severed their connexion with the Institution on this issue. By 1826 it was becoming doubtful whether the persons attending the Institution were those for whom it was originally intended, and the Committee redefined the term 'working class' as 'comprehending all those members who work and do not employ journeymen'. Women were admitted to lectures from 1830, but the arrangement was only tentative and by 1833 the Committee was reconsidering 'the propriety of admitting females . . . through the front entrance'.

During the early period the Institution provided systematic instruction in basic general education. By 1839 the curriculum included classes in English grammar, French, Latin, writing, mathematics, geography, shorthand, and book-keeping. Lectures were given on chemistry, experimental philosophy, and natural history. Although little attention was paid to social studies, the courses were attacked during the 1830's by Thomas Carlyle and by those who criticised the education of a 'steam-intellect society'.⁴ By 1839 classes were attended by 1,081 students, including eleven women.

³ This history is based on C. D. Burns, *Short Hist. of Birkbeck Coll.*, and *Birkbeck Coll. Calendar* (1961–2). See also T. Kelly, *George Birkbeck*.

George Birkbeck died in 1841 and policy decisions were then vested in a committee. Without Birkbeck's strong guidance the fortunes of the Institution began to decline. By 1850 there were only 651 students and there was a debt of £400; seven years later the number had fallen to 436. An appeal for government support in 1857 resulted in an official inquiry and the publication of a report strongly criticising the work of the Institution. Classes were said to be 'cumbrous and inefficient' and the students more concerned with amusement than instruction.

Although the report advocated a radical reorganization of the Institution, the direction of its future development was in fact dictated by developments within the University of London. The charter granted to the University in 1858 and revised in 1863 enabled part-time as well as full-time students to enter for London University degree examinations, and resulted in a rapid increase in the number of students attending the Institution. A further stimulus to the Institution's educational activity was given in 1866 by the adoption of a sub-committee report advocating the formation of an Educational Council to supervise teaching, and the addition to the curriculum of classes in algebra, geometry, and advanced mathematics. By 1868 the classes were attracting 3,000 students, many of whom entered for University examinations.

The status and financial position of the Institution were still, however, uncertain. New premises in Fetter Lane were opened in 1885, and the number of students continued to increase. Although 4,059 students attended the Institute in 1888, the Selborne Commission of that year referred to it as one of the 'less authoritative' institutions, and it was not included in the proposed charter for a teaching university.

Some financial support was obtained from the Charity Commission in 1889 at the cost of a connexion with the City of London College to form the 'City Polytechnic'. This development had little practical effect on the academic character of the Institution. Classes continued to be organized 'to meet the requirements of the University of London', and the connexion with the polytechnic movement merely increased the ambiguity of the Institution's status. The City Polytechnic was dissolved in 1907, and the Birkbeck Institution adopted the style of Birkbeck College.

Between 1895 and 1913 a number of changes occurred in the College. From 1895 the Principal was appointed as a full-time salaried official; a new salary scale for teaching staff was introduced; and subjects were reorganized on a departmental basis. After 1908, as part of an L.C.C. policy for concentrating technical and commercial subjects in other institutions, a number of classes in economics and metallurgy were transferred or discontinued, and the Art School was closed in 1913. The scope and standard of teaching was further influenced by the demands of London University examinations. By 1910 of the 1,038 students attending the College 326 were studying for University examinations.

The Royal Commission's report of 1913 urged the development of Birkbeck College as 'the natural seat of the constituent College for evening and other

⁴ G. M. Trevelyan, *British Hist. in the Nineteenth Cent.* 164.

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part-time students'. Further progress was halted by the outbreak of the First World War; but in 1920 the College was admitted as a school of the University for a probationary five-year period. No full-time day University students were admitted after the session 1920-1, and a new Constitution, providing, *inter alia*, for direct representation of the Student Union on the governing body, was adopted in 1921. The College was admitted permanently as a school of the University in 1933.

Between 1921 and 1939 the College's academic and social facilities expanded steadily. College societies were formed, and playing fields at Greenford (Mdx.) were acquired in 1920. A portion of the Bloomsbury site was allotted for new College premises in 1930. Building commenced in 1939, but only the steel frame had been erected when work had to stop in 1940.

The College remained open during the Second World War. Courses for day students were provided; evening tuition was suspended; and part-time students attended during daylight on Saturdays and Sundays. Evening courses were reintroduced in 1945. Work on the College building recommenced, and new premises in Malet Street were completed in 1951. Work on a further extension began in 1964.

In 1961 facilities for postgraduate study in all Honours subjects were offered in the Faculty of Arts. All departments of the Faculty of Science, which included those of Botany, Zoology, and Geology, offered postgraduate and special laboratory facilities. At September 1961 the 1,511 internal students were divided almost equally between the Arts and Science faculties.

THE IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

THE Imperial College of Science and Technology,⁵ constituted by royal charter in 1907, is the result of

the union of three institutions, the Royal College of Science, the Royal School of Mines, and the City and Guilds College, which were established in South Kensington in the later 19th century.

The forerunner of the Royal College of Science was the Royal College of Chemistry, established in 1845. It was administered by a Council under the presidency of the Prince Consort, who largely contributed to its success; his personal intervention secured the appointment of August von Hofmann, Privatdozent at

of such researches as may become of public benefit and tend to the general advancement of this important science'. It first opened in 1845 in a temporary laboratory at 33 George Street. In 1846, however, no. 16, Hanover Square was leased and new laboratories, completed in 1847, erected on the vacant frontage on Oxford Street. Initially there were about 40 students, among whom were Frederick Abel, Warren de la Rue, Charles Mansfield, Henry Bessemer, and William Henry Perkin.⁶

The development of the Royal School of Mines was closely linked with that of the Geological Survey. In 1841 Thomas de la Beche, the founder of the Survey, instituted the Museum of Economic Geology to 'exhibit the practical applications of geology to the useful purposes of life'. Instruction in mineralogy, metallurgy, and analytical chemistry was given to a limited number of students at the Museum, then in Craig's Court, Westminster. In 1851 the Prince Consort opened a new building for the Museum in Jermyn Street, and in the same year the government approved de la Beche's scheme to establish, in association with the Museum, a school to be known as the 'Government School of Mines and Science applied to the arts', for instruction in mining and applied science.

De la Beche drew the staff of the School from his officers on the Survey. Amongst them was Lyon Playfair, who became Professor of Chemistry jointly with his post of Chemist to the Survey. When he resigned in 1853 to become Secretary of the new Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade, the Chair of Chemistry was offered to Hofmann. The Royal College of Chemistry was in financial difficulties and its Council saw a solution of their problems in Hofmann's acceptance of this offer and the incorporation of the College with the School of Mines. This took place in 1853. Hofmann continued to preside over the Oxford Street laboratories, which although now the Chemistry Department of the mining school, continued to be known as the Royal College of Chemistry until 1872.

One of the effects of the Great Exhibition of 1851 was the creation of a demand for scientific technical education. The Science and Art Department was established in 1853 to 'promote the advance of the Fine Arts and of Practical Science'. The School of Mines was placed under the control of this Department (which in 1899 merged into the Board of Education). The Department at first attempted to broaden the basis of instruction at the School and to give it the character of a centre for a prospective system of technical education of which only a branch would be mining education. This was a policy strongly advocated in later years by T. H. Huxley, who became Professor of Natural History in 1854. The School was renamed 'The Metropolitan School of Science applied to Mining and the Arts' in 1853. The influence of Sir Roderick Murchison, the successor of de la Beche as Director of the School, and his supporters led to the subordination of the study of pure science to that of mining. In 1857 the name of the School became 'The Government School of Mines' and in 1859 the scope of its training was limited by the cessation of various science courses; in 1863 it finally became the 'Royal School of Mines'.

⁶ For Perkin's later activities as a manufacturing chemist in Greenford (Mdx.) see *V.C.H. Mdx.* iii. 214.



IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. *Per fesse in chief quarterly 1st and 4th gules three lions passant guardant in pale or armed and langued azure; 2nd or a lion rampant within a double treasure flory counter flory gules; 3rd azure a harp or stringed argent and in base or an open book inscribed with the word SCIENTIA*

[Granted 1908]

the University of Bonn, as Professor of Chemistry. The College aimed to promote 'the prosecution

⁵ This account is based on information provided by the College, *Imperial Coll. Calendar* (1964-5), and *Imperial Coll. 1953-63: report on a decade of expansion*.

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The accommodation at the Museum soon became inadequate for the School and it overflowed into adjacent premises. In 1870 the Royal Commission for Scientific Instruction recommended the removal of the School of Mines and the Royal College of Chemistry to new premises in South Kensington. In 1872 the Chemistry, Physics, and Natural History Departments were moved to the new building in Exhibition Road which was later called the 'Huxley Building'. The Applied Mechanics Department followed in 1873, Geology in 1877, and Metallurgy in 1880. The Mining Department was the last to move in 1891, thus breaking the final link with the Museum and Survey.

Training courses for teachers, which had begun in 1869 with summer courses only, were established in 1873. H. G. Wells was a notable student at these courses. The general expansion of the scientific teaching of the School was recognized by its reorganization in 1881 when it was re-established as the 'Normal School of Science and Royal School of Mines'. Huxley was appointed the first Dean. Two types of training were now offered within the one institution, which, however, came to be regarded as two associated schools, each with a distinct character and tradition and its own diploma: the Associateship of the Royal School of Mines for students of Mining and Metallurgy, and the Associateship of the Normal School of Science for students of Pure Science. The name 'Royal College of Science' was adopted in 1890.

The building in Exhibition Road quickly became overcrowded, and many classes had to be held in temporary accommodation. In 1898 the Government decided to erect a new building for Chemistry and Physics on a site on the south side of Imperial Institute Road, the gift of the Commissioners of the 1851 Exhibition. These new premises were not completed, however, until 1906.

In 1876 a meeting of the Corporation and Livery Companies of the City of London drew attention to the need for 'the promotion of Education... throughout the country, and especially of technical education'. As a result, the City and Guilds of London Institute was founded in 1878, and in the following year H. E. Armstrong and W. E. Ayrton were appointed to organize classes in Chemistry and Physics in what was to become the Finsbury Technical College. Enlarged plans for a 'Central Institution or College for the advanced education of those who had acquired sufficient knowledge of science or the arts to profit by instruction in the industrial application of these' were realized when in 1881 the foundation-pillar of the institution was laid by the Prince of Wales. The new College, known as the Central Institution, was opened in 1884. The first four professorships were in Physics, Chemistry, Engineering and Mechanics, and Mathematics, and the College developed primarily as a school of engineering. In 1893 the College became known as the Central Technical College of the City and Guilds of London. The number of students increased from 28 in the first session 1885-6 to over 200 by 1898.

By 1900 it was being claimed that British universities were lagging behind continental and United States institutions in providing technical training.

A Departmental Committee of the Board of Education was appointed in 1904 to study the matter. Sir Francis Mowatt was appointed Chairman only to resign owing to ill-health. R. B. Haldane (later Lord Haldane) succeeded him. In its report, published in 1906, the Committee concluded that the provision of more facilities for advanced technological education was essential. The Committee recommended that the three South Kensington Colleges should form the nucleus of 'an institution or group of associated Colleges of Science and Technology, where the highest specialized instruction should be given, and where the fullest equipment for the most advanced training and research should be provided in various branches of science, especially in its application to industry'. As a result the Imperial College of Science and Technology was incorporated in 1907,⁷ and admitted as a school of the University in 1908. Representatives of the nation's scientific and industrial interests sat on the governing body, and Dr. H. T. Bovey of McGill University was appointed first Rector. The former diplomas of the constituent colleges were retained by the new College and a new diploma of membership of the Imperial College instituted for postgraduate work.

In 1907 the College had almost 600 full-time students; by 1914 the number had increased to 800. An extension to the City and Guilds College and the present building of the Royal School of Mines were ready for occupation in 1913. In the same year a chair of Chemical Technology was established and the Department of Chemical Technology moved into new premises south of Prince Consort Road in 1914. Within the School of Mines a sub-Department of Oil Technology was instituted in 1913, and a professorship of Economic Mineralogy established in 1914. In the same year the Bessemer Laboratory was opened to provide instruction in Mining and Metallurgy. Tywarnhale Mine, near Truro, had been purchased in 1909 for instruction in mine surveying.

The First World War stimulated the growth of the College. A Department of Technical Optics was set up in 1917, and later incorporated in the Physics Department. The Zaharoff Chair of Aviation, the first of its kind in the country, was established in 1919, and in the following year the first Chair of Meteorology in Britain was founded. In the Department of Chemical Technology a Chair of Chemical Engineering was established in 1926. In the same year the Goldsmiths' Extension building was completely occupied and opened by the Duke of York (later King George VI). The post-war influx of students brought the number attending the College to 1,080, where it remained fairly static for the next decade.

A student hall was built in the Beit Quadrangle in 1926, and enlarged in 1931 to accommodate some 100 students. A biological field station was set up at Slough in 1928, and used until the College purchased Silwood Park near Ascot in 1947. Silwood has since accommodated a number of other College activities. The athletic ground at North Wembley, which had been bought as a war memorial, was acquired by the local authority in 1936 and land at Harlington was purchased by the College to replace it. The

⁷ See p. 333.

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building of the Royal School of Needlework, at the junction of Exhibition Road and Imperial Institute Road, was purchased by the College in 1934. In 1949 the premises were fully occupied by the College and renamed the Unwin Building.

Imperial College was selected by the Government in 1953 as an instrument in a national attack on the problem of providing more university-trained scientists and technologists. The College agreed to double its size, to provide for 3,000 students, and to complete the programme in ten years. A second decade of expansion started immediately afterwards as a result of the Government's acceptance of the recommendation on national targets for student numbers of the Committee on Higher Education. The College has continued to receive special support from the Government.

Building after 1953 was concentrated in the area between Prince Consort Road and the South Kensington museums, Exhibition Road and Queen's Gate. The Hill building to house the Aeronautics, and Chemical Engineering and Chemical Technology Departments, was opened in 1957, and the Physics building in 1960. The East Quadrangle was completed; the Mechanical Engineering building, facing Exhibition Road, was built in four stages—the first being completed in 1959 and the last in 1965. To make way for the later stages of the building part of the old City and Guilds College building was demolished in 1962 and the remainder, along with the Unwin building, in the following year. On the south side of the Quadrangle the new Civil Engineering building was occupied in 1963, and to the west the Electrical Engineering Department moved in 1962 to what will be the highest building in the precinct. The Quadrangle was closed by the southern extension of the Royal School of Mines which was completed in 1964. On the south side of Imperial Institute Road the new building for Biochemistry was erected on the site of part of the existing Royal College of Science building.

The expansion of the academic buildings was paralleled by an extension of the social and residential facilities. The Union building was doubled in size in 1956, and a new floor added to the Beit Hall of Residence in the following year. The College acquired the neighbouring Prince's Gardens in 1956 for comprehensive development and the first new hall of residence there, Weeks Hall, was opened in 1959. The second stage, which came into use in 1963, was the South Side building containing four halls of residence (Falmouth Hall, Keogh Hall, Selkirk Hall, and Tizard Hall) and refectories and common rooms for general College use.

By October 1964 some 3,100 students were attending the College. Numbers were divided between the faculties of science and engineering in the proportion of two to three, and more than one-third of the students were postgraduates. The academic staff of the College at that time numbered 535 and was headed by 65 professors. In 1965 a scheme was introduced by which prominent industrialists and others in government establishments could have conferred on them by the College the title of Visiting

Professor by virtue of their part-time share in its work.

The physical expansion of the College was accompanied by other significant developments. The major change towards a residential community came with the opening of the South Side building with rooms for nearly 400 students. Academic changes were mostly absorbed within the existing departmental structure; only two new departments were created—Biochemistry and The History of Science and Technology—but postgraduate studies tended to become interdepartmental in scope. To further the work of the College powerful and expensive facilities were installed; the College Computer Unit was set up in 1964 and the University of London Nuclear Reactor was erected at the College Field Station where it is managed by the College for the University. A scheme for the incorporation of the School of the Architectural Association as a fourth constituent college was approved in principle. Another link with fields of study bordering on the College's main interests was the joint sponsorship with the London School of Economics and Political Science of the new London Graduate School of Business Studies. Traditional and close connexions with overseas, and particularly the Commonwealth, were formally strengthened when in 1963 the College entered into a special relationship with the Indian Institute of Technology, New Delhi.

KING'S COLLEGE⁸

THE theological controversy attending the foundation of London University (University College) in 1827⁹ resulted in the foundation of King's College in 1829. Press rumours of a metropolitan college controlled by the Established Church appeared in 1827; but the idea was first openly defined early in 1828 by Dr. George D'Oyly, Rector of Lambeth, in an open letter to Sir Robert Peel. Discussion followed, and a concrete scheme emerged during the summer of 1828. A public meeting, with the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, in the chair, and attended by the Archbishops of York, Canterbury, and Armagh, and two members of the Cabinet (Peel and Aberdeen) was held in June. A provisional committee of twenty-seven was appointed to raise funds, and to frame regulations and building plans. The sum raised by subscription was inadequate,¹⁰ but a site lying between the Strand and the Thames¹¹ was granted to the College by the Crown and building began in 1829. In the same year the College was incorporated as an institution 'for the general education of youth in which the various branches of Literature and Science are intended to be taught, and also the doctrines and duties of Christianity . . . inculcated by the United Church of England and Ireland'. Government of the College was vested in a council consisting of nine official governors, five of whom were ecclesiastics, eight life governors, a treasurer, and 24 other members of the Corporation.

By the time of the College opening in October

⁸ This section is based on F. J. C. Hearnshaw, *Centenary Hist. of King's Coll. 1828-1928*, and *King's Coll. Calendar* (1964-5).

⁹ See below.

¹⁰ For the circumstances in which many subscriptions were withdrawn see Hearnshaw, *op. cit.* 56.

¹¹ The Strand premises are situated in the old par. of St. Mary le Strand, Westminster. For details of the history of the site see J. W. Hales, *The Site of King's Coll. from 1552* (1881).

A HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX

1831 the chairs of Mathematics, Classical Literature, and the double chair of English Law and Jurisprudence had been filled, but those of English Literature and History were still vacant. From the outset medical teaching formed a particularly important part of the College syllabus, and six medical chairs were instituted. William Otter, a clergyman, was appointed first Principal and lecturer in divinity.

For teaching purposes the College was divided into a Higher department and a Lower or Junior department (later known as King's College School) housed in the basement and at first staffed by only three teachers. Within the Senior department teaching was divided into three courses: a general course, comprising divinity, classical languages, mathematics, English literature, and history; the medical course; and, thirdly, miscellaneous subjects, such as law, political economy, and modern languages, which were not related to any systematic course of study and depended for their continuance on the attractiveness of the lecturer and the supply of 'occasional' students. Tuition in the general course was of an elementary nature more appropriate to a school than to a university. By the end of the first session there were 764 students on the College roll, of whom 162 were in King's College School.

The School was successful from the outset. It provided tuition for the sons of middle-class parents, teaching not only classics and mathematics, but also modern languages and natural science. By 1833 there were 319 pupils, and two years later, despite an attempt by the College to limit the number to 400, the roll contained 461 boys. By 1836, under a scheme instituted in 1829 for the affiliation to King's College School of those schools pledging themselves to the religious principles of the College, eleven grammar schools were 'in union with King's College'.

Numbers in the Senior department, unlike those in the School, remained almost stationary during the first five years of the College's existence. Death and resignations occasioned a number of staff changes during this period. One of the most important appointments was that of Charles Wheatstone to the professorship of Experimental Philosophy. In the medical school inefficiency and the divided loyalties of the staff occasioned a steady decline in attendance. By 1834-5 the number of regular students had fallen to 42, several of the staff had resigned, and the school began to show a loss.

In 1833 the general course was reorganized to form a continuous course of study leading to the award of the certificate of an Associate of King's College (A.K.C.). The river frontage of the College was completed during 1834-5, and, with the institution in 1836 of the degree-conferring London University, a period of limited expansion began.

An Engineering department was opened in 1838 with 31 students. In the following year there were 50 students, and 58 by 1840. The department continued to expand: a workshop in the basement was opened, and in 1840 teaching in Architecture was added to the syllabus. From this course there emerged in 1886 the Division of Architecture and Building Construction, transferred in 1913 to University College.

In 1839 the College leased St. Clement Danes' parish workhouse in Portugal Street and converted the building into a College hospital. It was opened in 1840 and initially contained 120 beds. Ten years

later the College council purchased the premises, and in 1851, acting under powers conferred by the King's College Hospital Act, transferred them to the corporation of the Hospital established by that Act. The old building was then demolished, and the first wing of a new Hospital opened in 1861.

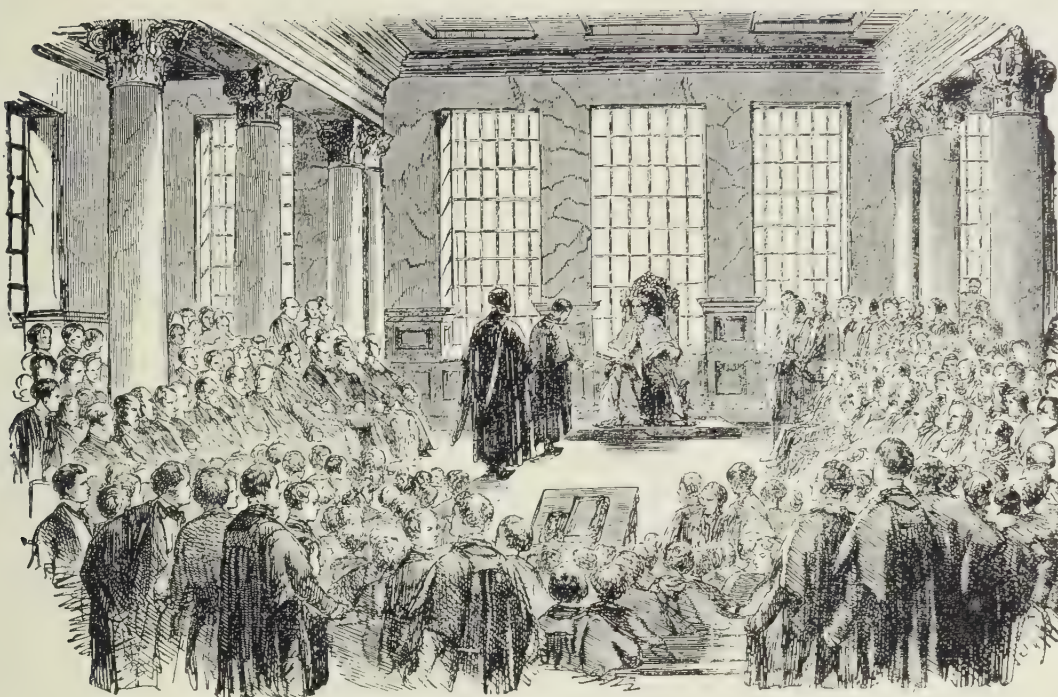
A formal proposal to establish a Theological department was made in 1846. Three professors of divinity were appointed, and work began at Easter 1846 with 33 students. By 1852-3 the number of students had increased to seventy-eight. A house adjoining the College was purchased in 1847 and opened as a hall for theological students; but this scheme failed to pay its way and the hall closed in 1858.

The establishment of the Theological department stimulated the growth of the General department. The number of students taking the general course increased from 121 in 1846-7 to 156 in the following session. A number of assistant staff members were appointed, and four new chairs, of Chinese (1847), International Law (1848), Landscape Drawing (1851), and Practical Chemistry (1851), were established. Students in the General department, however, still worked to secure entrance to Oxford and Cambridge; few sat for London University examinations, to the syllabuses of which the King's College course was not adapted. From the late 1850's onwards the numbers and standards of the General department began to decline. There were only 58 students by 1866, and the list of honours taken at Oxford and Cambridge by King's men had dwindled. Reorganization of the curriculum failed to check the decline. The growth of the Theological department was curtailed by its inability to confer degrees in divinity, and by 1863 there were only 41 theological students.

Developments in the School further retarded the growth of the College. By 1843 there were nearly 500 pupils, but many remained at the School beyond the normal age of 16 and proceeded immediately to Oxford or Cambridge. Hence the School began to rival rather than complement the College. Numbers in the School declined slightly after 1846, falling to 463 in 1850, when the council decided that the curriculum was not meeting the demands of children wishing to enter business, and divided the establishment into two sections, 'classical' and 'modern'. This division became effective in January 1851 when the modern side had 128 pupils.

The general decline was partly concealed by the success of the evening department which was opened in 1855. Classes were offered in sixteen subjects, and, initially, teaching was undertaken by members of the College staff. The project was immediately successful and in 1858-9, when there were 378 students, special teachers were appointed. By 1865 there were 654 evening students.

After the resignation in 1868 of the fourth Principal, Dr. Richard Jelf, the council were able to revise the duties of the Principal. In future he was to act as chaplain, lecture frequently, summon and preside at staff meetings, and retire at the age of 65. Alfred Barry, Headmaster of Cheltenham College, was appointed fifth Principal, and he strongly supported the claim of the teaching staff to share in the government of the College. In 1870 new regulations were drawn up 'for establishing departmental and general boards', and the general board immedi-



A DEGREE CEREMONY AT KING'S COLLEGE IN 1850



LONDON UNIVERSITY WOMEN GRADUATES IN 1891



THE EAST LONDON COLLEGE IN 1912



SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES, FINSBURY CIRCUS, c. 1922

The building, formerly occupied by the London Institution for the Advancement of Literature and the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (founded 1807) was transferred to the School in 1912

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ately began to take an active part in determining College policy.

The General and Theological departments, however, continued to decline. By 1884 there were only 39 students in the General department. Numbers in the Theological department dropped to 24 in 1876, but a number of reforms revitalized the department during the late 1870's. Under reciprocal arrangements theological associates of King's were enabled to attain the Durham B.A. degree after one academic year's residence in Durham University. The extension of evening classes to the Theological department resulted in an increase in the number of students to 79 by 1881.

The appointment in 1877 of Joseph Lister to the professorship of clinical surgery at King's College Hospital greatly benefited the medical faculty. The introduction of Lister's techniques for the antiseptic treatment of surgical cases gained the Hospital an international reputation.

In 1882 the King's College London Act, embodying the recommendations of a committee appointed to consider constitutional revision, was passed. The original constitution was annulled, and the objects of the College extended to include the education of women.¹² Despite this development, however, the College continued to decline in the face of competition from the new degree-conferring universities. Numbers in the medical department dropped from 223 in 1884 to 132 in 1897, and by 1893 the General department had 10 students and a staff of twenty-five. Several attempts were made to revitalize the department: in 1888 it was divided into separate departments of arts and science; in 1893 the term 'department' was discontinued in favour of 'faculty', and the science faculty was then entirely disassociated from that of arts. Neither faculty, however, had a syllabus geared to the requirements of the London University degree examinations, and they still suffered from the competition of the secondary schools, including King's College School itself.

The School itself, however, was declining with the increasing competition of the big London schools. The number of pupils dropped from 612 in 1880 to 166 in 1897, and the School began to lose money. Hence it became, instead of a help, an additional financial burden to the College. By 1895 the College accounts showed a deficit of nearly £8,000 and the overdraft stood at £28,000. Government aid was made conditional on the relaxation of religious tests for College teachers and students. Tests for students were abandoned in 1895, when both the government and the L.C.C. made grants to the College. In 1897 the School was removed from the Strand building to premises near Wimbledon Common.

The reconstitution of the University of London in 1900 had a marked effect on the character of King's College. College courses were revised with a view to preparing candidates for the University degree examinations, and inter-collegiate courses were instituted. The College then began to revive. By 1912 there were 104 degree students in arts and 74 in science; occasional and evening students brought the totals to 1,160 in arts and 389 in science.

¹² For the foundation of King's Coll. for Women and the emergence from it of Queen Elizabeth Coll. see p. 353.

¹³ This account is based on Sir Sydney Caine, *Hist. of the Foundation of London School of Economics*, Lord Beveridge, *London School of Economics and its Problems 1919-1937*,

Under the King's College London Act of 1903, which amended the 1882 Act, religious tests for teachers, except for the staff of the Theological department, were abolished. The Treasury and L.C.C. grants were then increased, and the College's finances began to improve. Further reforms were effected under the King's College (Transfer) Act of 1908 which became operative in 1910. The clinical departments of the medical school and the School were placed under independent governing bodies; the Theological department separated from the rest of the College under the governance of a College council; and the secular departments were incorporated in the University of London.

A period of rapid expansion followed. King's College Hospital was moved from the Portugal Street building to new premises begun in 1908 on a site in Denmark Hill, Camberwell. The move involved great changes in the structure of the medical faculty, and the pre-clinical and pre-medical teaching given in the College was separated from the clinical studies conducted in the Hospital. A house on Champion Hill, near the Hospital was acquired in 1914 and reopened as a hall for medical and other students. In the same year a hall for theological students was opened in Vincent Square, Westminster.

The influx of students after the end of the First World War strained existing facilities to the limit. Numbers increased from 1,775 in 1917-18 to 3,879 in 1919-20. The departments of Chemistry, Physics, Botany, Geology, Zoology, Pharmacology, and Electrical Engineering were extended, and, among other temporary expedients, classes were held in the Principal's house. The possibility of removing the College premises to a Bloomsbury site, offered by the government, was considered, but finally rejected in 1925. Further additions to the Strand premises then began. A site above Aldwych tube station was acquired and a new block (opened in 1929) built to provide accommodation for the departments of Geology, Geography, History, Education, and Classics. In 1930 a two-storey building was erected on the roof of the main building to house the Hambleden Department of Anatomy, and to provide accommodation for research in Physiology.

During the Second World War the College was evacuated to Bristol University. Part of the Strand building was demolished by enemy action in 1940. When the damage was being repaired, the vaults under the quadrangle were replaced by a two-storey laboratory (opened in 1952) for the departments of Physics and Civil and Electrical Engineering. During the 1950's the College acquired for future development further premises in the Strand, Surrey Street, and Drury Lane. A faculty of Music was established in the College in 1964.

At October 1964 the College had 2,432 internal students and staff of 268.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE¹³

In 1894 H. H. Hutchinson, a member of the Fabian Society, died, having appointed Sidney Webb his F. A. von Hayek, 'The London School of Economics 1895-1945', *Economica*, Feb. 1946, pp. 1-31, Janet Beveridge, *An Epic of Clare Market*, and *London School of Economics Calendar* (1963-4).

executor and one of five trustees empowered to dispose of the residue of his estate. Webb decided to use the £10,000 available under Hutchinson's will to found in London a school which would provide



THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. *Sable a beaver passant or on a chief of the second two closed books purple clasped leaved and decorated gold*

[Granted 1922]

teaching and research facilities in economics on the lines of the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques* in Paris. A committee was formed, and W. A. S. Hewins appointed first Director of the School. The Society of Arts and the London Chamber of Commerce took an active interest in the project, and financial support was given initially by the Fabian Society. Some leading Fabians, in particular Bernard Shaw, attempted, unsuccessfully, to impose collectivist principles on the School. The first prospectus outlined the School's objects as 'the study and investigation of the concrete facts of industrial life and the actual working of economic and political institutions as they exist or have existed, in the United Kingdom or in foreign countries'.

The School opened in October 1895, offering twelve courses of evening lectures and a three-year course in economics, economic history, and statistics. More than 200 students enrolled in the first term, and by the end of the first session there were 281 students, including 87 women. Initially the School occupied premises at 9 John Street, Adelphi; but in 1896 moved to rooms at 10 Adelphi Terrace. Many lectures were given in the premises of the London Chamber of Commerce in Eastcheap and at the Hall of the Royal Society of Arts. The British Library of Political Science, under the direction of the School, was opened in the Adelphi Terrace premises in 1896. The library provided important research facilities, and by 1900 the School was said to be 'one of the largest centres in the United Kingdom for post-graduate research'.

For the first twenty years of the School's existence financial resources were inadequate, and initially all the staff, except the Director, were part-time. Sidney and Beatrice Webb lectured at the School, and both assisted with the administration.¹⁴ During this period the School was essentially a place for evening study, and not until 1906-7 were regular day-time lectures established. The School, however, continued to expand. A Students' Union was founded in 1897, and nearly 400 students attended the School during 1897-8. Following the establishment of a Faculty of Economics and Political Science within the reorganized University of London, the School was admitted in 1900 as a school of the University. The School's three-year course then became the basis of the new B.Sc. (Economics) degree. These developments occasioned an increase in the number of students from 443 in 1901-2 to 1,275 in the session 1904-5. The first of the School's new build-

ings, the Passmore Edwards Hall, was erected in 1902 on a site in Clare Market allotted by the L.C.C. In the same year the School was incorporated, with Sidney Webb as Chairman of the Governors.

The School continued to expand rapidly during the early 20th century. A lectureship in Sociology was established in 1904, and a Department of Social Science instituted in 1912. By the session 1912-13 there were 2,137 students, and a report submitted to the University in 1913 drew attention to the serious overcrowding of the School's premises. Expansion plans were suspended on the outbreak of the First World War, during which a sessional average of 1,242 students attended the School. In 1918-19 this figure increased to 2,273, including 224 U.S. soldiers; and the institution in 1919-20 of a new Commerce degree contributed to a further increase to 3,016 students in 1919-20. Grants from the L.C.C. and from the City Appeals Committee enabled extensions to be started, and in 1920 the foundation-stone of the present 'Old Building' was laid. Between 1923 and 1937 the School's accommodation was more than doubled. In 1925 the L.C.C. acquired premises in Houghton Street, and a new building on this site together with two additional storeys built on the roof of the 1920 building were opened in 1928. The first section of a new building on the east side of Houghton Street, containing lecture and tutorial rooms, was erected in 1931-2. During the same session a gift from the Rockefeller Foundation enabled a complete reconstruction and expansion of the Library to be planned. The work, which involved the reconstruction of the greater part of the Passmore Edwards Hall and the rebuilding of the corner block purchased from the St. Clements Press in 1929, was completed in 1934. In the following year the School acquired the former Smith Memorial Hall adjoining the School.

A parallel expansion of the School's academic functions also took place during this period. Funds provided by the Sir Ernest Cassel Trustees enabled the number of full-time academic staff to be increased from 17 in 1919-20 to 79 in 1936-7. New chairs were instituted in English Law, International Law, International History, Economic History, and International Relations, and the School was recognized in the University's Faculties of Economics and Laws (1921), of Arts for Geography and Sociology (1922), and for History and Anthropology (1924). In 1929 a course for social workers in Mental Health was established, and a department of Business Administration was instituted in 1930. A Modern Languages department was established in 1934-5 and a Civil Service course in the following session. The work of the School's teachers and research students was continuously published, particularly in the School's *Economica* (established 1921) and *Politica* (established 1934). Between 1920 and 1939 the number of full-course students increased until occasional students represented only one-third of the total. During the same period the number of postgraduate students increased from 32 to 293.

During the Second World War the School was housed in Peterhouse, Cambridge. Considerable expansion followed the return of the School to London in 1945. Academic developments included *Webbs and Their Work*, ed. Margaret Cole, pp. 41-53, and Beatrice Webb, *Our Partnership*, *passim*.

¹⁴ For details of the part played by the Webbs in the School's early history see Lord Beveridge, 'The London School of Economics and the University of London', *The*

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the institution of courses in Trade Union Studies, Personnel Management, Child Care, and for Overseas Service officers. New and additional chairs were established in Accounting, Anthropology, Economics, Social Geography, Public Law, Public Administration, Social Administration, and Sociology. New diplomas in Economic and Social Administration and in Operational Research were instituted in 1960. At September 1961 the School had 2,138 internal students, of whom 1,577 were in the Faculty of Economics, and a full-time academic staff of 128.

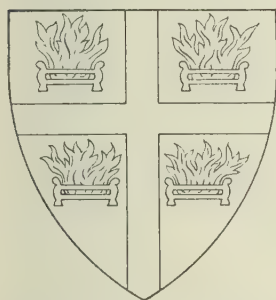
After 1945 minor additions to the School premises were provided by erecting new rooms on the roofs of the Houghton Street buildings. Work began in 1960 on adapting for School use the building in Clare Market formerly occupied by the St. Clements Press; the building was occupied in 1961. In 1960 the School also acquired the freehold of a site north-west of the St. Clements Buildings.

QUEEN ELIZABETH COLLEGE¹⁵

MEMBERS of the staff of King's College participated in the foundation of Queen's College (1848) and of Bedford College (1849), and this interest in women's

education was maintained. In 1871 a course of lectures was instituted 'for ladies in Richmond and Twickenham in connection with King's College'. This idea was further extended during the 1870's, and in 1877, on the private initiative of the Principal and some staff members of King's College, Mrs. William Grey, a leading figure in women's education, and others,

QUEEN ELIZABETH COLLEGE. *Argent a cross gules between four blazing hearths proper* [Granted 1930]



a lecture course for women was instituted in the Kensington Vestry Hall. Attendance during 1878 averaged 500, and in 1879 the classes were removed to a house in Observatory Avenue, Kensington.

In 1881 the King's College council adopted a committee recommendation that the College should establish a department for the higher education of women. The raising of funds proved difficult, and lectures continued to be held in Observatory Avenue until 1885 when premises in Kensington Square were acquired and opened as the women's department of King's College. The department was to be governed, under the King's College council, by an executive committee. A 'Lady Superintendent' ('Vice-Principal' from 1891) was appointed to administer the department under the *ex officio* headship of the Principal of King's College.

After the appointment of Miss Lilian Faithfull as second Vice-Principal in 1894, the character of the department changed rapidly, and work was geared to the London, Oxford, and Cambridge entrance examinations. Further incentives were provided by the foundation in 1899 and 1903 by the Merchant

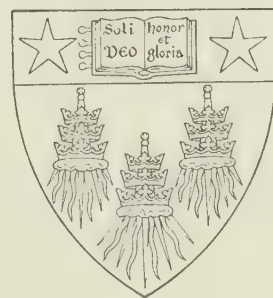
Tailors' and Skinners' Companies of entrance scholarships; by the opening of the Associateship of King's College to women in 1899; and by the introduction of day-training students in 1903. Numbers increased from 367 in 1905 to 600 in 1908. Two more houses in Kensington Square were purchased in 1908 and by 1911 had been incorporated into the original premises.

A new course in household and social sciences was instituted in 1908. The new department was heavily endowed, and separation from King's College was considered. The 1908 Transfer Act envisaged an independent 'King's College for Women' within the University of London, but this policy was reversed after the publication of the Haldane Report (1913) recommending the establishment in Kensington of a university department of household and social science and the discontinuation of plans for a college of general education in arts and sciences. These recommendations were accepted in 1914 and when the rest of the women's departments were absorbed into King's College in the Strand in 1915, the Department of Household and Social Science moved into premises on Campden Hill. The new institution maintained a connexion with King's College until 1928, when it was constituted a separate college under the title of King's College of Household and Social Sciences and admitted as a school of the University. In 1953 the College was incorporated as Queen Elizabeth College.

In addition to teaching in household science and nutrition, the College provides instruction in biochemistry, chemistry, botany, mathematics, microbiology, physics, physiology, and zoology. At September 1961 the College had 208 internal students and a permanent staff of forty-five.¹⁶

QUEEN MARY COLLEGE

QUEEN MARY COLLEGE, Mile End Road, evolved from the efforts of J. T. B. Beaumont (1774-1841), a successful artist, author, and businessman, to improve the conditions of the inhabitants of the East End of London.¹⁷ At his own expense Beaumont founded, on a site in Beaumont Square, The New Philosophical Institute, with a building in the Renaissance style, comprising a large hall, library, museum, and class and committee rooms. After Beaumont's death in 1841 the capital of the trust fund which he had established for the purpose of bringing higher education to the people of the East End was kept intact,



QUEEN MARY COLLEGE. *Azure upon three several clouds (the sun-beams issuing) three ancient imperial crowns tripled all proper on a chief gules an open book also proper embellished and clasped or and inscribed SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLORIA in letters sable between two mullets also or* [Granted 1921]

College: an adventure in education, *Queen Mary Coll. Calendar* (1962-3), *East Lond. Papers*, iii (1), and information provided by the Coll.

¹⁵ This account is based on Hearnshaw, *Hist. of King's College*, and *Queen Elizabeth Coll. Prospectus* (1963-4).

¹⁶ *Ex inf.* the Coll. Secretary.

¹⁷ The history is based on G. S. Godwin, *Queen Mary*

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and the income applied to the upkeep of the Philosophical Institute. In 1879 the Institute closed for lack of support.¹⁸ and a group of local people complained to the Charity Commissioners that Beaumont's original trust fund was being misappropriated. The Charity Commission held an inquiry and in 1882 advanced a new scheme for the management of the Beaumont trust. Sir Edmund Hay Currie, who had been a member of the London School Board and Chairman of the London Hospital, was appointed Chairman of the revised trust.

Currie immediately began to broaden the scope of the trust by seeking a new site for an enlarged educational and recreational institution. He eventually settled on the site occupied by the Bancroft almshouse and school; an establishment founded in 1735 by the Drapers' Company at the bequest of one of their members, Francis Bancroft. The school moved to another site in Essex, and the Beaumont trustees acquired the premises with the help of £20,000 given by the Drapers' Company on condition that the trustees incorporated a technical school in their scheme.

Interest in the social conditions of the East End was further stimulated by the publication in 1882 of Sir Walter Besant's novel *All Sorts and Conditions of Men*¹⁹ which had, as its central theme, the establishment in the East End of a worker's Palace of Delight. This was so similar to the plans proposed by Sir Edmund Currie and his committee that their scheme was soon dubbed 'a People's Palace for East London'.

Currie enlisted the support of the Prince of Wales, the Lord Mayor of London, Quintin Hogg (the founder of the Polytechnic), and other leading figures. In 1886 Queen Victoria consented to become Patron of the new institution and later that year the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone. His mother opened Queen's Hall, the People's Palace recreational centre, in the following year and herself laid the foundation-stone of the new Technical School. The interest of the Royal Family helped the Beaumont trustees to raise about £75,000 towards the cost of the buildings which included a concert hall, winter garden, library, and swimming-bath, in addition to the schools. The trustees, however, neglected to raise a sufficient sum to endow the building, and as a result the project was soon in debt. An appeal for financial aid was made to the Drapers' Company, and in order to limit vandalism in the new premises the membership requirements were modified so that continuing members had to take some sort of educational course before using the recreational facilities.

As a result of these policies the educational side quickly became more important than the recreational, and this led directly to the appointment in 1892 of a Director of Studies. The Drapers' Company, which had continued to support the foundation, increased its annual grant to £7,000, and the City Parochial Foundation voted an annual sum of £3,500. In a further attempt to revitalize the scheme the objects of the departments were redefined, and the growth of the educational department stimulated by the granting of concessions to students.

¹⁸ The following paragraphs on the 19th-cent. history of the Coll. are based on information supplied by Mr. O. Tapper of Bow Boys Sch., who in 1964 was engaged in cataloguing primary material relating to the College.

In 1894 the Drapers' Company voted £5,000 for the erection of an engineering laboratory and workshops, and subsequently the educational facilities of the People's Palace developed rapidly.

The first Director, J. L. S. Hatton (1865-1933), who served as Director and, later, Principal for forty-one years, exercised considerable influence on the development of the College. Under him tuition was formally divided into day and evening courses,²⁰ and classroom work combined with workshop instruction. The College also provided instruction and granted its own certificates in a wide range of trade courses; provided Civil Service courses; and taught art up to art master's certificate standard. These reorganizations resulted in the conditional recognition of the College in 1907 as a school of the University in the Faculties of Arts, Science, and Engineering. Permanent recognition was made dependent on the continued development of the College, and in particular on the provision of an adequate library. In order to improve the standing of the College, evening courses were almost entirely discontinued, and the number of full-time students increased from 38 in 1903 to 232 in 1914.

In 1908 separate committees to administer the recreational and educational sides of the People's Palace were established. The two sides subsequently diverged to the point of opposition, until in 1913 the College was finally separated from the People's Palace, and a College Council established. The Drapers' Company continued to give financial support to both schemes, and in 1914 granted £15,000 for the erection of a Chemistry building. These developments resulted in the permanent recognition of the College as a school of the University in 1915.

For some years extension of the College premises was limited by the lack of suitable sites. In 1931, however, Queen's Hall was burnt down. It was subsequently rebuilt on adjoining premises, allowing the College to expand on the original site. A royal charter incorporating the College as Queen Mary College was granted in 1934. The first university High Voltage Laboratory in the country was opened at the College in 1936, but further expansion was temporarily halted by the Second World War, during which the College was evacuated to King's College, Cambridge. After 1945, however, land was acquired in Bancroft Road (1948), Grantly Street (1951), and on the site of St. Benet's church (1951). A Nuclear Engineering laboratory, the first university establishment of its kind in the country, was opened in 1953 and extended in 1960. Sections of a new Engineering building came into use at regular intervals after 1958, and the first two stages of a new Physics building were opened in 1960 and 1962. The People's Palace was purchased in 1954, and after extensive alteration reopened two years later as a Great Hall.

Post-1945 developments considerably increased the size of the College. In June 1965 there were 1,532 internal students, with an academic staff of 176. Research facilities were provided in most departments, and special research laboratories were attached to all scientific and engineering departments.

¹⁹ See S. T. Bindoff, 'East End Delight', *East Lond. Papers*, iii (1), 31.

²⁰ Day and evening classes had existed from 1888.

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Student societies were organized by the Union Society, established in 1908. For many years the College's athletic facilities were limited, and teams played on the Drapers' Company's ground at Leyton. In 1937, however, a grant from the Drapers' Company enabled the College to purchase extensive athletic grounds near Brentwood (Essex).

ROYAL VETERINARY COLLEGE²¹

IN 1788 the Odiham (Hants) Agricultural Society, whose membership was drawn from farmers between Basingstoke and Aldershot, published a memorandum regretting the absence in England of an institution providing instruction in veterinary science and, particularly, in scientific farriery. The Society expressed an intention, if sufficient funds could be raised, of sending students to the Alfort School near Paris, one of four continental veterinary schools then in being. Shortly after this decision, Charles Vial de St. Bel, who had been trained as a veterinary surgeon at the world's foremost veterinary college, the Royal School of Lyons, came to England. In 1790 he published his *Plan for establishing an Institution to cultivate and teach Veterinary Medicine*. In the following year the London committee of the Odiham Agricultural Society at a general meeting of subscribers changed its title to The Veterinary College, London, appointed Vial de St. Bel Professor to the College, and passed a vote of thanks to the Duke of Northumberland who had agreed to act as president. In January 1792 St. Bel began his first course of lectures to 4 resident pupils in a building on the site near St. Pancras church still occupied by the College.

St. Bel died in 1793, and Edward Coleman was then appointed Principal. Coleman, whose reputation rested largely on his dissertation on the human eye, was intimate with many leading medical figures, and soon after his appointment the Medical Examining Committee, consisting of eminent physicians and surgeons, was set up to examine students for the diploma. This system continued until the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons was instituted in 1844 and became the examining body for the profession. In 1830 the king granted his patronage and the College assumed the style of The Royal Veterinary College. Coleman was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1831, and on his death eight years later was succeeded as Principal by his assistant, William Sewell.

During the 1840's the College began to expand. The advent of Charles Spooner as Principal on Sewell's death in 1853 coincided with the beginning of additional building. Further additions were made in 1879. The College was incorporated under royal charter in 1875.

In 1892 Professor (later Sir John) M'Fadyean was appointed to the staff of the College, subsequently becoming Dean in 1894. He applied techniques developed by Pasteur and Koch to the development of veterinary science. His researches into tuberculosis, glanders, and John's disease were of

fundamental importance and his skill and academic attainments greatly benefited the reputation of the College.

By 1925, however, the College buildings were dilapidated and financial resources inadequate. These deficiencies were exposed in the report of a departmental committee of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries published in 1929. The committee recommended that the College should be rebuilt on the Camden Town site, and its governing body reconstituted.

A new charter, based on the committee's recommendations, was granted to the College as the Royal Veterinary College and Hospital in 1936. The old premises were demolished, and the present building, erected with the aid of government grants, was opened by King George VI in 1937. The building of the Beaumont Animals' Hospital for the treatment of animals of the poor, which adjoins the main building, was financed by a private bequest of £25,000. Studies in the reconstituted College were divided into six departments—of Surgery and Obstetrics, Medicine, Animal Husbandry, Physiology and Chemistry, Anatomy, and Pathology. In 1937 there were 350 students and an academic staff of thirty-six.

On the outbreak of the Second World War the work of the College was transferred to Streatley (Berks.), the University of Reading, and Sonning (Berks.). The Beaumont Hospital, however, remained open throughout the war. When, after 1945, the departments of Medicine and Surgery remained at the temporary field station at Streatley the remaining departments returned to Camden Town.

In 1944 an interdepartmental committee recommended that veterinary studies should be given full university status, a degree in veterinary medicine becoming a registrable qualification. Five years later the College was admitted as a school of the University in the Faculty of Medicine. From October 1952 all undergraduates in the College pursued the course of studies for the degree of Bachelor of Veterinary Medicine in the University of London.

The College acquired an estate at North Mimms (Herts.) in 1955 for use as a field station where students spend their final year, and the departments of Medicine and Surgery were transferred from Streatley to the new premises in 1958. In 1956 a new charter was granted to the College as The Royal Veterinary College. At September 1961 the College had 367 internal students, of whom 20 were in the faculty of Science, and a full-time teaching staff of sixty-four.

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES²²

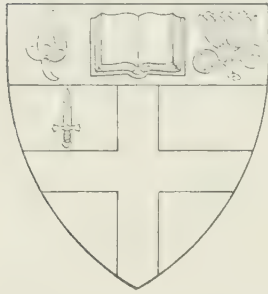
DURING the 19th century facilities in London for teaching and research in Oriental studies were meagre and concentrated in University and King's Colleges. Oriental Languages and Literature were taught at King's College from 1833, and University College had chairs of Hebrew, Oriental Literature, and Hindustani. In 1907, in response to a request

²¹ This account is based on *Royal Veterinary Coll. and Hospital* (brochure prepared to commemorate the opening of new premises in 1937), *Royal Veterinary Coll. Prospectus* (1963), and information supplied by the Coll.

²² This account is based on P. J. Hartog, *Origins of the School of Oriental Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies Calendar* (1962-3), and information supplied by the School.

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from the University Senate, a Treasury departmental committee, under the chairmanship of Lord Reay, was appointed to consider the organization of Oriental studies in London. The commission's report, presented in 1908, concluded that there was



SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES. *Argent a cross gules in the first quarter a sword in pale points upwards of the last on a chief also gules an open book proper between a lotus bud on the dexter and a lotus slipped and leaved on the sinister both or*

[Granted 1918]

an 'urgent need for the provision of suitable teaching in London for persons about to take up administrative or commercial posts in the East and in Africa', and recommended the establishment of 'a School of Oriental Studies in the University of London to give instruction in the languages of Eastern and African peoples, Ancient and Modern, and in the Literature, History, Religion, and Customs of these peoples. . . .'²³ The Reay Committee's recommendations were not immediately implemented, but in 1910 the Secretary of State for India appointed a departmental committee to 'formulate in detail an organized scheme for the institution in London of a School of Oriental Languages upon the lines recommended' in the Reay Report.

Following the report of the second committee, the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, was established by royal charter in 1916 and admitted as a school of the University. Premises in Finsbury Circus that had formerly housed the London Institution for the Advancement of Literature and the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (founded 1807) were transferred to the School under the London Institution (Transfer) Act of 1912. Dr. E. D. (later Sir Denison) Ross, Keeper of the Stein Antiquities at the British Museum and previously Professor of Persian at University College, was appointed first Director of the School. The staffs of the Oriental departments of University and King's Colleges were transferred to the new institution, and the first students entered in January 1917. By July 1917 the School contained 125 students.

The Finsbury Circus premises were sold in 1936, and teaching and administration were transferred temporarily to Vandon House and the library to Clarence House, Westminster. Work on a new building on the Bloomsbury site began in 1938, but building was suspended on the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1938 the Charter was amended and the title of the School changed to School of Oriental and African Studies.

During 1939 the School was transferred to Christ's College, Cambridge, but returned to London in the following year. Part of the Bloomsbury premises was occupied in 1941, and until 1946 the School shared the building with the Ministry of Information. As the Second World War spread across North Africa, Asia, and the Far East the work of the School in

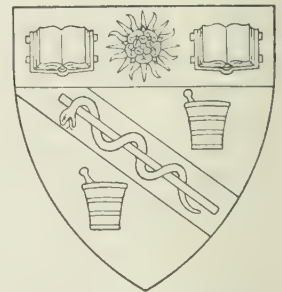
providing language courses increased, reaching a peak in Chinese and Japanese, with a record number of 1,029 students in the session 1945-6.

An interdepartmental committee, reporting in 1946, recommended that the whole field of Oriental and African studies should be developed in London, while only a restricted range of subjects should be covered in other universities. The academic work of the School was subsequently organized in ten departments: India, Pakistan, and Ceylon; South East Asia and the Islands; the Far East; the Near and Middle East; Africa; Phonetics and Linguistics; History; Law; Anthropology and Sociology; and Economic and Political Studies. The School is largely a research institution, but at May 1965 had approximately 500 full-time and 100 part-time students, with an academic staff of 185.²³

In 1950 Sir Percival David presented to the University his unique collection of Chinese ceramics and associated library. This gift led to the construction of the Percival David Foundation of Chinese Art (opened 1952), which is administered in association with the School. Pending the construction of permanent premises the Foundation is housed at 53 Gordon Square, W.C. 1.

THE SCHOOL OF PHARMACY

THE SCHOOL OF PHARMACY was founded in 1842 by the Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain, incorporated in 1843 as a society 'for the purpose of advancing Chemistry and Pharmacy and promoting a uniform system of Education of those who should practise the same. . . .'²⁴ Initially the School was accommodated in 17 Bloomsbury Square, and the premises included one of the first practical Chemistry laboratories in the country to be opened for public courses. Lectures and practical work were organized in preparation for the diploma examination of the Pharmaceutical Society.



THE SCHOOL OF PHARMACY. *Argent on a bend azure between two mortars in each a pestle proper a rod of Aesculapius or on a chief of the second a Tudor rose radiated between two open books also proper edged and clasped gold*

[Granted 1950]

Work on a new building in Brunswick Square began in 1938, but on the outbreak of the Second

World War the building was requisitioned. In 1925 the School was admitted as a school of the University in the Faculty of Medicine (non-clinical). Courses for the degree of Bachelor of Pharmacy were then introduced, but the Council of the Pharmaceutical Society continued to govern the School. In 1926 the Society established pharmacological laboratories for the purpose of investigating methods of biological assay of drugs and to provide facilities for the testing of trade preparations. These laboratories were incorporated into the School in 1932, and the institution was then renamed the College of the Pharmaceutical Society.

Work on a new building in Brunswick Square began in 1938, but on the outbreak of the Second

²³ Ex inf. the Secretary.

²⁴ This account is based on *School of Pharmacy Calendar*

(1962-3), and *School of Pharmacy Dean's Reports, passim*.

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World War in 1939 work was suspended and the School evacuated to University College, Cardiff. After returning to London in 1945, the Pharmaceutical Society appealed to the University for assistance in maintaining the School. The institution was reconstructed as a limited company in 1949 and control was vested in a body representing the University, the Pharmaceutical Society, and the academic staff. A charter of incorporation was granted to the School in 1952. Work on the Brunswick Square building recommenced in 1954. The first stage of the new premises was occupied in 1955, and the building was completed in 1960.

At October 1964 the School had 210 internal students, of whom approximately 50 were post-graduates, and a permanent academic staff of thirty-nine.²⁵

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE originated in the early 19th-century foundation in Gower Street designed to provide a non-sectarian university in London.²⁶ During the early 1820's the projected 'London University' was discussed by the poet Thomas Campbell with contributors to his publication, *The New Monthly Magazine*. The scheme was welcomed by Brougham, who was supported by Hume, Warburton, and the disciples of Jeremy Bentham.²⁷ Brougham quickly replaced Campbell as effective leader of the movement and after 1828 the poet took no part. A provisional committee was appointed in 1825 and the first prospectus for the new university appeared in the same year.²⁸ The provisional committee was replaced by a Council which was elected in 1826. A site in Gower Street was purchased by subscription, and the foundation-stone of what later became known as University College was laid by the Duke of Sussex in 1827.

Lectures in Arts, Laws, and Medicine began in October 1828. Initially there were approximately 250 students, of whom 54 were in the medical school. Tuition was based on the Scottish pattern of instruction by lectures with exercises and examinations, and represented a deliberate departure from the methods of the older universities. The disputed question of formal religious instruction was avoided by providing that the new university should be wholly non-residential.

The first department to be securely established was the medical school. In an attempt to replace the existing empirical training²⁹ by co-ordinated medical education, studies in the department were systematically divided among a number of specialists. By 1838 some informed opinion considered the medical school to be 'the best in Europe'.³⁰ The number of students in the medical school increased from 183 in 1828-9 to 390 in 1834-5. In 1832 the proprietors resolved to raise money by mortgage to build a hospital on the west side of Gower Street. The foundation-stone was laid in 1833 and the building was ready to receive patients by 1834.

A boys' school in connexion with the university

was opened at 16 Gower Street in 1830. It moved into the university building in 1832, and the numbers attending continued to increase. The institution was marked throughout by its original approach. There were no compulsory subjects, no rigid form system, and no music, religious instruction, or flogging.

During the years 1830-1 there was an involved quarrel between the University Council and the professors as to the amount of control exercisable by the Council over the academic staff. After a period of public dispute, resignations, and expulsions, an academic Senate was instituted in 1832, and the conduct of the ordinary business of the University was transferred from the Council to a committee of management. These changes were embodied in new by-laws substituted in 1842 for the original deed of settlement.

In 1836, after prolonged opposition by the London medical bodies and the older universities,³¹ a charter of incorporation was granted to the university as University College, London. A new University of London was incorporated on the same day under a charter granting the power to award degrees to candidates from University College, King's College, or any other approved institution.³²

These constitutional changes were followed by a period of depression, particularly in the medical school where the number of students declined from 497 in 1837-8 to 161 in 1863-4. In other departments, however, student numbers remained fairly constant and three new chairs, of Architecture, Engineering, and Geology, were founded in 1841, and an important stimulus given to chemical education in England by the institution in 1845 of a chair in Practical Chemistry and the foundation of the Birkbeck Laboratory.

The fortunes of the College began to revive during the 1860's. Fresh by-laws were drawn up in 1869. These empowered the College to provide instruction for persons of both sexes, and to add Fine Arts to the studies specified in the Charter. A number of bequests, chiefly from Felix Slade, enabled the College to build the first stage of a new north wing (opened 1871) to house a department of Fine Art, subsequently known as the Slade School. The department grew rapidly, and by 1875, when the Council had to restrict admissions, there were 220 students. A separate faculty of Science was established in 1870, and the institution in 1878 of chairs in Chemical Technology and Mechanical Technology illustrate the efforts of the College to promote experimental science. In the Faculty of Medicine a chair of Hygiene and Public Health was established in 1869.

Between 1866 and 1874 a regular series of evening classes was held in the College. The seventeen general courses included instruction in writing, book-keeping, and elocution. The number of evening students reached 120 in 1869-70, but had declined to 55 by 1874 when the experiment was discontinued.

²⁵ Ex inf. the Clerk to the Council.

²⁶ See above p. 315. Except where otherwise stated, this history is based on information provided by the College Secretary; H. H. Bellot, *University Coll. London, 1826-1926*; and *University Coll. Calendar* (1963-4).

²⁷ For Bentham's connexion with the Coll. see J. H. Burns, *Jeremy Bentham and University Coll.*

²⁸ *The Times*, 9 July 1825.

²⁹ For the history of medical educ. see pp. 315-44.

³⁰ *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*, ed. T. Sadler (1869), ii. 196-7.

³¹ For details of their opposition see p. 316.

³² See above p. 317.

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The general academic revival during this period, particularly marked in scientific studies, was reflected in an increase in the number of students in the College from 387 in 1863 to 911 in 1873. During the same period numbers attending the School rose from 386 to 680.

Women, were admitted to some special and evening lectures during the 1860's and mixed classes were first held during 1872-3. Subsequently women gradually infiltrated into all classes. By 1878 there were 309 women students, and their number steadily increased. College Hall, Byng Place, was opened as women's hall of residence in 1882.

By 1880 the intellectual life of the College was rapidly outgrowing the administrative framework within which it was confined. This was recognized in 1885 by the admission to the Council of three members of the Senate. The number was increased to six in 1888. The College received its first parliamentary grant in 1889 and the first L.C.C. grant five years later. Extensions and modifications to the College buildings during the 1880's and early 1890's secured adequate accommodation for all the existing departments. The south wing of the main building was completed in 1876 and the north wing in 1881. New engineering laboratories were built in 1893.

Under the University of London Act of 1898 the College became in 1900 a school of the University and entered upon a period of rapid development. In 1907 the College was incorporated in the University. The School was then created a separate corporation and moved to Hampstead, while in the medical school clinical studies were separated from the pre-clinical and pre-medical work conducted in the College. During the period 1900-25 the number of students in the College rose from 1,098 to 2,426, of whom 1,074 were women. In 1900 thirty-seven students took the bachelor's degree; 216 proceeded to the degree in 1925. Development was most marked in the Faculty of Arts. Eight students proceeded to a degree in Arts in 1900, but by 1925 the number had increased to eighty-five.³³

The rapid growth of the College during the first quarter of the century raised problems of administration, accommodation, and finance. The office of Principal was established in 1900. In 1907 this title was changed to that of Provost. The College site was enlarged by the purchase of property which included houses in Gower Street (1919-23), premises in Gower Place (1911), and the church of All Saints, Gordon Street (1912). New buildings were erected for Physiology (1909), Pharmacology (1912), and Anatomy (1923). The Great Hall, constructed out of All Saints church, was opened in 1927. This expansion was largely financed by benefactions from the L.C.C. and the Rockefeller Foundation, and by £228,000 subscribed to the Centenary Appeal Fund.

The increase in student numbers during this period was accompanied by a proportionate increase in the number of academic staff from 131 in 1908 to 255 in 1925-6, and to 347 in 1947. Not until the 1930's, however, were conditions of service satisfactorily regulated. A salary scheme was established in 1930, and an Academic Staff Appointments and Promotion Committee set up in the following year.

Association with the teaching university necessitated considerable changes in the character of the work of the College, and during this period each department gradually assumed its place and special responsibilities within a University school. The number of postgraduate students increased from 24 in 1903-4 to 515 in 1925-6. Specialization resulted in the transfer of some departments to other institutions and the integration of others with similar departments in other colleges. Oriental Studies were transferred in 1917 to the newly-established School of Oriental Studies and the Department of Hygiene and Public Health was removed on the opening of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in 1929. In the Faculty of Arts particularly there was a steady growth of specialization and inter-collegiate work. A department of Scandinavian Studies was founded in 1918 and a department of Dutch Studies, in co-operation with Bedford College, in 1919. From 1927 onwards the Department of Political Economy was rebuilt, and the number of students in this department increased from 27 in 1927-8 to 177 in 1936-7. The reorganization of the Department of Architecture which had begun in 1903 was completed by the amalgamation of the architectural departments of University College and King's College in 1913. A department of Town Planning was added to the Bartlett School of Architecture in 1914, and a School of Librarianship (after 1947 the School of Librarianship and Archives) was founded in 1919.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 the College was dispersed among a number of English and Welsh universities. During 1940-1 the buildings were much damaged by enemy action. Although some departments returned to the Gower Street premises in 1944 and the remainder in 1945, the return to normal working was slow. Repairs and the construction of new buildings were retarded by national economies and a shortage of money and sites. Substantial government grants subsequently enabled the College to acquire gradually the freeholds of adjacent properties, so that by 1963 the College owned almost all the property within a rectangular area bounded by Gower Street, Torrington Place, Gordon Square, Gordon Street, and Gower Place. Sites were thereby provided for a Biological Sciences Building to house departments of Anthropology, Biochemistry, Biophysics, and Botany, and for a new Engineering Building which was erected with the aid of £400,000 raised from industry. Difficulties in controlling planning and building operations necessitated the creation in 1948 of a new administrative post of Bursar as head of a separate department dealing solely with properties, buildings, and connected services.

Academic developments after 1945 included the establishment of a number of new chairs. The number of academic staff, including honorary members, rose from 360 in 1947 to 717 in 1962. To alleviate the difficulty of finding accommodation in London, the College opened small blocks of staff flats in Nevcrn Square (1949) and Hornton Street (1950).

Student numbers increased from 3,339 in 1947-8 to 3,836 in 1961-2. Postgraduates numbered 537 in

³³ The discrepancy between the number of students attending the Coll. and the number taking a degree at the University is explained on p. 320.

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1947-8 and 1,071 in 1961-2. The problem of providing residential accommodation for students was accentuated by the changing character of the Bloomsbury district. A site in Fitzroy Square was acquired and work on a hall for 130 students began in 1961. Two small halls—Bentham Hall (men), Cartwright Gardens, and Campbell Hall (women), Taviton Street—were opened in 1952 and 1954 respectively, but by 1962 there were still only 723 residential students. After 1962, however, the College received endowments totalling more than one and a half million pounds and was able to tackle the problem of student accommodation. By 1964 there were 970 residential students, and the building programme provided for accommodation for 1,400 students by 1968.

Academic expansion after 1900 was also accompanied by increasing student activity. The College Union was formed in 1893, and between 1900 and 1925 sixty-one student societies, most of which have survived, were founded. The Men's and Women's Unions were amalgamated as a single Union in 1954. The former Seamen's Hospital at 25 Gordon Street was converted to house the Students' Union and some academic departments in 1959. An athletic ground at Perivale was purchased in 1908, but this was sold shortly before the Second World War and grounds covering 90 acres purchased at Shenley (Herts.).

WESTFIELD COLLEGE

WESTFIELD COLLEGE for women was founded in 1882.³⁴ The initial scheme for a residential London college resulted from a meeting between Miss Constance Maynard, an ex-student of Girton College, Cambridge, and Miss Dudin Brown, an heiress with religious and educational interests. Miss Brown gave £10,000 in trust for 'founding and perpetuating a College for the higher education of women on Christian principles': two houses in Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, were rented; and Miss Maynard, with five students, began work there in October 1882.

The foundation suffered at first from its isolation as a private venture and from financial poverty. For some years Miss Maynard worked gratuitously, and funds were raised by holding drawing-room meetings at which she spoke. In 1890 the College Council purchased Kidderpore Hall, a Georgian house in Kidderpore Avenue. The cost of the house, grounds,

and alterations resulted in a debt of £10,000, which was met by a mortgage and debentures. Financial insecurity and inadequate equipment were the main grounds on which the College was refused admission as a school of the University after the reorganization of 1898.³⁵ In 1902, however, temporary admission in the Faculty of Arts was granted on the understanding that the Council would try to remedy the deficiencies of the College. Bequests from Miss Dudin Brown and Mrs. Alexander Brown enabled the outstanding debentures to be cancelled and the mortgage debt to be paid off. A library, two lecture rooms, and a dormitory wing were added during 1904-5, and the curriculum was extended to include a course in Botany. By the time Miss Maynard retired in 1913 the number of students in the College had increased to sixty. A further gift covered the purchase of a house opposite the College in 1917, but by this time it was clear that Westfield could not survive without large-scale financial support. Permanent admission to the Faculty of Arts of the University was sought, but the terms of the original trust deed restricting representation on the College Council to members of the Church of England were unacceptable to the University and to the London County Council. After protracted negotiations, a compromise was reached in 1919 and the L.C.C. and University Grants Commissioners then voted grants totalling £4,000 a year. Substantial additions were made to the College buildings between 1920 and 1930. The College Chapel was erected by private subscription in 1929 to commemorate the work of Miss Anne Richardson on her retirement after thirty-eight years, first as lecturer and then Vice-Principal. Recognition as a school of the University was granted to the College in 1929, and four years later Westfield was incorporated under royal charter.

The College was admitted as a school of the University in the Faculty of Science in 1959, and new departments of Botany, Chemistry, Physics, and Zoology were instituted in 1961. A new science block in Kidderpore Avenue was opened officially by Queen Elizabeth II in 1962.³⁶

In May 1964 the College secured an amendment of the Charter to permit the admission of men students at all levels. The first men undergraduates entered the College in October 1964. At that date the College numbered approximately 485 undergraduates and 50 postgraduates, of whom about half were men. There were more than 80 members of the Senior Common Room, including 12 Professors of the University.³⁷

³⁴ This history is based on *Westfield Coll. 1882-1932* (Jubilee publication), and *Westfield Coll. Prospectus* 1962-3).

³⁵ See pp. 327-8.

³⁶ *The Times*, 22 May 1962.

³⁷ Ex inf. the Principal.

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The following abbreviations have been used: abp., archbishop; acad., academy; admin., administration; Alex., Alexander; And., Andrew; Ant., Anthony; arch., archaeology; assoc., association; Bart., Bartholomew; Benj., Benjamin; bd., board; bor., borough; bp., bishop; bro., brother; Cath., Catherine; ch., church; chap., chapel; char., charity; chart, charter; Chas., Charles; chron. chronicle; coll., college; com., commission; conf., conference; corp., corporation; ctss., countess; ctee., committee; d., daughter/died; Dan., Daniel; dchss., duchess; dept., department; dist., district; div., division; Dom. Bk., Domesday Book; eccl., ecclesiastical; Edm., Edmund; educ., education; Edw., Edward; Eliz., Elizabeth; Eng., England; f., father; fam., family; fed., federation; Fr., France; Fred, Frederick; gen., general; Geo., George; Geof., Geoffrey; Gilb., Gilbert; govt., government; Hen., Henry; Herb., Herbert; ho., house; hosp., hospital; Hospit., Hospitaller; Humph., Humphrey; inst., institute/institution; Jas., James; Jos., Joseph; jun., junior; Kath., Katherine; Lawr., Lawrence; Lond., London; mag., magazine; man., manor; Marg., Margaret; m., married; Mat., Matthew; Mic., Michael; min., minister/ministry; *n*, note; Nic., Nicholas; nonconf., nonconformist; org., organization; par., parish; Phil., Philip; Reg., Reginald; Revd., Reverend; Ric., Richard; riv., river; Rob., Robert; Rog., Roger; Rom., Roman; s., son; Sam., Samuel; sch., school; Sim., Simon; sis., sister; soc., society; Steph., Stephen; tech., technical; Thos., Thomas; U.D.C., Urban District Council; univ., university; vct., viscount; w., wife; Walt., Walter; Westm., Westminster; wid., widow; Wm., William.

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CORRIGENDA TO VOLUMES II AND III

An earlier list of corrigenda will be found in Volume III

- Vol. II, page xi, line 22, *for* Ground *read* First
 64, line 14, *for* Edward I *read* Edward II
 76, line 1, *for* 1283-4 *read* 1318
 109, *s.v.* Cranford Common, *for* 50 *read* 1
 109, *s.v.* Harlington Common, *after* acres *add* (59 Geo. III, cap. 33)
 324, line 6 from bottom, *for* Algar *read* Ælfgar
- Vol. III, page ix, line 2 from bottom, *after* Index *add* to Volumes II and III
 xiii, line 4 of list, *for* Iselworth *read* Isleworth
 xvii, *for* Barnet *read* Friern Barnet, *and for* F. W. Shepherd *read* F. H. W. Sheppard
 xx, line 12, *for* Hist MSS. Com. *read* Hist. Mon. Com.
 4b, line 17 from bottom, *for* pent *read* spent
 5, note 94, *after* C 54/408 *add* no. 4
 10, note 37, *after* p. *add* 2
 13a, lines 14-15, *for* the nconsidered *read* then considered
 15a, line 12, *for* 1887 *read* 1884
 30b, lines 4-3 from bottom, *for* Samuel Danvers *read* S. W. Dawkes
 30, note 43, *to read* Ibid.
 33b, line 5 from bottom, *for* centurz *read* century
 44a line 12, *for* were *read* was
 62, note 46, *delete the words in brackets*
 72b, line 16, *for* amount *read* area
 75b, line 7, *for* Staines *read* Kingston
 88a, line 6, *for* north *read* south
 93a, line 32, *delete* Metropolitan and
 95, note 35, *for* App. VII *read* App. I
 101b, line 37, *for* than *read* that
 102b, line 16 from bottom, *delete* Metropolitan and
 103a, line 10 from bottom, *for* at the death *read* in the reign
 103a, line 9 from bottom, *for* Algar *read* Ælfgar
 115a, line 10, *for* about *read* fewer than
 115a, line 5 from bottom, *delete* in the Middle Ages
 115b, line 3, *for* plough-teams *read* carucates
 125, heading, *for* ISLLWORTH *read* ISLEWORTH
 125a lines 16-18, *for* if possible . . . in 1707.³ *read* if possible.³ The church as built and opened in 1707, however, was designed by John Price of Richmond.³
 125, note 3, *for* C. Gery *read* R. Gery
 129a, lines 11-12, *for* E. Christian *read* W. G. Habershon and Pite
 129a, line 15 from bottom, *for* G. Monson *read* E. Monson
 129, note 21, *after* *Mdx. Chron.* *insert* Nov. 1875, Aug. 1876
 147a, MANORS, line 7, *for* 793 *read* 790
 147a, MANORS, lines 10-13, *for* Werhard . . . will.⁶⁹ *read* Werhard returned it with other property to the archbishop and monks of Canterbury when he made his will in 832.⁶⁹
 155, notes, *insert* footnote number 87
 156b, line 15 from bottom, *for* in 1908. Twickenham *read* in 1908, Twickenham
 179, note 52, *for* p. 52 *read* p. 44
 185b, line 3, *for* in 1716, The nave *read* in 1716. The nave
 197, note 21, *for* Four hides seem therefore to have comprised 1 virgate *read*. One hide seems therefore to have comprised 4 virgates.
 206b, line 3 from bottom, *for* 1871 *read* 1891
 206, note 4, *for* 1871 *read* 1891
 207, note, 7, *for* Ibid. (3rd edn.) *read* *Census*, 1891
 214a, line 22, *for* 1856 *read* 1857
 214a, line 31, *for* first *read* also
 218a, line 16, *for* 1521 *read* 1518
 224, note 85, *for* p. 228 *read* p. 231
 224, note 86, *for* p. 231 *read* p. 228
 227a, lines 31-32, *for* Thirty-two householders *read* Thirty-three houses
 227a, line 32, *for* 41 *read* 16
 227a, line 33, *for* there *read* There
 243b, line 22, *for* 1333 *read* 1338
 277, heading, *after* INDEX *add* TO VOLUMES II AND III *and thereunder add the following new paragraph*: The index presupposes that the corrections printed on p. 325 have already been made.
 277a, *between* Ædiled and Ælfheah *insert* Ælfgar, Earl (fl. c. 1060), ii. 324; ii. 103.
 227b, *s.v.* Algar, *delete* whole entry
 284b, *s.v.* Christian, E., *delete* whole entry
 286c, *s.v.* Danvers, *delete* whole entry
 286c *between* Davison and Dawley *insert* Dawkes, S.W., iii. 30
 287b, *between* Disine and Ditton *insert* District Rly., *see* London Transport
 293b, *s.v.* Habershon, *for* iii. 128 *read* iii. 128-9
 301a, *s.v.* Kingston-on-Thames, *after* fishing, ii. 268; *add* P.L. union, iii. 75
 303a, *s.v.* London, City of, parishes, line 21, *for* Walk *read* Wharf
 303c, *s.v.* London Transport, *delete* Metropolitan and
 305a, *s.v.* Metropolitan and District Rly., *delete* whole entry
 306a, *s.v.* Monson, *for* G. *read* E.
 309c, *s.v.* Price, *after* Price *insert* John, iii. 125;
 315b, *s.v.* Staines, *s.v.* P. L. union *delete* 75

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